VISION, PLAN and REALITY

– urban design between conceptualization and realization

PhD thesis
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Aarhus School of Architecture

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The preface is usually the space where the author mentions all the people who have influenced his or her work in some way. I would like to mention the author. Although many people have influenced my work in many ways, making it into what it has become, would not have been possible without me. This 'me', however, is not the same as it was, when it all started. With a Master's degree from the Aarhus School of Architecture in the early 1990s, my professional skills lay primarily with drafting and

PREFACE

designing. With a focus on project oriented design studio work during my studies, my theoretical insights were limited. And my later experiences from architectural practice did not change that. When I embarked on my PhD study, I had never written anything longer than a high school essay. And I had hardly written anything more intellectually challenging than shopping lists since high school.

So, when I was facing the new challenge of performing a PhD study, I was almost completely unprepared for the task. Not only did I lack important knowledge, skills, and experience, necessary to perform a PhD study, but all of a sudden, all I knew and felt good at, seemed useless in this new situation. Therefore, the first many months of my PhD study were uphill. It was a time of professional and personal crisis, and more than once, I was seriously considering to throw in the towel. Only slowly, the situation started to change, and it was not until I went to the USA to be a visiting scholar at Columbia University, New York, that I began to feel comfortable with my new academic identity.

Figure 0.1

Since then, everything has been different. As the realm of academic research started to unfold, my perspectives changed. What I had previously conceived as a temporary excursion in my professional life, before returning to architectural practice, now became a new direction for it. Therefore, while I will leave it to others to judge the importance of my contribution to the world of research, it is beyond question that research has made an important contribution to my world.

But making my world into what it has become, would not have been possible without all the people – friends, colleagues, and others – who have supported me along the way. Well knowing that I take the risk of missing someone out, I would therefore like to thank some of the people who have supported me personally, professionally, and practically, in becoming who I have become, and in doing what I have done.

I would like to thank my interviewees in Odense, Aarhus, and elsewhere, for lending me their time and insights in relation to my case study; the City Administrations of the Cities of Aarhus and Odense for giving me access to archival information concerning my two cases; Jakob and Hanne Dalsgaard for triggering the idea of going to the USA, by coming over for tea; my friends and neighbors Marianne Justesen and Hans Christian Jensen, Peter and Kristina Berg, Anette Kristiansen and Muhammad Hosseini, and all their many children – 'the supper club' – for making me remember that there is more to life than books and word processors; my colleagues at the Welfare City Project, Aarhus School of Architecture, for inspiring talks and discussions during seminars and other activities; Bent Flyvbjerg and Petter Næss, Aalborg University, for their courses on case study research and narratology, and planning theory, respectively

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A very special thank to my girlfriend and wife, Helle Thorell, for her patience and perseverance all the way through, for taking care of our sons, Anton and Carl, for making it meaningful at all to speak of us all as a family, and for marrying me without hesitation, in order to be eligible for a spouse visa to the USA.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my long time friend and former fellow student, Bülent Diken, the first scholar I ever knew personally, for talking me into pursuing a PhD in the first place.

Nic

Aalborg
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A couple of years ago while I was working in an architectural office, I was attending a prize ceremony for an urban design competition. The office had submitted a contribution to the competition and I was perusing the different entries with my colleagues from the competition team as I overheard a comment by one of the prize winners, on his own project. "Of course we know that it's never going to be like this", he said. At first, I took the statement as a trivial establishment of the intricacies

of dealing with urban design. But the more I thought about it, the more it started to puzzle me.

At the heart of any urban design activity is, what the built environment is 'going to be like'. The very point of dealing with urban design is to envisage the design of urban space, as a basis for urban development. Unless urban design is performed as a purely theoretical endeavor, it must be capable of guiding the actual urban development process. If it cannot do that, it has little justification as a professional practice. Then why would an urban design professional conceive it almost natural, that his urban design efforts would not lead to the anticipated result?

A look at the history of urban design may provide an argument for such a radical disclaimer. In fact, the history of urban design is replete with examples of urban designs which have been changed in the course of their implementation, or even left uncompleted. That urban design projects may not turn out the way they were supposed to, is not uncommon. Yet, if urban designers are trained to guide the urban development process, the argument does not hold. Urban design professionals must at least be confident that the theories to which they subscribe and the methods which they apply, are likely to lead to the anticipated results. Otherwise there is no point in doing what they do.

It has often been stated, that urban development can no longer be controlled. Since the heyday of modernism, urban design and planning has proved increasingly complicated. In the theoretical discussions, planning has been declared dead, and urbanism supplanted by architecture (Castells, 1990; Koolhaas, 1995b). The reason for this development has been ascribed, among other things, to the power of the market in the Neo-liberal economy, postmodern pluralism, or simply to the increased complexity of society.

To decline on the capacity of urban design to fully control the urban development process might indicate a pluralist view of shaping of the city, and an acknowledgment of the need for an interdisciplinary approach to city building. It seems inept however, once to put forward proposals for a future urban design, and at the same time to decline on the viability of the design. And after all, if urban design is to be about anything, it must be about the future design of the urban environment. And, if dealing with urban design is to give any meaning at all, this should at least be one thing, which the discipline does not decline on being able to deal with.

Truly, society has faced drastic changes over the past decades. But to decline on the capacity of urban design to guide urban development on that account, is to give up on urban design altogether. And by having recourse to external explanations for the

present day predicament of urban design, the possibility that it is inherent to urban design itself and the way it is conceptualized and practiced, is comfortably overlooked. Yet, that does not resolve the problem.

But what are the causes of this predicament of urban design? Is it, that urban design is inherently paternalistic and requires a certain extent of authoritative rule to be functional? Or is it that that urban design has failed to develop along with society, so that its tools have become outdated and unable to respond to the demands of the current day? Or has the the urban design profession simply become too self-absorbed and out of touch with the users and producers of urban space?

Rather than expressing some unfortunate shortcomings of urban design for which there is no workaround, given the conditions under which it has to operate, the above statement must therefore be taken as a sign of a crisis of urban design itself. A crisis as to how urban design may be conceptualized as a practice in order to regain its capacity to guide the urban development process, and what theories and methodologies that may be appropriate to cope with the present day challenges of urban design.

RESEARCH QUESTION AND FIELDS OF INVESTIGATION

The problem may be summarized in a very simple question: How come, that there is often a gap between what is considered good urban design and the built reality of the urban environment? The basic argument of this thesis is, that the answer must be sought within urban design itself. In other words, if urban design is incapable of achieving what it is aiming at, something must be wrong with it: If a bottle opener cannot open a beer, we do not blame it on the bottle. If a car cannot drive, we do not blame it on the road. And if urban design cannot design cities, we should not blame it on the city.

Then, if there is something wrong with urban design, where should we look to find the problems? One approach would be to make an empirical investigation of the practice of urban design. Another approach would be to make an investigation of the theoretical foundations of this practice. Yet, as the problems of urban design may lie with the way it is practiced as well as with how it is conceptualized theoretically, none of these approaches can stand alone. Hence, in order to get a full grasp of urban design, as a practice and as a theoretical field, as well as the interplay between the two, it is the aim of this thesis to do both.

If the purpose of urban design is to guide the urban development process, urban design must consider what the built environment should be like, as well as how it is developed. Considerations about what the built environment should be like are normative, as no choice can be made without values. Considerations about how the built environment is developed are procedural, as they are a matter of how to get things done. Thus, the issues of normativity and process are central to the understanding of urban design.

While the practice of urban design and the theoretical foundations for this practice constitute the fields of investigation of this thesis, the issues of normativity and process constitute its foci of investigation. Thus, the theoretical study is an investigation of how the issues of normativity and process are conceptualized in theory, while the

empirical study is an investigation of how these issues are dealt with in practice.

THE THEORETICAL STUDY

As a professional practice, urban design is based on theories and methodologies of urban design. Although urban design practitioners also work on the basis of tacit knowledge, tradition and experience (Schön, 1983), the theories and methodologies which are applied play an important role for for the way urban design professionals understand and exercise their practice. Even though urban design may be defined as an independent field, both theoretically and in practice, it is closely associated, and partly overlapping, with both architecture and urban planning.

While architectural theory – in as far as it deals with the shaping of urban space – and urban design theory are difficult to distinguish, planning theory is more distinct. There is a historical reason for this: The disciplines of urban design and planning have both branched off from architecture. But while planning has been defined as an independent discipline for about a century (Friedman, 1987), urban design only emerged as an independent discipline in the mid-1960s, as a reaction to the shift of focus within planning from the physical qualities of built space to land use, infrastructure and social issues (Middleton, 1982). And because of the widespread institutional divide between the educational environments of architecture and urban design on the one hand, and urban planning on the other, theorization is to a large extent divided into separate realms.

The practice of urban design and planning, however, mostly takes place in the same realm; that of public planning and the city. As there are different definitions of the purpose and scope of urban design and planning as fields of activity, despite their related nature, this may lead to blur and confusion by their practice. The related nature of urban design and planning means that the practice of urban design, from a planning point of view, may include objectives that may be secondary, or even irrelevant, from an urban design point of view. If the practice of urban design is not informed by planning theory, it may lead to contested views of the purpose of urban design, which may ultimately reduce the quality of its outcomes. Therefore, the practice of urban design cannot be fully understood without an investigation of urban planning theory.

Urban design and planning theory both have their own definitions of what makes a good city and their own understandings of how the city works. Yet, normative theories about the city, as well theorizations about the processes that shape the city and urban life are objects of a third theoretical field; that of urban theory. As part of the social sciences, urban theory is broader in scope and not necessarily as action oriented as urban design and planning theory. And although urban theory is sometimes considered a part of planning theory (see chapter 4), it stands out, nonetheless, as an independent theoretical field.

Urban theory deals with the social, economic and cultural processes that impact the creation and use of urban space. The practice of urban design is contingent to these processes, and an understanding of them is therefore conditional to its success. Often, however, this larger societal context of urban design is poorly understood, or

even neglected, by urban designers. This constitutes a major risk of failure for urban design. Instead of considering the social, economic and cultural workings of society as external to urban design, they must be incorporated as a basis for its practice. Urban theory, in other words, makes up an important theoretic field for urban design, which must be investigated in order to reach an understanding of the scope for urban design in the context of contemporary society.

As this overview indicates, the theoretical foundations of urban design are interdisciplinary. The interdisciplinary nature of urban design, has implications implications for urban design research. While much research is done by single disciplines and from a narrow, unilateral point of view, urban design research, like urban design itself, must be interdisciplinary (Batchelor & Lewis, 1985). Unlike the conventional way of conducting a PhD project, which is to make an in-depth analysis of a specific field of inquiry, the research question of this thesis calls for an 'in-breadth' analysis of a number of different fields.

Obviously, what is gained in breadth by this approach, is lost in depth. It is therefore not the ambition of this thesis to provide an exhaustive account of the areas which it covers. Rather, the aim is to spread new light over well-known grounds by combining different theoretical fields. The intention is to provide a frame of discussion which is substantial enough to support the arguments and conclusions that are put forward, well knowing that it may be expanded and developed in numerous ways.

THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

Most urban design practice takes place in the public domain. Although urban design schemes are typically initiated by urban design professionals, they must be negotiated with with a host of different actors and institutions, at the preparatory stage as well as during implementation. By nature, the practice of urban design is therefore an interdisciplinary process (Batchelor & Lewis, 1985; Chapman & Larkham, 1995; Madanipour, 1996). In order to understand the practice of urban design, an investigation of urban design practice must include not only the reasoning and actions of urban designers, but also of the other actors involved in the process.

The aim of the empirical part of this PhD thesis is to reach an understanding of the interplay between intentions of plans and urban designers and planners on the one hand, and the interests of other actors, such as developers and their consulting architects on the other, and how the urban development process impacts the shaping of the built environment. While plans express the intentions of the planning body, typically a City planning office, no matter how broad their scope is, they may not necessarily coincide with the interests of other actors of the urban development process. If other interests are not compatible with the intentions of a plan, a conflict emerges which must be negotiated in order for development to take place.

If the planning body insists that development must comply with the plan, the result may be that no development will take place. As the ultimate purpose of urban design is to guide the urban development process, the planning body may therefore have to accommodate developments which do not comply with the plan, in order to accomplish this purpose. And in such cases, the resulting urban development will

be different from what was anticipated in the plan.

The process of urban development, in other words, may be as influential to the resulting urban development as the plan itself. If urban design must improve its capacity to guide urban development, it is therefore necessary, not only to examine the quality of plans, but also to achieve a better understanding of the urban development process.

Methodological Approach

The urban development process cannot be clearly delimited as an object of study. As Campbell (1998) notes, "urbanists have a hard time isolating phenomena from context because it is this context itself … that is the subject of study" (p. 2). The urban development process involves many different actors with different interests, and it may take place in very different physical as well as institutional settings. To obtain sufficient knowledge to be able to quantify and generalize research findings would therefore require immense resources.

Furthermore, to understand the nature of the urban development process requires insight into its institutional framework, as well as the reasoning of its different actors. The urban development process must therefore be understood holistically, and the relevant knowledge which can be generated from studying it is qualitative rather than quantitative. This has implications for the methodological approach to the study of the urban development process, as well as for how research findings may be validated.

Because of these characteristics of the urban development process as an object of study, the empirical part of this PhD thesis has been organized as a case study. Yin (1994) defines a case study as

… an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.

– p. 13

Yin develops this definition further by stating that "in general, case studies are the preferred strategy , when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed, [and] when the investigator has little control over events…" (as opposed to experimental research) (ibid., p. 1). Furthermore, "the case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events…" (ibid., p 3).

Case studies may be organized in different ways, depending on the nature of the object of study and the research questions of the study. Yin distinguishes between single-case and multiple-case designs, although he does not consider the two to be methodologically different. While a single-case study may require less resources, the case must be more carefully selected and may require a pilot-case study, in order to assert whether the case is appropriate for the research question at hand. Multiple-case studies may require more resources, but as they involve more cases, they are less vulnerable to misinterpretations caused by the specifics of one case. Yin is in fact a little vague on this point, as he simply contends that the evidence from multiple-case

studies 'is often considered more compelling'.[1]

For multiple-case studies to be meaningful, they must follow a replication logic. The study of each case must share the same design, in order for results to be compared across the cases. This is important in order to determine whether replication has taken place, either because the cases produce similar results (literal replication), or because they produce different results, but for predictable reasons (theoretical replication).

Yin identifies three different types of cases (or case study designs); critical cases, extreme or unique cases, and revelatory cases. By his definition, critical cases serve to test well-formulated theories, following the logic that 'if it holds for this, it holds for all'. Extreme or unique cases serve to document rare phenomena, while revelatory cases may provide new insights by accessing previously inaccessible situations (ibid.).

Commonly, a broader distinction is made between typical and exceptional (or extreme) cases. Among the exceptional cases, Campbell (1998) in his focus on the application of case studies to urban research, distinguishes between three further types of cases, apart from critical cases: Prescient cases feature phenomena which are ahead of their time and may therefore be precursory for development elsewhere (e.g. Los Angeles). Exaggerated cases feature extreme phenomena which only occur in few places (e.g. New York), while deviant cases feature abnormal conditions which may reveal phenomena which cannot be detected under normal circumstances (e.g. West Berlin).

Case Study Design

In order to conduct a case study, it must be considered what the questions of the study are, what data – or information[2] – is relevant in order to answer the questions, what kind data should be collected and how, as well as how the results should be analyzed (Yin, 1994). Unless a case study is purely exploratory, the initial step of a case study design is to formulate the study's propositions – or hypotheses – which form the basis for formulating the research questions. The nature of the research questions, apart from being determinant of whether a case study would be the appropriate methodology, have implications for the kind of information that is relevant. The nature of the relevant information, in turn, determines what sources of information may be relevant.

Case studies may rely on different sources of information, such as documents and archival records, interviews, direct observations and participant-observation, and even physical artifacts. Different sources of information have different advantages and disadvantages in terms of their availability and accessibility, relevance, precision, and bias, as well as the effort which is required to access them.

Different sources of information may provide different types of information, which call for different types of analysis and interpretation. While some types of information, like most document and archival information, may establish facts, other types of information, as typically from observations or interviews, may be subject to interpretation. All types of information however, must be carefully evaluated in terms of their significance and meaning.

As interviews play an important role in my case study, and as they are also the methodologically most challenging way of gathering information, interviewing

[1] This may be due to the widespread understanding that case studies must be validated through generalizability. See below for a further discussion of the issue of validation.

[2] While Yin refers to data, or evidence, I prefer the term information. The notions of data and evidence give an impression of something unambiguous and quantifiable, characteristics which does not necessarily apply to the kind of information which is gathered in case studies.

requires special attention. Yin considers interviews as 'verbal reports' only, which entail problems of bias, poor recall, and poor or inaccurate articulation, which should preferably be corroborated by information from other sources (ibid.). This approach to interviewing may be described by the 'mining metaphor' (Kvale, 1994). By the 'mining approach', knowledge is seen as something which is hidden in nuggets of data or meaning. And the interviewer is seen as someone who digs out the nuggets and purifies them into knowledge. A fundamentally different approach to interviewing – which is adopted in this case study – may be described by the 'traveling metaphor'. By this approach, the interviewer is seen as a traveler who travels through an uncharted territory which he or she explores along the way. And the interviewer's experiences are described qualitatively in the form of narratives:

The possible meanings of the original narratives are unfolded through the interpretation of the traveler; the narratives are transformed into new narratives that convince because of their aesthetic form, and are validated through the impression they make on the audience.

– ibid., p. 18

The 'qualitative research interview', as Kvale terms it, is literally an 'inter view' – an exchange of views between two people on a topic of common interest. Hence, "the fundamental object is no longer objective data which must be quantified, but meaningful relations which must be interpreted" (ibid., p. 24). This expresses a change in the conception of how knowledge is established, from external observation and experimental manipulation, to understanding through conversation. The interviewee, in other words, does not simply give answers to questions prepared by an expert, but formulates his or her understanding of the topic through dialogue.

This way of understanding interviews has implications for the questions of objectivity and bias. The traditional view is that researchers must be impartial in order to be objective. But when interviews are performed as a dialogue, the researcher cannot stay impartial and the knowledge which is generated is therefore considered biassed and subjective. But as the knowledge which is generated through interviews is mediated through words and not through figures, Kvale dismisses the dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity and adopts a hermeneutical understanding of knowledge as inter-subjective. By this view,

true knowledge is sought through rational argumentation among those who take part in a discourse. And the media for discourse is language, which is neither objective and universal, nor subjective and individual, but inter-subjective.

– ibid. p. 74

In opposition to conventional views, Kvale advices against a strictly methodological approach to interviewing. The strength of qualitative interviewing is openness, and the quality of an interview relies more on the researcher's knowledge, empathy and sensitivity towards subject and interviewee, than on methodological rigor. He even recommends the use of leading questions, something which is normally considered

a *faux pas* in interviewing, as it may help to check the reliability of answers and to verify interpretations:

Hence, in opposition to popular views, leading questions do not always reduce the reliability of the interview, but may even increase it; deliberately leading questions are not used too much, but rather too little, in today's qualitative research interviews.

– ibid., p. 157

The downplaying of methodological rigor and the emphasis of openness and flexibility demands careful preparation and high competence on behalf of the interviewer. But it also allows the interviewer to make more use of his or her skills, knowledge, and intuition. Kvale therefore likens interviewing to a craft, "… much closer to art than the standardized methods of the social sciences" (ibid., p. 92).

Validation

The question of validity has been subject to major debate in the social sciences. Through much of the twentieth century, different strands have argued against each other about whether qualitative methods may be considered scientifically legitimate, or whether only quantitative methods may warrant scientific results. In sociology, much of this dispute has been over surveys versus case studies, as the preferred methodology within the discipline. While surveys operate with quantitative data and can be validated through statistical generalization, case studies cannot be quantified and have therefore been criticized for lacking representativeness and rigor (Hamel, 1993).

The problem of generalizability – 'to learn from one and understand many' (Campbell, 1998) – of case study findings has been one of the most persistent problems of the methodology. Different strategies have been followed in the attempt to improve the generalizability of cases studies, such as to pick typical, or representative, cases rather than extreme cases, or to do multiple-case studies in order to render generalization probable. Yet these strategies are problematic, not only because of the difficulty of separating the object of a case study from its context, and hence to identify the number of variables, but also because they are contradictory to the special capacity of case studies to make in-depth investigations of the particular and the aberrant. And as such strategies do not alter the fact that case studies involve qualitative information, they may at best lead to quasi-generalizability.

In order to alleviate the problem, Yin (1994), who shares the view that case studies can be generalized, distinguishes between statistical and analytical generalization. Statistical generalization, which is used in surveys, relies on mathematical formulas to calculate the statistical probability of phenomena on the basis of sample size and the number of variables. By analytical generalization however, "… the investigator is striving to generalize a particular set of results to some broader theory" (ibid., p. 36). This approach, thus, requires a rich theoretical framework, in order to identify the conditions under which a particular phenomenon is likely to be found or not. But also on this point, Yin is rather vague, as he fails to give a clear definition of the

circumstances under which analytical generalization may be claimed. To a large extent, analytical generalization therefore seems to be a matter of argument, thus making it less rigorous than the notion seems to indicate.

Contrary to Yin, Flyvbjerg holds that case studies may be validated through transferability, rather than generalizability.[3] While generalizability is applied by the researcher, transferability is applied by the reader:

Transferability is a process performed by the readers *of research. Readers note the specifics of the research situation and compare them to the specifics of an environment or situation with which they are familiar. If there are enough similarities between the two situations, readers may be able to infer that the results of the research would be the same or similar in their own situation. In other words, they 'transfer' the results of a study to another context.*

– Palmquist et al., 2003, p. 3, emphasis in original

While generalizability offers coherent interpretations in all situations, transferability requires individual judgment of what may, and may not, be applied under different circumstances. Therefore, transferability, unlike generalizability "… does not involve broad claims, but invites the readers of research to make connections between elements of a study and their own experience" (ibid., p. 1).

The nature of transferability has implications for the way research findings are presented. In order for research findings to be transferable, the researcher must provide a detailed account of the research setting and provide a rich, or 'thick', description of methods and findings. This is necessary in order for the reader to be able to make an informed judgment of the transferability of the research findings.

Here, Yin's (1994) distinction between a study's construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability may be helpful, even if the criteria for their fulfillment may be disagreed upon. Construct validity is a matter of establishing the correct operational measures for the phenomena which are studied. The study's sources, in other words, must be appropriate for the information which is sought. Internal validity is a matter of establishing causal relationships – or chains of argument – which provide sufficient basis for making inferences, and to make sure that important factors have not been overlooked. External validity is achieved by establishing the domain to which a study's findings can be generalized – or by the level of transferability, as judged by the reader. And finally, reliability is a matter of demonstrating that information gathering procedures and other operations of a study can be repeated (not replicated) with the same results.

As a relatively recent concept, transferability is particularly relevant in case studies in which generalizability is basically impossible, as the methodology does not provide the necessary statistical basis for generalization. Furthermore, generalizable studies often indicate phenomena that apply to broad categories, while transferability can provide some of the hows and whys behind results (Palmquist et al., 2003).

However, there are certain limitations to transferability. Rather than the capacity to apply research results to every situation in the future, transferability allows for temporary understanding. Similar methods may be applied to other, similar situations,

[3] Personal note from a PhD course on 'Case Study Research and Narratology', held by Bent Flyvbjerg at Aalborg University, September 20-24, 1999

modified on the basis of new results, applied to yet another situation, and so on. Thus, "[t]ransferability takes into account the fact that there are no absolute answers to given situations; rather, every individual must determine their own best practices" (ibid., p. 5).

Furthermore, it is impossible to make an absolute and complete description of a study, no matter how carefully the context of the research situation and the basis for the study's conclusions is accounted for. A potential danger therefore exists, in that missing details about a study may lead to misconceptions on behalf of the reader, about its transferability.

The Case Study of the Skejbygård and Seden Syd Plans

The purpose of the case study of this thesis is to investigate the normative bases and the process of urban design in practice, in order to understand how they impact the shaping of the built environment. The study is based on the observation that there is often a gap between the intended urban form and the resulting urban form in urban design projects. And it is the hypothesis of the study, that this gap is caused mainly by a misfit between the normative bases of urban design and the interests of other actors of the urban development process on the one hand, and by a poor understanding of the process of urban design on behalf of urban designers, on the other. As the overarching goal of the thesis is to point to ways in which urban design may be reconceptualized in order to improve its capacity to guide the urban development process, the aim of the study is to identify shortcomings in current urban design practice as a means to this end.

In order to fulfill the purpose of the case study, the cases (in the following I shall explain why I have picked two cases) must meet a number of criteria. First, they must feature examples of urban developments which have been based on plans with high ambitions for urban design. Many urban areas are developed on the basis of plans with only little, if any, considerations for urban design, and would therefore not be suitable for the purpose of investigating urban design.

Second, the cases must feature examples of urban development processes which have, to a significant degree, resulted in different developments than the ones originally planned. Third, the cases must feature examples of relatively recent urban development processes. Some issues and problems pertaining to the practice of urban design may change over time. Recent cases, therefore, are more likely to feature issues which are relevant to the current practice of urban design than older cases. in addition, the best way to understand the motives of different actors and the reasoning behind their actions is through interviewing. And interviewees must be alive, they must be identifiable, and they should have a reasonably clear recollection of events.

Finally, the case study must be doable. The cases' sources must therefore be accessible, and the areas of urban development, as well as relevant people, archives, etc., must be within physical reach. Furthermore, the context of the cases should be as familiar to the researcher as possible, in order to make the most of his or her knowledge and experience.

On the basis of these considerations, I have tested a number of possible cases, out

Figure 1.1
Map of Denmark, showing the major cities and the locations of the Skejbygård and Seden Syd areas. Not to scale

of which I have selected two, the Skejbygård Plan in the city of Aarhus, and the Seden Syd Plan, in Odense, Denmark (fig. 1.1) as the most suitable cases for my study.

Both of these cases feature plans with high ambitions for urban design. The urban design scheme of the Skejbygård Plan was prepared by an architect professor, head of the department of urban design at the Aarhus School of Architecture at the time, who was engaged as an external consultant by the Aarhus City Planning Department for the project. The urban design scheme of the Seden Syd Plan was prepared an architect planner who was a staff member of the Odense City Planning Department. While the Skejbygård Plan was heralded as an avant-garde project, based on breaking new theories of architecture and urban design, the idea of the Seden Syd Plan was to reinstall classical virtues of urban design. Yet, both of the plans were equally ambitious in their enterprise.

Both of the plans were prepared in the late 1980s and adopted in 1988 (the Seden Syd Plan) and 1991 (the Skejbygård Plan) respectively. In Seden Syd, development began immediately – in fact one development was initiated prior to the formal adoption of the plan – while in Skejbygård, development was stalling for a couple of years after the plan had been adopted. Although none of the areas of Skejbygård and Seden Syd

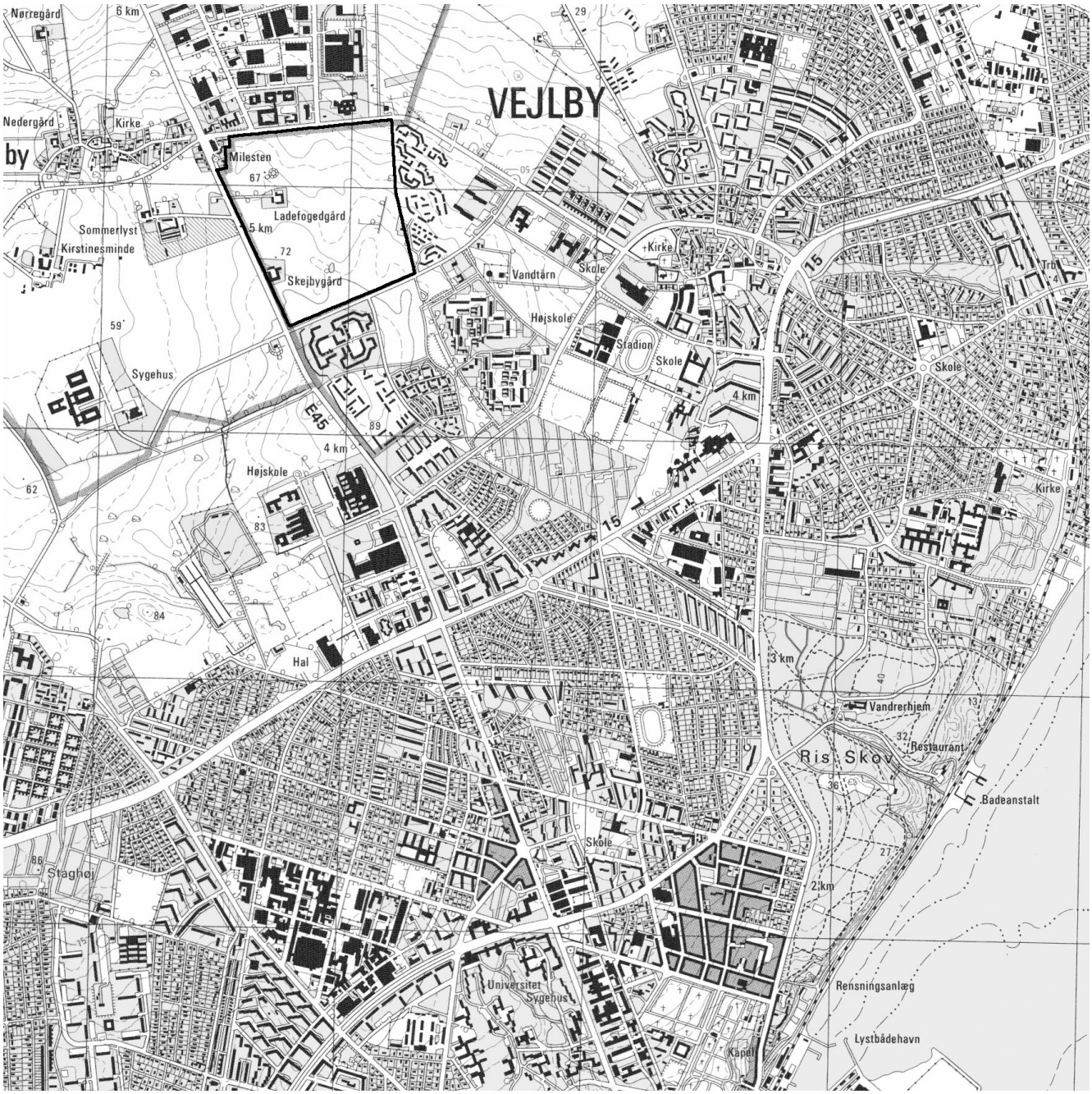


Figure 1.2
The location of the Skejbygård area in the northern part of Aarhus
Scale: 1:25.000

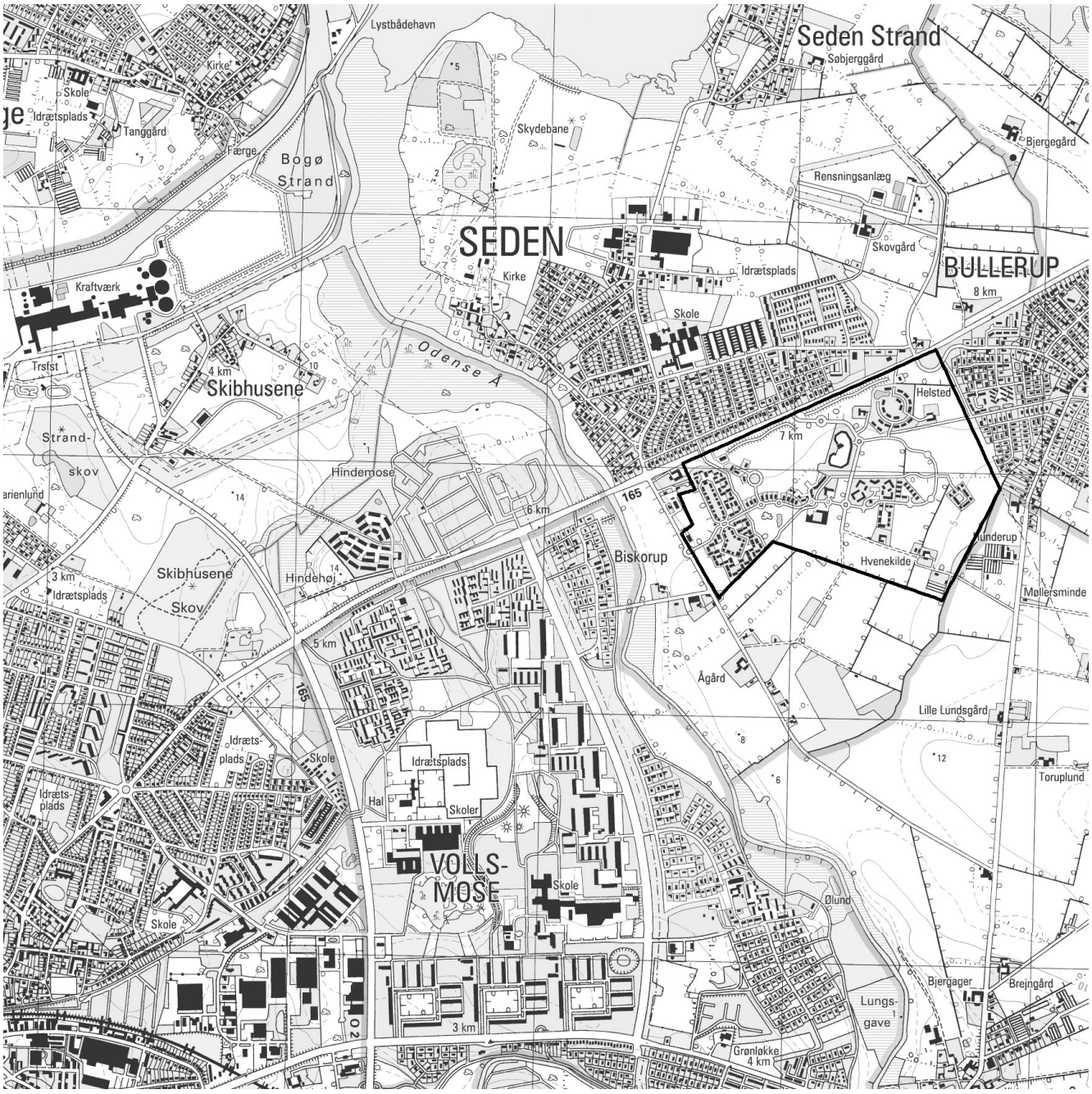


Figure 1.3
The location of the Seden Syd area in the north-eastern part of Odense
Scale: 1:25.000

were fully developed at the time of the case study – development has continued in both places during the course of the study – sufficient development had taken place prior to the study, in order to identify deviations from the plans.

As I have a practice experience in the fields of site planning, housing design, and urban design from working for some years at Danish architectural offices, I am familiar with the context of urban design practice in Denmark. And as I was living in Odense at the time of the case study, the sites of both cases were readily within reach, the traveling time between Odense and Aarhus being approximately an hour and a half.

In order to reach a thorough understanding of the urban development process, an in-depth case study, investigating as many aspects of the case, and consulting as many relevant sources as possible, is preferable. As I have not been in the position to engage more people in conducting the study, my resources have been limited to my own working capacity within the limits of my PhD study. This consideration would favor a single-case design. By a single-case design however, it would be difficult to determine the extent to which the specifics of the case were conditioned by the particular context of the case. This consideration favors a multiple-case design, by which the cases may serve as mutual references; not for statistical reasons, but simply to be able to reflect the research findings in a broader context. It is the balancing of these two consideration, therefore, which has motivated my choice of doing a case study of two cases.

In the attempt to reduce potential structural differences between the two cases which might reduce their applicability for mutual referencing, they have also been selected for their structural similarities: Both cases feature greenfield development on the perimeter of medium size Danish cities. Both cases feature mainly housing (public and private) on relatively large areas (the Skejbygård area: 46 Ha., the Seden Syd area (1st and 2nd development zone): 81 Ha.). And finally, the management of the plans have been carried out within the framework of City planning offices in both cases.

The Information Sources of the Case Study

The case study relies on different types of information from a variety of sources in the form of documents, archival records, interviews, and field observations.

The two central documents are the so-called local plans for two areas. According to the Danish Law on Planning (Miljø- og Energiministeriet, 1996), physical planning in Denmark takes place at four different levels. National planning is carried out by the Ministry of Environment, Regional planning is carried out on the county level, while municipal planning and local planning is carried out on the municipal level. Planning on each level must comply with planning on higher levels. As the most detailed level of physical planning, local planning regulates issues such as detailed land use (in compliance with the municipal plan); street and path layouts; site layouts; volume, design, and density of developments; use of individual buildings; design, use and maintenance of open spaces; and preservation of landscape features and existing development (ibid.). Local plans thus regulate most of the issues pertaining to urban design. Local plans are legal documents, and all major development must

be in compliance with the local plan. Minor exemptions may be granted however, as long as they do not violate the stated purpose of the local plan. A typical local plan (and also the Skejbygård and Seden Syd Plans) consists of four major components: A verbal *description* of the content of the local plan; the local plan's *regulations*, listed as legal clauses; a *local plan map* linking the regulations to the area of the local plan; and an *illustration map* (masterplan), visualizing the intended final state of development.

The other documents which have been examined in the case study are local plan proposals for the Skejbygård and Seden Syd areas (local plans must be put on public approbation prior to their adoption, and the final version may therefore be different from the proposal), the current municipal plans of Aarhus and Odense at the time of the adoption of the respective local plans (municipal plans are revised continually), planning reports, project information booklets and guides to urban ecology and crime prevention (Skejbygård), and newspaper articles.

The archival material used in the case study concerns the preparation and administration of the two local plans and is retrieved from the archives of the city administrations of Odense and Aarhus. The archival records comprise minutes, briefs and internal communiqués from various parts of the city administrations; letters and applications; and project descriptions and other project material concerning development projects within the two areas.

The interviews form the keystone of the cases study's information sources. 25 interviews have been conducted with 25 people (one person was interviewed twice, and on one occasion, two people took part in the interview, apart from myself). The interview setup is the same for both cases, and the people who were interviewed distribute into six categories: The authors of the two plans, staff members of the City Planning Offices (other than the author of the plan, who, in the Seden Syd case was himself a staff member), staff members of the City Real Estate Offices, public housing developers, private housing developers, and consulting architects and engineers (Table 1.1).

The authors of the plans are key interviewees in order to understand the normative content of the plans as well as the development process. While the author of the Skejbygård Plan was an external consultant to the Aarhus City Planning Office, the author of the Seden Syd Plan was a staff member of the Odense City Planning Office.

Figure 1.4
The Skejbygård and Seden Syd local plans

Table 1.1 Overview of Number of interviewees by Case and Category

	The Skejbygård Case	The Seden Syd Case
Authors of plans	1	1
(Other) City Planning Office staff	1	2
City Real Estate Office staff	1	1
Public housing developers	2	2
Private housing developers	1	3
Consulting architects	3	7
Total number of interviewees	9	16

Yet, in both cases, the authors of the plans were also involved in the subsequent management of the plans.

The staff members of the Aarhus and Odense City Planning Offices have been interviewed in order to get a broader insight into the management of the plans, as well as into the planning practices of the City Planning Offices in general. As in both cases, all land within the planning area was owned by the City prior to their development, the City Real Estate Office which is responsible for the sale of public land to developers, have been a key actor in both cases. Therefore, also members of the City Real Estate Offices have been interviewed.

In both cases, most development consists of public and private housing. Therefore, the key developers are housing developers. In order to assert whether the two forms of housing give rise to different issues by their development, both public and private developers have been interviewed. Both the Skejbygård and the Seden Syd areas comprise standard (single family) house developments. As all standard houses have been developed on an individual basis (not in series) in both areas, no standard house

Table 1.2 Overview of Interview Questions

Questions for the authors of the plans and (other) City Planning Office staff
How was the area of the local plan selected?
How has the planning process evolved?
What were the aims of the plan (architectural, social, technical, other)?
What was considered the best ways of achiving these aims?
What factors have impacted the plan (traffic, other planning initiatives, special concerns, other)?
When was the planning process initiated?
What was the planning paradigm (of the City Planning Office) at the time of planning?
Which staff members (training background) were involved in the planning?
What is the estimation of the planning results (so far)?
What factors are estimated to have had an impact on the planning process and results?
What is the estimated effect of this impact (if any)?

Questions for the City Real Estate Office
What is the sales policy of the City Real Estate Office?
How does the sales policy of the Real Estate Office correspond to the planning policies of the City Planning Office?
What is the estimation of the collaboration with the City Planning Office?
What are the criteria for the calculation of the price of land?
What types of plots are in demand?
How (and to which extent) does the City Real Estate Office meet the demand?
How has the demand for plots in the local plan area been, compare to other areas?
How does land sale (and demand) comply with the development phase zones of the local plan?
How does land sale (and demand) comply with the concept of planning by large lots?

developers have been interviewed however, as the urban design issues pertaining to a single standard house development are limited in proportion to the resources required to perform the interview.

Finally, the consulting architects who have designed the individual developments have been interviewed in order to understand the reasoning behind their designs, as well as the process of their implementation.

For resource reasons, not all developers and architects operating in the two areas have been included in the case study. According to the original setup, two public developers and two private developers and their respective consulting architects were included in both cases. Architects and developers were selected in pairs per development. While the selection of consulting architects was contingent upon the selected developer, all developers were selected at random.

In the Skejbygård area, only one private multiple-unit development had been developed at the time of the case study. Therefore, only one private developer was interviewed in the Skejbygård case. In the Seden Syd case, two private developers

Table 1.2 continued

Questions for developers
What were the criteria for the choice of site?
What were the intentions for the project?
What kind of customers/users did the project target?
What requirements did the customers/users demand?
What is the estimation of the collaboration with the planning authorities and the consulting architects?
What is the estimation of the resulting development?
What factors are estimated to have had an impact on the development process and the resulting development?

Questions for consulting architects
How did the office get the assignment?
How has the design process evolved?
What intentions (architectural and other) did the developer have for the project?
What intentions (architectural and other) did the architect have for the project?
What was the architectural paradigm (of the office) at the time of the project?
What is the estimation of the requirements of the local plan?
What is the estimation of the collaboration with the planning authorities and the developer?
What is the estimation of the resulting development?
What factors are estimated to have had an impact on the development process and the resulting development?

declined to participate in an interview. Meanwhile, interviews had already been conducted with the architects of the two developments in question. One further private developer was only available for a telephone interview, but his recollection of events was too poor to serve as a basis for the case study. Therefore, two other private developers were selected. In addition, as the Seden Syd case was the first case which was studied, one further architect was interviewed in order to obtain basic background information. In total, this explains the higher number of consulting architects interviewed in the Seden Syd case, compare to the original setup. It so happened, that the private developers who were finally selected for the case study (including the Skejbygård case) were all designer-developers, using in-house architects.

All interviewees were selected for their role and knowledge in relation to the issue of the interview, rather than their position or professional training. Thus, both directors/partners, senior staff and regular staff members, with both academic and technical training backgrounds, have been interviewed. However, all City Planning Office staff and consulting architect interviewees were architects.

All interviews were conducted using a written list of questions (table 1.2). But because of the semi-structured and open ended nature of qualitative interviewing, the questions were used rather as a checklist than in their literal form. As the interviews evolved as dialogues, several other questions were asked, depending on the issues which were discussed. In this way, plenty of information was generated on issues which had not been anticipated prior to the interviews.

One interview was conducted as a telephone interview, while the rest were conducted face to face at the interviewees' respective workplaces. 21 of the interviews were conducted using a tape recorder and a notepad, while the rest were conducted using only a notepad. Most of the interviews lasted for 45-60 minutes, while only a few interviews were either shorter or longer.

Most of the recorded interviews have been transcribed in verbatim with annotations of nonverbal expressions such as tone of voice, laughs, and smiles. Some of the recorded interviews have only been summarized. The interviews which were not recorded were summarized on the day of the interview, while the recorded interviews were transcribed or summarized within few weeks after the interviews had taken place.

The interview transcripts and summaries amount to a total of around 250 pages which form the basis of the interview information. But as a control measure, the recordings have been extensively referenced during the writing process. Because of the differences between oral and written language, and in the case of obvious misuse of terms, literal quotations used in the text have in some instances been adapted in order to preserve the meaning of the quotations in written form, and outside the context of the interviews.

In the text, all interviewees are referred to by their roles in relation to the case study (e.g. author of the plan, City Real Estate officer, developer, architect) and not by their names. There are three reasons for that. First, their roles are relevant in order to be able to contextualize their views and actions. Second, although I am critical of the views and actions of some of the interviewees, I have no intention of putting them on public display for what I regard as failures. Third, as some of the interviewees touch

upon controversial issues, naming them might cause them unnecessary trouble.[4] Even though the identities of some interviewees may be detectable to people with inside knowledge, I therefore find it most appropriate not to mention any names.

Apart from documents, archival records, and interviews, the last type of information source used in the case study is field observations. Both the Skejbygård area and the Seden Syd area have been visited several times during the case study. Field observations have been annotated on maps and documented by photographs.

In order to contextualize and preserve the predominantly qualitative nature of the case study findings, and in order to make them more inviting to the reader, the case study has been written up in a narrative form in two chapters.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The dual focus of this thesis of the normativity and process of urban design has guided the way the remainder of the thesis has been organized. The first part of the thesis deals with the issue of normativity, both in practice, in terms of the case study, and in theory, in terms of the theoretical investigation. In the same logic, the second part of the thesis deals with the issue of process. Each chapter reflects a separate realm of investigation whether empirical or theoretical. While each separate chapter offers a conclusion on the topic of the chapter, the final chapter offers a general conclusion across the individual chapters.

Chapter 1, Skejbygård and Seden Syd: Two Visions of the Suburb, is the first chapter on the case study, and discusses the normative content of the two plans, as well as the problems pertaining to the visions of the two plans. Chapter 2, Visions of Urban Form, discusses different normative positions in urban design theory, while chapter 4, Normative Theories of Urban Planning, discusses different positions on the issue of what urban planning is aiming to achieve. Chapter 5, Views and Visions of the City, concludes the first part of the thesis with a discussion of normative positions at different scales in urban theory.

In the second part of the thesis, the cases are revisited in chapter 6, Skejbygård and Seden Syd: The Urban Development Process, which focusses on the process of implementing the two plans. Chapter 7, The Process of Urban Design, theorizes the procedural implications of different approaches to urban design, while chapter 8, The Processes of the City, outlines some important developments in society which have implications for urban design. Finally, chapter 9, Conclusion, summarizes and concludes the thesis, discusses its limitations and outlines the implications of its findings.

[4] On some occasions, the interviewees have asked not to be quoted for something they have said. Such requests have of course been respected.

One day in the late 1980s, the head of the Aarhus City Planning Office was invited to give a presentation on one of the office's latest urban design initiatives to the Department of Urban Design at the Aarhus School of Architecture. This was nothing unusual as such. Due to personal contacts between the City Planning Office and the faculty of the Department of Urban Design, municipal planners were ever so often invited to talk about urban design and planning in practice. These events were seen

SKEJBYGÅRD AND SEDEN SYD: TWO VISIONS OF THE SUBURB 2

as opportunities for discussion and mutual learning. On the one hand, students could learn about the everyday challenges of public planning, and on the other, the practitioners could stay tuned on the latest developments within urban design theory. What was unusual in this particular case however, was the course of the event and the consequenses of it.

The theme of the presentation which the planner gave, was an urban development plan for a 'business park' which the City Planning Office had just prepared. The business park was designed in the Neo-Rationalistic style and was a major planning initiative of the City Planning Department. As Neo-Rationalism was a dominant trend within urban design theory in the late 1980s, although its practical application to urban planning in Denmark had been moderate, the planner felt proud about the scheme which, from his practice point of view, was cutting edge.

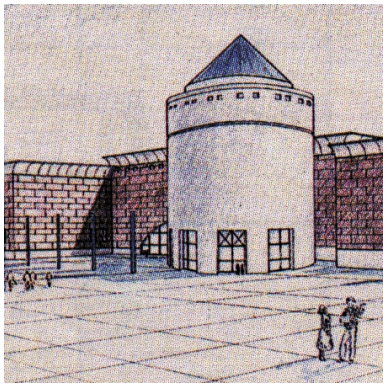


Figure 2.1
Perspective drawing from 1985 competition entry by students from the Department of Urban Design, Aarhus School of Architecture

But it was a transitional time for urban design teaching at the Aarhus School of Architecture, and the historically oriented Neo-Rationalism which had previously been promulgated by the Department of Urban Design, had now faded away in favour of the new concept of architectural deconstruction. Whereas Neo-Rationalism was based upon a historic view of the European city, emphasising classical urban spaces and typological elements such as streets and squares, and the contrasting relation between monuments and the mass of residential buildings, architectural deconstruction appeared refreshingly new.

Originally developed by Derrida, and via the application to literary criticism and art criticism, deconstruction was transferred to architecture as a mode for architectural design by American architects and architecture theorists (Proudfoot, 1991). In brief, the essence of architectural deconstruction is to question traditional standards for the function, technology and aesthetics of architecture, as expressed by Cartesian rationality and Euclidian geometry. Although the concept had been around since the beginning of the 1980s and several projects had been published in the architectural magazines, the real breakthrough for architectural deconstruction came with an exhibition on 'Deconstructivist Architecture' at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York in 1988 (Glusberg, 1991).

Influenced by these new theoretical currents the students harshly criticized the plan which the planner presented. Contrary to the planner's expectations, the students deemed the plan old-fashioned and regressive. The planner who felt that his office had produced a plan with high ambitions of urban design, was distressed by the students' criticism and asked what, in the students' view, should have been done instead.

This led to discussions of Neo-Rationalism versus architectural deconstruction,

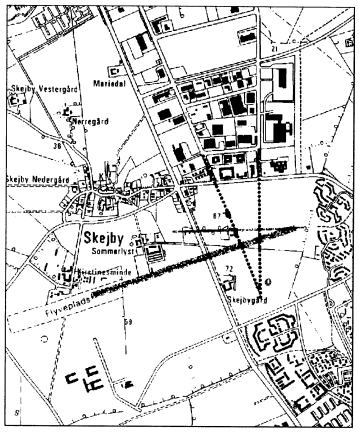
and out of these discussions the idea eventually emerged to test the principles of architectural deconstruction in practice. After some preparatory work, the idea gained support both in the city administration and politically. The suburban area of Skejbygård was chosen for the purpose, and as none of the staff of the City Planning Department were familiar with the concept of architectural deconstruction, the head of the Department of Urban Design at the Aarhus School of Architecture was hired as a consultant to develop the plan.

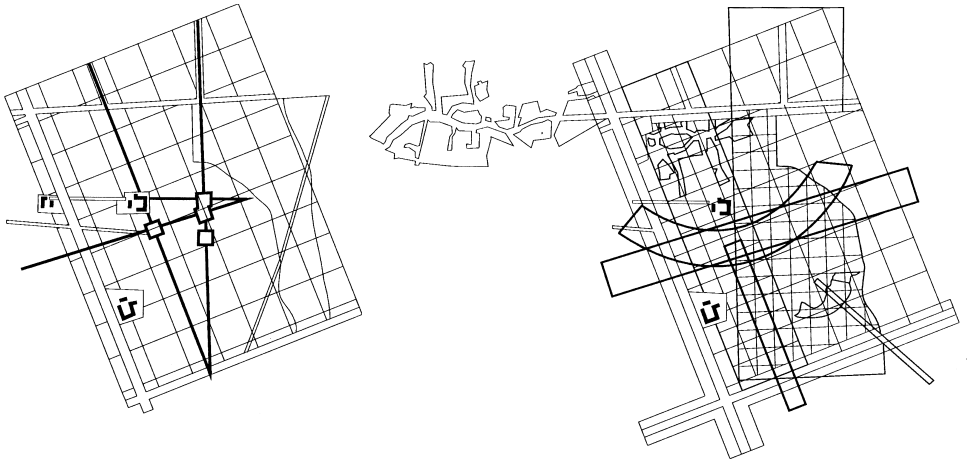
So, the Skejbygård Plan was born in the turmoil of architectural discourse as a progressive attempt to apply the latest architectural theories to urban design practise in Aarhus. From the very outset, the Skejbygård Plan was intended to be the showcase, not only for the City Planning Department's image as progressive with regard to urban design, but also for the application of architectural deconstruction in Danish planning. And as the Skejbygård Plan was soon regarded the most ambitious undertaking of the City Planning Office, the project would also become the 'testing ground' for a number of other progressive planning initiatives.

The ambitious spirit of the Skejbygård Plan was sustained by a number of favorable circumstances. At the time when the plan was prepared there was a recession within the construction sector. And at the same time, the City of Aarhus had plenty of land which was zoned for urban development. Thus, pressure was low and there was sufficient time for a more thorough and careful preparation process. And therefore, it was possible to extend the time spent for the preparation of the plan with a full year, compared to normal procedures.

The masterplan

Until the time of the Skejbygård Plan, architectural deconstruction had mainly been applied in projects for buildings, and there were few, if any, examples of its application to urban design and planning. One celebrated exception was the 1982 prize-winning proposal by Tschumi for the Parc de la Villette in Paris. Although the task concerned the planning and design of a park, the mere scale of the project, and the numerous buildings and activities which were planned for the park, made it share many characteristics of an urban design project.





The basic principle of Tschumi's project was the superimposition of three ordering systems of points, lines and surfaces. "According to Tschumi, each system is conceived of as an idealised structure, a traditional effect; but when these systems are superimposed, distortions arise and the result is a series of ambiguous intersections between systems" (Proudfoot, 1991). These intersections are of particular interest to the deconstructing architect, as they express the tensions between the different systems, each rational in their own understanding, which, through their superimposition, create a new order of irrationality which – so the theory – constitutes new aesthetics and meanings.

This 'stratographic method' of superimposing different ordering systems was also applied in the design of the masterplan for the area of Skejbygård. In the case of the Skejbygård Plan, the ordering systems, or layers, chosen consisted of *lines* – derived from adjacent roads, a former airstrip, and hedges in the area; *surfaces* – derived from the topography, the self-grown road pattern of the nearby historic village of Skejby; and *grids* – generated from various ordering patterns in the area. This apparent mess of lines and patterns was then 'carved out' to form the basic geometrical pattern, on the basis of which the masterplan for the area was generated (fig. 2.3-8).

The design principle for the Skejbygård Plan also reflected the ideological showdown between Neo-Rationalism and architectural deconstruction. It represented a clear rejection of the ideal of the historical city, and an embrace of the spatial and typological qualities of the suburbs:

Rather than regarding the variety of the suburb as an expression of disorder, the plan interprets the suburb as a collage of fragments; of development, streets, plantings, and other elements. When arranged as a large-scale architectural composition, the suburb – although different from the historical city – may match its spatial and architectural qualities.

– Hansen & Knudsen, 1993, p. 6

A number of spatial components of the suburb were identified, such as detached houses, apartment blocks, terraced houses, high-density/low-rise housing etc. This repertoire of building types was then used to 'furnish' the masterplan. By carefully

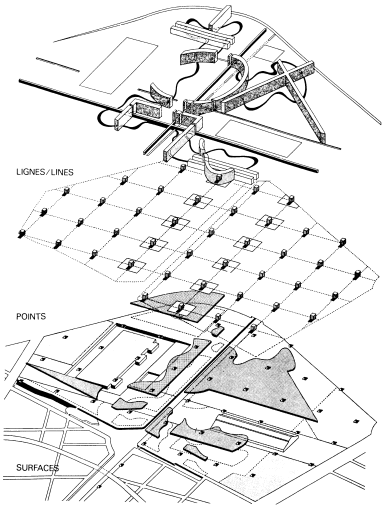
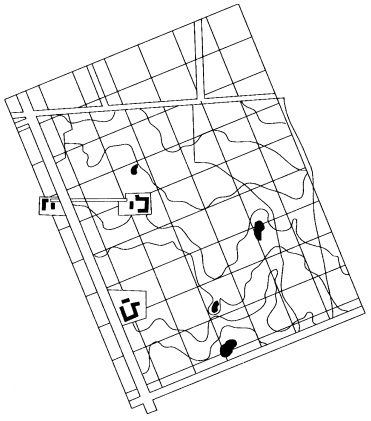
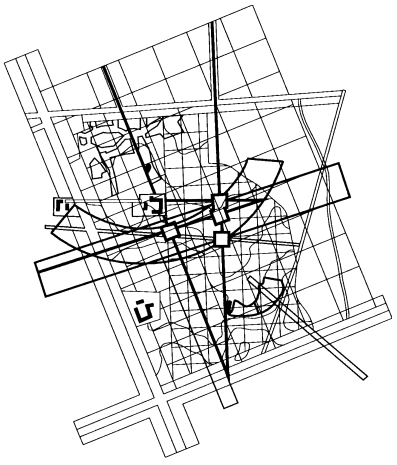
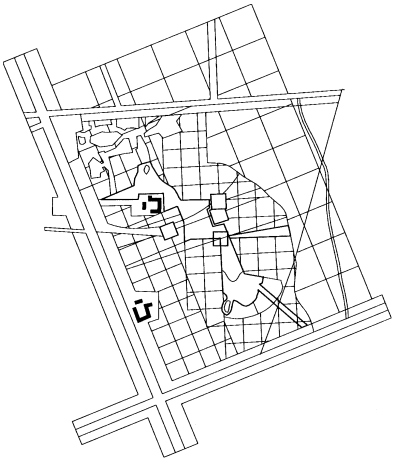


Figure 2.2
Tschumi: Parc de la Villette. Diagram of ordering systems: Lines, points and surfaces

Figure 2.3-8
The Skejbygård Plan: Design diagrams. 1. Important lines in the area, 2. Lines and points, 3. Surfaces, 4. Topography, 5. Superimposition, 6. The 'carved out' pattern







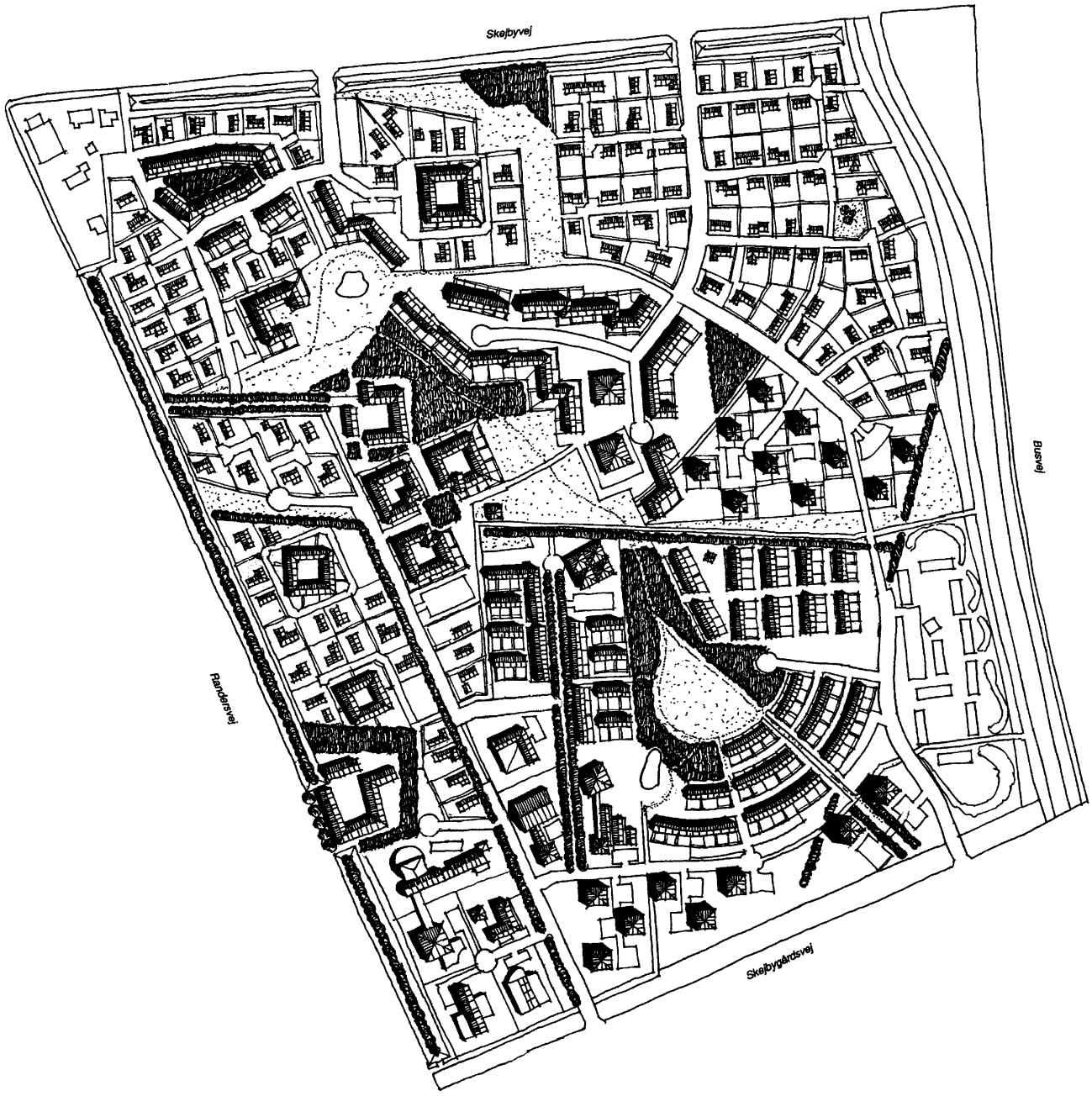


Figure 2.9
The Skejbygård Plan: Masterplan
Scale: 1:5000

combining these building types into a distinct spatial composition, the idea was to create a new type of space, epitomizing the spatial character of the suburbs in a sort of suburban microcosm; a 'catalogue of suburbanism'.

The architectural idea of the Skejbygård Plan, as in Tschumi's park, was to create tensions between different systems of order. Through the intentional 'collisions' between different forms and spaces, expressed through different types of buildings and layouts, the ambition was to create a new kind of aesthetics, or meaning. That these typological and spatial collisions could actually be sensed was therefore paramount to the concept. And in order to achieve the highest possible effect, the plan anticipated a compact structure with relatively small development units, where the buildings would be 'squeezed' together on small parcels in order to force a more dense development.

The functional content of the plan plays a very little role in this concept, if any at all. The circulation system is laid out as four access roads, each of which feeds a number of cul-de-sacs. The access roads, thus, feed separate sections of the area, and no vehicular circulation is possible between them. The four sections, however, are linked through a system of pathways which also connect each section to a park in the central part of the area.

This circulation model was developed by the traffic engineers of the City Planning Office, and it was conditional to the architectural concept. But contrary to the architectural concept, the circulation system is very traditional. The principle of dividing the area into separate circulation zones is a classical means of creating a traffic-safe environment by the prevention of vehicular through-traffic. As a model, it dates back to the famous design for the (uncompleted) garden city of Radburn, New Jersey, of the 1920s where the total separation of pedestrian and vehicular circulation was first introduced (Ward, 1992).

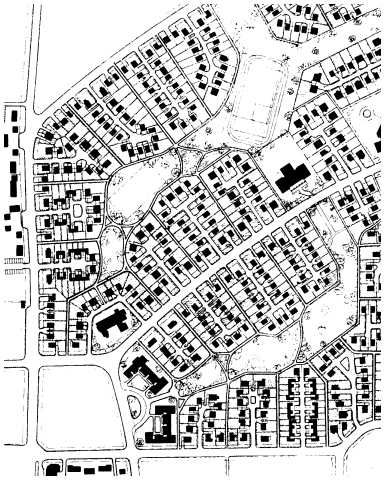


Figure 2.10
Radburn, New Jersey: Earliest example of complete separation of pedestrian and vehicular circulation

The area of the Skejbygård Plan is predominantly residential. Resulting from the architectural layout, the plan offers a highly mixed variety of residential types in the form of detached housing, terraced housing, high-density/low-rise developments, and apartment blocks. In the south-west corner of the area, however, a smaller number of plots are light industrial. This is motivated by the overall concept of representing 'the diversity of the suburbs' – not only in terms of building types, but also functionally – within the area. As the area facing the Skejbygård area to the west is purely light industrial, the specific location was motivated by the idea of metaphorically letting the light industrial use 'bleed into' the otherwise residential area.

A number of plots are assigned for public service institutions such as nurseries, youth clubs and senior citizens facilities. According to the author of the plan, the institutions were located at the intersections of some of the lines which formed part of the 'stratographic' design repertoire (fig. 2.4). But as these lines are not detectable in the resulting layout, their locations appear arbitrary. This design principle also means that no functional concerns guided their location; while some of these institutions are located at the center of the plan, facing the park at the end of cul-de-sacs, others are located in continuation of the area for light industrial uses.

While the application of the concept of architectural deconstruction was the most spectacular aspect of the Skejbygård Plan, it was not the only thing that made it dif-

fer from average planning initiatives. Problems of crime and vandalism in residential areas were a rising concern among Danish planners at the time. The incorporation of crime prevention measures therefore became another important aspect of the Skejbygård Plan. Likewise, environmental awareness was on the rise, and although it was not stated as a goal from the beginning of the planning process, the integration of so-called urban ecology measures was also added. It seemed that as the plan was shown off as cutting edge, ecological sustainability and energy preservation had to be an integrated part of it.

Urban ecology and crime prevention measures

Whereas the masterplan was designed by the consulting architect, the integration of crime prevention and urban ecology measures into the plan was the responsibility of the City Planning Department. None of these issues, however, were part of any overall planning approach of the City Planning Office, but were mainly carried through by individual planners and others, who took specific interest in the issues. And as the urban planner responsible for the Skejbygård Plan took great interest in the issue of crime prevention, it came to play a central role in the plan.

There are two general approaches to crime prevention in urban design. One is to control the urban environment through gating and surveillance. This is the approach which is adopted in gated communities and in many shopping malls. The idea of this approach is to control the environment through the application of power and the physical separation of spaces. The other approach is to allow and promote access for all, but to minimize opportunities for criminal activity through the organization of urban space and the promotion of a sense of responsibility with the users of urban space (Grönlund & Allpass, 1991).

This latter approach was adopted in a publication on the technical prevention of violence and vandalism, published as an official recommendation by the Danish Standards Association in 1990 (Dansk Ingeniørforening). Although it was the first systematic attempt to formulate design strategies for crime prevention, its recommendations were not alien to Danish urban planners. In fact, the idea to promote social interaction and attachment to space beyond the private dwelling, which are fundamental tenets in the 'open' approach to crime prevention in urban design, had long been flourishing.

Although not with the specific focus of crime prevention, these ideas were central to the high-density/low-rise movement which was promulgated by the Danish Building Research Institute in the early 1970s (Gaardmand 1993), as well as to Gehl's (1987) influential book *Life Between Buildings* which first appeared in Danish in 1971. As such, the principles of crime prevention in urban design are to some extent part of the 'common sense' of Danish urban planning, in theory as in practice.

The Danish Standard Association's recommendations for crime prevention were also adopted (although partly erroneously, as it will be discussed in chapter. 6) in the Skejbygård Plan. As the recommendations for crime prevention were formulated as a set of general principles and exemplified through prototypical examples of the correct organisation and design of open spaces and buildings at the detailed level,

they were presented as a separate publication of guidelines, accompanying the local plan (Århus Kommune, 1991b).

The recommendations for crime prevention included a high variation of building types and a mix of housing types, small units of development (25-50 dwellings), mixed use, an integral system of footpaths, minimization of residual space between plots, semi-public recreational spaces and, zoning of open spaces into private, semi-private and public areas.

What the concept of urban ecology is concerned, the territory was less charted. Apart from some experimental projects over the years, the concept was only slowly emerging within public planning. Nonetheless, much was written about it in the professional magazines, and after the publication of the *Green Paper on the Urban Development* by the Commission of the European Communities in 1990, urban ecology was a focus of attention among urban planners.

The urban ecology measures which were integrated into the Skejbygård Plan were primarily technical, as they dealt with heating and water supply, the treatment of waste water and rain water, and recycling of household refuse. The plan did not include urban ecology measures such as moderate use of sealed surfaces, solar orientation of buildings, or other measures which would have direct implications for the layout of the plan.

Many of the technical aspects of the concept of urban ecology pertain to the building level (water saving devices, insulation, solar heating, etc.), and urban ecology therefore played a modest role in the design of the masterplan. As the regulations for urban ecology at the building level were general, they, like the crime prevention measures, were presented in the form of a separate publication of guidelines for urban ecology (Århus Kommune, 1991c) to be taken into consideration by the development of individual plots.

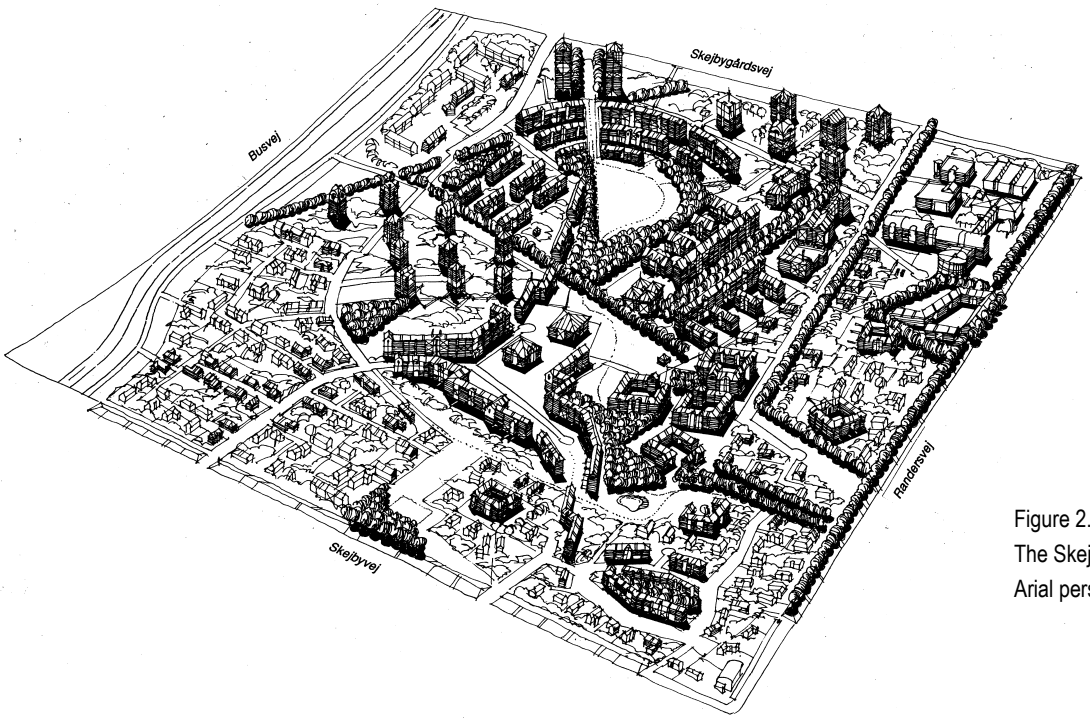


Figure 2.11
The Skejbygård Plan:
Arial perspective drawing

THE SEDEN SYD PLAN

While the Skejbygård Plan was prepared under the highest theoretical and practical attention, the situation was almost the exact opposite in the case of the Seden Syd Plan. At the time of its preparation, the City of Odense was hosting a building and housing exhibition (Byg og Bo '88) at Blangstedgård, another suburban district in the city. The Blangstedgård exhibition was a major event which gained attention nationally as well as from neighboring countries, showcasing contemporary Danish architecture and urban design. As the biggest and most prestigious planning effort of the City of Odense ever, it was the absolute focus of attention of the City Planning Office, draining most of the office's resources.

The preparation of the Seden Syd Plan, therefore, was not a high priority of the City Planning Office. In the early phase, the task of preparing the Seden Syd Plan was assigned to a staff member who was trained as a building constructor with little knowledge of planning and urban design. Not surprisingly, the building constructor did not feel quite fit for the task, and at some point he asked a colleague for some guidance. The colleague, an architect planner, offered his help with the work, and as he got more and more involved in it, he gradually took over the assignment from the building constructor.

Figure 2.12
Arial view of the 1988 building and housing exhibition area of Blangstedgård

According to the architect planner, the original layout as prepared by the building constructor, was a typical 'surveyor's subdivision' – a somewhat derogatory label for the monotonous grid layouts of streets and detached housing plots which are typical of most 1960s and 70s suburban developments. The architect planner, however, had higher ambitions for the development of the area, as he wanted to create an architecturally distinct plan with a focus on public green space and traffic safety.

Contrary to the preparation of the Skejbygård Plan, which not only involved the outside assistance of the consulting architect but also was subject to much attention in general, the Seden Syd Plan was largely the work of a single person, working on his own. This was due, not only to the then current building and housing exhibition, but also to the general organizational practice of the City Planning Office in Odense. According to the head of the City Planning Office, each staff member enjoys a high level of autonomy of decisions on the level of local planning. The Seden Syd Plan therefore became very much the child of its author who, in the words of the head of the City Planning Office, 'poured his life blood' into its making and management.

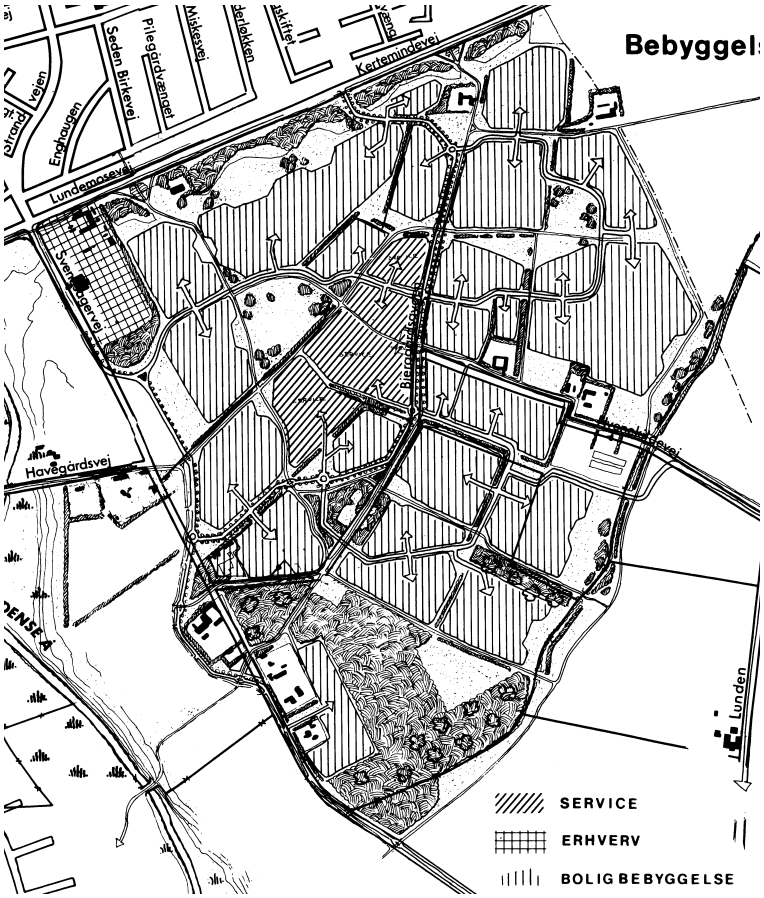
The Masterplan

One aspect which, above all, came to dominate the Seden Syd Plan was a concern for traffic safety. The nearest public school is located to the north, in an area which is separated from Seden Syd by a primary road. The establishment of a safe crossing, either in the form of an underpass or a footbridge, was precondition for any development in the area. As the author of the plan took much personal interest in the question of traffic safety, the relation of Seden Syd to the area across the primary road, as well as the overall layout of pedestrian and bicycle paths internally in the area, in his view, was 'the most important issue in relation to the planning of the area'.

The circulation system is therefore a dominant feature of the Seden Syd Plan,

Figure 2.13
The Seden Syd Plan:
Masterplan, Development phase 1
Scale: 1:5000

Figure 2.14
The Seden Syd Plan: Land-use plan
Scale: 1:15000



which is laid out with a highly irregular and organic street pattern, in order to prevent fast driving. The most striking element of the plan, however, is the excessive number of little roundabouts which furnish the plan (fig. 2.13). In addition to the irregular street pattern, the little roundabouts were introduced as a further measure of precaution, in order to keep down the speed of cars. The rather elaborate roundabouts were preferred to conventional speed bumps which, in the view of the author of the plan, would otherwise have been needed. But as he has a 'personal dislike for street bumps' (sic!) which he finds 'inartistic', he considers it 'a professional failure' to make recourse to the use of them. To him, the little roundabouts therefore presented the only acceptable solution.

Apart from for the concern for traffic safety, the topographical features of the area were also integrated as a parameter for its design. The guiding rule, by and large, for the integration of the topographical features was to subordinate the design to the topography, rather than to confront it. Apart from a grove to the south-west, however, the area does not have any distinct topographical features; it is largely flat, agricultural land with scattered rows of trees between fields, and a handful of farm houses. These features, nonetheless, have been used to define a system of small subdivisions, divided by the road system, and the existing field patterns and rows of trees (fig. 2.14).

Thus far, the design of the Seden Syd Plan seems to have been guided primarily by rather stolid considerations. But as a senior planner from the City Planning Office remarks, the author of the Seden Syd Plan is a 'great admirer of the English Garden City'. And this admiration runs as a distinct undercurrent of inspiration for his work with the plan.

On the initiative of Ebenezer Howard, the two English garden cities of Letchworth and Welwyn were developed in the early decades of the 20th century on the basis of the ideas he had put forward in his book *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (1985 – see chapter 3). The urban design for Letchworth was made by the architects and town planners Unwin and Parker. This first garden city design, along with Unwin's book *Town Planning in Practice* (1909) became major influences on 20th century urban design in the Anglo-Saxon world and beyond.

Letchworth was planned as a functionally self-contained community with a town center with shopping and services, as well as areas for housing and industry. The design of the town was graduated spatially, with a dense town center with a formal layout, while the housing areas had a more informal layout and decreasing densities towards the perimeter of the town. And in accordance with Howard's ideas, the perimeter was laid out as a greenbelt (fig. 2.14). A prominent feature of Unwin's urban design is his layout of housing areas. Through the careful placement of buildings and trees, the public spaces are articulated into varied streetscapes with small squares and carefully arranged views.

Unwin's concepts of urban space design have been widely cherished, and have been the source of inspiration, not only for the design of individual garden cities, but also for numerous suburban housing developments, where the overall concept of self-contained communities has not been applicable. In the case of the Seden Syd Plan, however, not only Unwin's urban space design ideals, but also the overall Garden City concept seem to have been guiding its design.

Functionally, the Seden Syd Plan is divided into three parts. The central part of the area is designated for public service, minor food stores and small scale manufacturing (Odense Kommune, 1988). Around this central part, the bulk of the area is designated for housing. And finally, the fringes of the area are laid out as green space. In correspondence to this functional principle, the building densities are graduated with a denser (40%) and taller (2-3 storeys) development in the central part of the area, decreasing gradually to a scarcer (25%) and lower (1 1/2 storey) development towards the perimeter (ibid.).

The local plan is divided into three zones for subsequent development in three stages. For the area which represents the first stage of development, the plan contains detailed guidelines for the urban space design. It is anticipated as part of the plan, that further, detailed guidelines will be prepared for the two areas representing stage two and three of the plan, prior to their development (see chapter 6). These guidelines are illustrated in the masterplan, which features a detached housing area in the image of Unwin's Garden City layouts, as well as two designs for high-density/low-rise developments which, in their inward orientation turn their backs on the adjacent spaces (fig. 2.13).

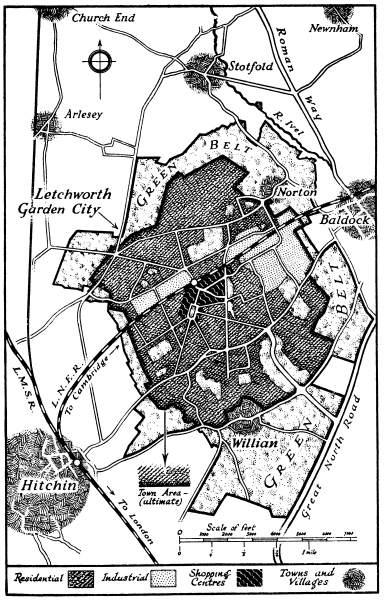


Figure 2.15
Letchworth Garden City:
Land-use plan

The plan also features a distinctly more rigorous layout of high-density/low-rise housing. Apart from the fact that this rather compact high-density/low-rise development is located in a part of the area which, according to the overall concept ought to be less dense, the rigidity of its design fits poorly with the otherwise organic designs, characterizing the rest of the design. The simple reason for this, as it will be elaborated later, is that it is not part of the original design of the author of the plan. It represents an amendment to the plan which reflects an actual development proposal which was presented during the time when the local plan was on public approbation.

THE NORMATIVITY AND RATIONALES OF THE PLANS

In terms of the dominant features of the two plans, the Skejbygård Plan and the Seden Syd Plan in many ways express the classical divide within urban design, between the architectural and the urban planning approach.

The idea of basing the Skejbygård Plan on the concept of architectural deconstruction expresses a clear wish to emphasize the architectural content of the plan. Not only was the concept of architectural deconstruction originally developed as a strictly architectural concept (which apart from the Parc de la Villette had been applied only at the scale of individual buildings), it is also based on a narrow 'fine-arts' definition of architecture.

Two major strands dominate architectural theory. One regards architecture as a fine art, and consequently is more concerned with aesthetics than with technical and functional aspects. The other regards architecture as closely related to construction and the shaping of the physical environment (Nygaard, s.d.). The first definition is expressed by Boullée in his stating that

[i]n order to build, one must first project. … It is this mental product … which constitutes architecture, which can thus be defined as the art of shaping… The art of building is therefore merely a supportive discipline, which in our view might well be called 'the technical aspect of architecture'.

– Boullée, quoted in Nygaard, s.d.

The other definition of architecture has been expressed by Brochmann who phrases it in a way which does not only embrace single buildings but also urban space:

Architecture is an organization of the entire physical environment by means of available resources and existing technical possibilities for the purpose of fulfilling both prevailing practical and spiritual needs.

– Brochmann, 1986, p. 64

When architecture is conceived as 'the art of shaping' – as is the case for architectural deconstruction – rather than the organization of the entire physical environment, where the fulfilment of 'spiritual needs' is but one purpose among others, the object of architecture becomes the shape of buildings *per se*, or, in the case of urban design, the shape of the ensemble of buildings *per se*.

Within this line of thought, what matters in urban design is therefore the sensual, and predominantly visual, experience of the urban setting. The concern for the aesthetic qualities of built form therefore gains precedence over other aspect of built form. In the case of the Skejbygård Plan, the author of the plan is unambiguous in his preference of the formal aspects of the design. In a comment on the crime prevention measures, he states a clear lack of interest in other than the purely formal aspects of design:

This was something which the City Planning Office was very keen on. So we had to deal with it a little. It might well be fine, but it didn't occupy me much. My interest lay with the total morphology of the area […] Zoning [as a means to prevent crime] might be fine all right, but it didn't interest me particularly. It's kind of part of planning practice.

A central feature of architectural deconstruction is its fundamental questioning of conventional value systems and reasoning. The changing of architectural thinking, in other words, is used as a means to generate genuinely new forms. But as it is rooted in the fine-arts understanding of architecture, this questioning, or deconstruction, only addresses the generation of genuinely new forms with regard to the artistic aspects of form. These aspects, therefore, take precedence over other aspects of form, such as the use and functions of buildings and spaces, or the aspects of crime prevention or urban ecology, for that matter.

The chosen model for the circulation system, hence, was not an attempt to generate genuinely new ways of accommodating traffic. On the contrary, it was very conventional. The variety of building types which were anticipated in the plan were taken from a well-known repertoire of existing types, and as such, they represented no intention to accommodate genuinely new forms of dwelling. And likewise, the general layout of buildings and open spaces did not suggest genuinely new forms of public or private space, but expressed the intention of creating 'new meaning' through new principles of spatial ordering.

A particular aspect of architectural deconstruction, as it was interpreted in the Skejbygård Plan, is the subversion of conventional planning rationality as an objective in its own right. While the chaos and 'unplannedness' of the suburb was conceptually embraced as a design principle, it also became a more literal principle of the way planning was conducted. Planning, the way it was conducted, became a means of instigating irrationality into planning decisions.

In an account on a discussion with the traffic planners on the issue of the design of a long, linear street which the traffic planners feared would encourage fast driving, the author of the plan describes how the issue was tackled. Rather than remodelling the long, linear street, he suggested to make a roadblock and let the traffic make a detour through an adjacent area. From his architectural deconstruction point of view, this was only raising the irrationality, and thus the quality, of the plan:

We [the architects] thought that this made the plan pleasingly intricate; it was an improvement to the plan.

This attitude, that any *ad hoc* alterations to the plan were considered as improvements,

was not reserved for the design phase of the plan. Also after the plan was adopted, the author of the plan celebrated alterations:

One may say that it strengthened the irrational, meaning generating […] and innovative elements of the plan. And we have nothing against that. Actually, we thought that it was an exiting experience to see how a plan, which has been laid out in a certain way, undergoes changes and ends up being something completely different from what had been anticipated. This is also [an aspect of] the nature of the suburb. It is a sequence of planning collapses which creates the plan.

This laissez-faire, or 'dadaist', approach to the planning process entails a couple of contradictions. First, the elaborate exercise of designing the masterplan as a distinct large-scale architectural composition of different suburban types, is rendered redundant, if any happenstance alteration is considered just as good, or even better. Second, if anything goes, why bother to make claim to planning? Even if conventional planning may be criticized for leading to poor results, a subversion of conventional planning in itself does not automatically lead to good results.

A Hotchpotch of Design Ideas

While the Skejbygård Plan was based on avant-garde architectural theory which was consistently applied, the theoretical foundations of the Seden Syd Plan were more blurry. On the one hand, it is based on a pragmatic concern for traffic safety which has guided the street layout and the pathway system. And on the other hand it is guided by the ideal of the English Garden City, together with a concern for the integration of the plan into the existing landscape. Apart from the consistent use of roundabouts, however, none of the plan's elements seem to be based on any clear vision or distinct theoretical concept. As a senior planner from the Odense City Planning Office puts it, the plan represents "a hotchpotch of what was considered 'good planning' among urban planners at the time [when the plan was prepared]".

The outline local plan, which in essence is a land-use plan, organizes the area into three small neighborhoods, corresponding to three phases of development (fig. 2.14). Each neighborhood has a small neighborhood park, more or less in the center. This layout, including the frequently bending roads and the ample supply of pathways, is typical of Danish suburban local plans of the time, and the underlying principles were officially sanctioned by the National Planning Agency (Planstyrelsen) through publications such as *Lokalplanvejledning* (Guide to Local Planning) (Planstyrelsen, 1989), giving examples of commendable local plans.

The outline local plan with its focus on land use does not provide much guidance to the architectural contents of the plan. This is catered for by the masterplan, which covers the first planning stage (fig. 2.13). The spatial and architectural considerations of this plan, however, appear rather incoherent and partial, and do not express any apparent overall design concept. It seems that the primary focus of interest has been to design certain specific views, or settings, which have been of particular interest to the author of the plan.

The most pregnant of these settings is the area for detached housing, which is

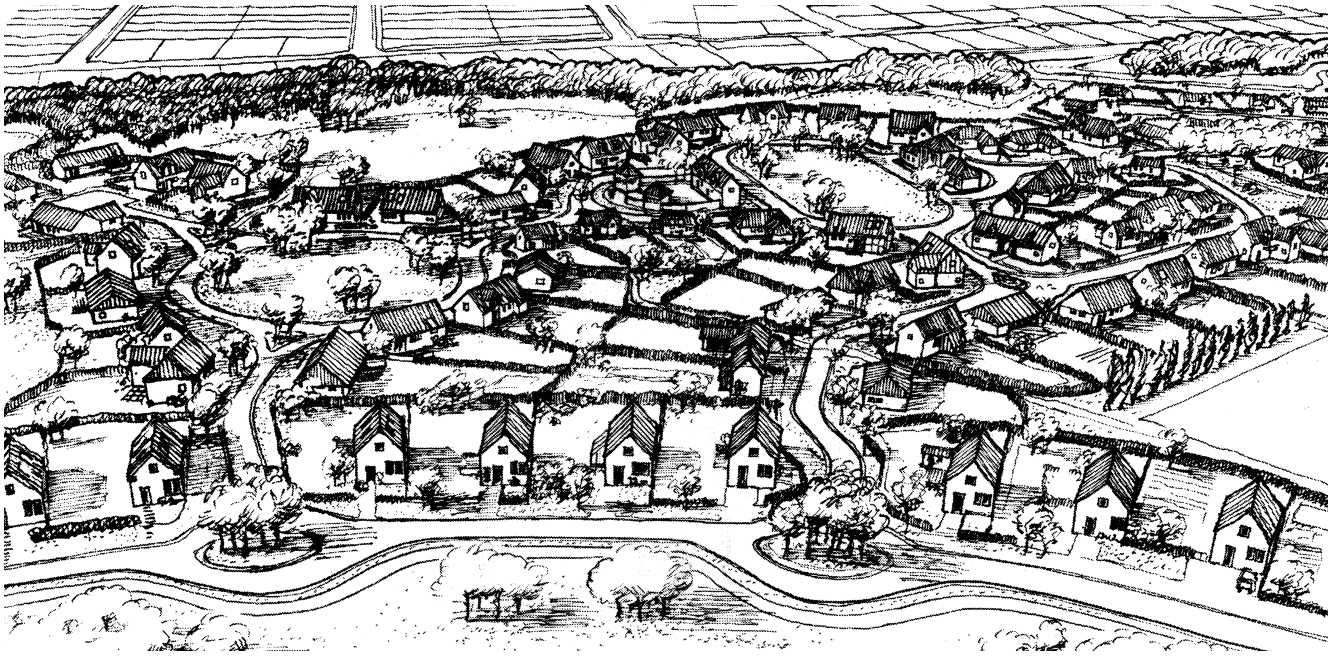


Figure 2.16
The Seden Syd Plan: Arial perspective drawing of detached housing area. Compare fig. 6.22

the spitting image of an Unwinian Garden City. This carefully designed part of the area seems to have enjoyed the most attention by the author of the plan. The design features little greens, and the accompanying perspective drawings suggest a modest cottage-style architecture (fig. 2.16). And the streetscape of this area is controlled by means of build-to lines for building facades facing the streets (fig. 6.34). Altogether, the design expresses great concern for the public space and the overall coherence of this particular part of the plan.

A similar concern is exerted for the houses facing the neighborhood park. In order to create a visually distinct frontage towards the park, these buildings are placed perpendicular to the street, with the gables facing the park. The concern for this vista came to have serious implications for the actual development of these houses (see chapter 6).

While these designs express a concern for the spatial relations between individual buildings and the street, the layout of the two large lots for high-density/low-rise development to the east and south-east of the area for detached housing do not. Here, the opposite approach is adopted. Instead of organizing the developments with regard to the overall streetscape and their spatial relationship with the surrounding areas, the plan prescribes developments with an inward orientation towards inner access courts, which turn their backs on the surroundings.

Nonetheless, the design guidelines for one of the developments prescribe the outer appearance in meticulous detail:

… to the south and east the development must be delimited by a curved wall which defines a clear boundary towards the green area.

The wall must have the appearance of a garden wall or a facade with only few windows or no windows at all.

– Odense Kommune, 1988

Such concerns for the outer appearance of specific elements within the plan may be interpreted as instances of personal whimsy on behalf of the author of the plan, which may be taken less seriously by the actual implementation (as in this case they were). Nonetheless, it expresses a wish to control specific – albeit detached – spatial features, which came to guide the way the plan was managed in the early phases of implementation, as well as the formulation of the masterplans for the second development stage of the local plan.

Wishful Thinking

However fond the author of the plan might be of the Garden City concept, the way it has been applied to the Seden Syd Plan, indicates a lack of understanding of it, both on the overall level, and on the detailed level. The plan therefore suffers from a problem of scale and geographical context on the overall level, and from a problem of control and societal context on the detailed level.

Howard's Garden Cities, both in theory and as they were implemented in Letchworth and Welwyn, were meant to be self-contained towns, spatially separated from neighboring developments by agricultural land. Seden Syd, on the contrary, is a suburban area, spatially integrated into the larger urban envelope of Odense. This does not mean that the Garden City concept may not be put to use in this situation, but it reduces the *concept* of the Garden City to an *image* of the Garden City.

Likewise, the size of Seden Syd is much smaller than that of the Garden Cities. While both Letchworth and Welwyn have around 30,000 inhabitants, Seden Syd has a projected size of 1,300 dwelling units when fully developed (Odense Kommune, 1988). Obviously, the modest size of Seden Syd has implications for the potential viability of the proposed local service center. As a study would later show, the established planning knowledge at the time indicated no such viability at the given location (see chapter 6). In other words, the idea of a local service center in the heart of the miniature Garden City of Seden Syd seems to have been an expression of wishful thinking.

Wishful thinking may also be the proper term for the way the Garden City ideal was applied at the detailed level. The spatial character of a built-up area is obviously as much determined by the architecture of individual buildings, as by the layout of the plan. But whereas the layout of the detached housing area in the Seden Syd plan is very specific in its use of build-to lines, the local plan in itself represents a poor tool for the control of the architecture of individual buildings.

This is not because the local plan may not prescribe the architecture of buildings – to a certain extent it actually does – but simply because the architecture of the detached houses which are available on the market correspond poorly to the architectural ideal which is put forward in the plan. In Letchworth and the garden suburb

Figure 2.17
Prototypical Danish standard house of the 1990s.

of Hampstead Heath, Unwin was not only responsible for the overall urban design. He was also involved in the architectural design of individual buildings. This double role of planner and architect was crucial for the success of these developments, in terms their spatial and architectural unity.

In contemporary Danish planning, things are different, as planners do not enjoy this integrated role of 'city builders'. Without the support of special initiatives, such as a planning program, targeted on the development of suitable architectural types, or a similar special program, the development of the area will therefore have to rely on the types which are available on the market. And the ideal of the English Garden City as it is formulated in the plan, will therefore have little chances of success.

In an early newspaper article about the planning of Seden Syd, the plan is presented under the heading 'English Garden City in Odense' (Fyens Stiftstidende, 1986). The article is accompanied by a perspective drawing with the following subtitle:

This is how [the author of the plan] envisions the detached housing area to be like in a couple of years. But of course it depends upon what type of houses people will choose to build.

The latter sentence indicates a certain doubt about the likeliness of the vision to become a reality. And it certainly turned out to be far more true than the author of the Seden Syd Plan would probably have liked to think about.

Commonalities of the Two Plans

Although the Skejbygård Plan and the Seden Syd Plan are very different in their normative approach to architecture and planning, they nonetheless share a number of similarities. While the Skejbygård was based avant-garde theory with the aim of creating something genuinely new, the Seden Syd Plan was based on a historical theory, however poorly understood, with the aim of 'rediscovering old values' (Fyens Stiftstidende, 1986). Yet, in their approach to urban space design, they share a common focus on the aesthetic and visual aspects of space and form.

In the Skejbygård Plan, the intention was to generate an aesthetics of irrationality and disjunction as a reaction to modernist urban design and its illusory aim at full control. The Seden Syd Plan shares the contempt for modernist urban design, but the critique was aimed at its success in producing rational suburbs, devoid of spatial variation, and the remedy was a return to previous ideals of harmony and coherence.

Both of the plans rested on a more or less vaguely formulated premise of social integration through the integration of different types of housing. In the Skejbygård Plan this was of no great concern to the author of the plan, but it was accommodated in the design through the hypermix of different housing types. In Seden Syd, this issue seemed equally unreflected, but as social integration was, and is, part of what is considered 'good planning' in Denmark, it was never questioned.

Another premise underlying both of the plans was the use of so-called large lots. The use of large lots was introduced in Danish planning in the early 1960s as means to make land-use planning adaptable to changing future needs (Gaardmand, 1993). The use of large lots reduces the amount of technical public infrastructure required,

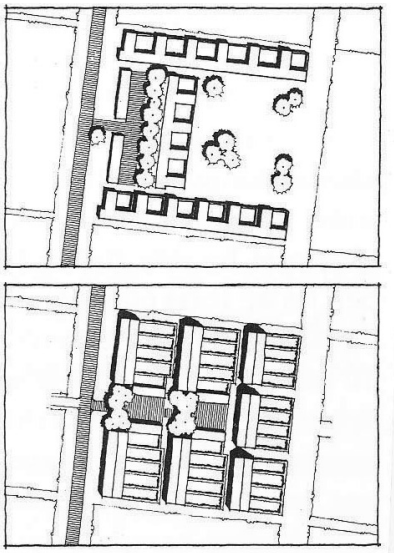


Figure 2.18
The the idea of planning by large lots is to increase design flexibility by allowing for different site layouts

in order to enable development. The technical infrastructure (access roads, parking, sewers, etc.) on individual large lots is provided by the individual developers, and as such, it is part of the actual design. However, this has also implications for the extent to which planning may control the design of space.

Despite the differences in normative approach of the two plans, these more subtle commonalities are not unimportant, in terms of their implementation. It seems in fact, as I shall argue later, that these common features of the two plans may have played a larger role by their implementation, than whether they are based on progressive or conservative urban design ideals.

RATIONALES AND LEGITIMACY

Public planning initiatives, including urban design schemes like the Skejbygård Plan and the Seden Syd Plan, do not operate in a power vacuum. In order to be implemented, they have to be negotiated among the many different actors who take part in the urban development process. These actors have many different rationales and motivations for taking part in this process, and they all exert different amounts of power, in order to achieve their objectives. The relation between the normative content of plans – what they aim to achieve – and the power of the planning body to actually implement the plans – what it is capable of achieving – is therefore a critical factor for the success of planning.

Apart from the normative content and the internal rationales of the plans, their capacity to negotiate external rationales and interests is an important quality in terms of their potential success as planning instruments. As a part of the discussion of the normativity of the Skejbygård Plan and the Seden Syd Plan, it is therefore relevant to look at potential areas of conflict between the internal rationales of the two plans and the external rationales of other actors with a stake in the urban development process.

Potentially, questions of conflicting rationales may spell out on two levels. Most obviously, there may be conflicting rationales between public planning authorities and private developers; essentially that is why planning is needed. But different rationales also prevail within the political and administrative system itself. Whereas the potential conflicts within the political and administrative system is elaborated in the following, the question of conflicting rationales between the planning authorities and the private actors involved in the urban development process, will be discussed in relation to this process in chapter 6.

In the case of the Skejbygård Plan, as it has already been hinted, different rationales were at play even among the different planners involved in the project. Hence, the fundamental aim of subverting conventional planning rationality in order to obtain a sense of 'unplannedness', which was a key element in the approach of the consulting architect, obviously conflicted with the rationales of the planners from the City Planning Office.

Rather than trying to reach a common understanding, many of the conflicts remained unresolved. In an account on how the consulting architect handled a specific planning problem, he recalls how a traffic engineer was stunned by his approach,

which she regarded as an off-hand manner of dealing with the problem. He comments on the episode with some amusement:

That almost killed her […] This [way of thinking] is hard to understand for an engineer who is used to think of everything as based on norms and standards.

The consulting architect, in return, did not regard the crime prevention measures with much esteem:

I was always very sceptical of the [crime prevention measures] because this [element of the plan] was trying to be rational. But the problem is too complex to be dealt with as a system. I don't believe a word of it. I don't believe that you can control crime [this way] at all. And maybe it would be more fun, if there were dangerous parts in the [area]; areas that are dark at night, areas that you can't control, and where the kids can hide, away from control.

But just as the consulting architect was sceptical towards this central element of the plan, so was there scepticism from other members of the planning team, towards another of the central elements. A planner from the City Planning Office expresses a certain doubt, in his judgement of the virtues of the concept of architectural deconstruction:

I don't know how much or how little there is to it.

The planner who had originally suggested that the consulting architect should be commissioned to make the masterplan, had more faith in the concept. As he was also the head of the City Planning Office, it was his job to present the plan to the city council. But the council members seem to have found the concept of architectural deconstruction as hard to grasp, as the above quoted planners did. The task of presenting the plan, therefore became as much a question of convincing the members of the council of its qualities. As the head of the City Planning Office explains, the question became a matter of trust:

The idea was to say: Believe us; we know that this may be hard to grasp, but let's give the [consulting] architects a chance.

Although this idea worked out – as the plan was ultimately adopted – some of the council members may have felt uneasy about it. As the head of the City Planning Office continues, while the plan was discussed during a committee meeting, he was taken aside by a council member who asked him: 'Is it a good plan?' The head of the City Planning Office firmly replied that it was, and the council member, apparently taking him on his word, went back into the meeting room.

Notwithstanding the actual qualities of the plan, it is not in favor of its realization, if neither the council members who are politically responsible for it, nor the planners who are responsible for its management, fully grasp its contents. It weakens the legitimacy of the plan and thereby makes it susceptible to changes and deviations. In other words, it is hard for the planning authorities to argue that the plan must be followed, if they cannot argue why.

The Seden Syd Plan also seemed to suffer from problems of legitimacy, although it

showed in a different way. A recurring feature of the interviews conducted with planners from the Odense City Planning Office, was the use of the term *overruling*. The planners independently referred to the term, using the English word for it. Although common Danish language is full of English terms, the use of the term *overruling* is rather unusual, indicating that the concept plays a special role for the staff at the Odense City Planning Office.

A senior planner from the Odense City Planning Office, explains how planning initiatives sometimes get intercepted by political dictates, and refers it to pressure from people of power, whose interests do not conform with the planning initiatives:

There are times when some people exert powers which we [the City Planning Office] cannot match, and where you simply get overruled. To put it in plain words: Simply overruled. Those are the times when you go home and think that it has almost reached the point where its more than you want to stand for, in this kind of work. That's when the really nasty people come along. Because they are there, although nobody wants to admit it.

The head of the City Planning Office confirms such instances of overruling, although his phrasing is more neutral:

I may get in a situation […] where people call me and say: 'This is too strict; I'll file a complaint; I'll take it to the political system', or whatever. […] In some cases I have got things sorted out peacefully, and in other cases I have said [to my staff]: 'It's got to be like this, and you have to give in to that'. As a matter of fact I may sometimes intervene and say: 'Let's try to get this case rolling; there are certain other interests in favor of implementing this – and politically this is what is wanted'. Then it's my job to be Mr. not-so-nice, and to overrule the members of the staff.

The tensions between the City Planning Office and the political level which these quotations indicate may, be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand it may indicate a wilfulness on behalf of local politicians to put partial interests over otherwise democratically sanctioned planning. On the other hand, it may also indicate a wish on behalf of the planners to promote specific planning goals which are irreconcilable with other goals for urban development, and which may therefore go beyond the political intentions of planning.

In the first case, overall planning concerns, both in terms of the physical results, and in terms of democratic control and the transparency of the planning process, get cancelled out. In the second case, 'good planning' in its own right overrides other rationales, which may be considered equally legitimate by the politicians, as well as by other actors involved. In both cases, the outcomes of the planning process are likely to be different from the intentions.

Whatever might be the political and administrative reality in Odense, it seems that the Seden Syd Plan was subject to an instance of *overruling,* even before the local plan was formally adopted. At the time when the proposed local plan was on public approbation, a major local housing association submitted a project for a housing development, Poppelhaven, with around 240 units of social and youth housing, on two large lots in the western part of Seden Syd.

The site plan for the proposed housing development indicates an urban design approach which is fundamentally different from the 'Garden City' approach of the Seden Syd Plan. The architects of the project, although adopting the word 'Garden City', explicitly express this different approach in their description of the project:

'Poppelhaven' will appear as an estate dominated by vegetation – a garden city organized around a distinct green space. […] The intention is to stress the fact that 'Poppelhaven' is not a little town, but, on the contrary, a community of garden dwellings, whose identity is achieved through a distinct architectural design, both of the site plan and of the individual buildings. In this respect, 'Poppelhaven' differs from the majority of high-density/low-rise housing schemes of the recent years, which have been designed with the character of towns in view, in which streets, alleys and squares constitute the architectural image. This image however, lacks the activities of the town; shops, places of work and much more – The image therefore remains more or less empty.

– Stærmose K/S, 1989

While the suburban type of the garden *dwelling* with vegetation as the dominant physical feature is embraced, the ideal of the garden *city* as a small self-contained town is explicitly rejected. As a consequence, the architects of the proposed housing development make no effort to adapt to the proposed local plan. And in spite of the paradigmatically different architectural approach, the project was accepted, and the site plan of the proposed housing development was simply pasted into the masterplan of the final local plan. As the proposed housing development featured building heights of up to three storeys, and a relatively high building density, the idea of gradually decreasing building heights and densities from the center to the periphery of the Seden Syd Plan, was lost. Nonetheless, the incorporation of Poppelhaven did not cause any further adjustments to the plan.

The fact that the housing company was allowed to propose a development in the area while the local plan was still in preparation, suggests that planning was regarded as a sheer formality. The fact that the incorporation of Poppelhaven into the plan did not lead to a re-evaluation of the plan as a whole, further suggests that the concept of the plan was not really taken seriously. And as a consequence, planning got turned upside down. Rather than adapting development projects to make them fit the plan, the plan was adapted to make it fit the development projects. In the course of development in Seden Syd, Poppelhaven was not the only instance of this kind of backwards planning.

Apart from the relations between different planners, and the relation between planning and the political system, the relation between different offices within the city administration also represented an area of conflicting rationales in both Aarhus and Odense. As the land in both Skejbygård and in Seden Syd was owned by the City, the development of the two areas involved the City Real Estate Offices in both cases. And as several of the developments in both areas were subsidized public housing, it also involved the Subsidized Housing Offices. The rationales of these offices, however, do not always correspond with the rationales of the plans.

The task of the City Real Estate Office is to manage the sale of land owned by the City. The revenue from land sales must cover the City's expenses for making the land available for development, including land acquisition and infrastructure development (streets, sewers, public spaces, etc.). Typically, revenues and expenses must balance for each individual development area within the city.

As the City Real Estate Office operates on market terms, it has an interest in keeping development costs low and the amount of land available for sale high, in order to make prices in any given development area competitive, compare to other development areas. Furthermore, it has an interest in meeting the demand in terms of the type of land which is offered.

The task of the Subsidized Housing Office is to manage the amount and distribution of subsidized Housing in the city. Decisions in this field may be guided by specific political agendas, such as the wish to promote a certain development in a given areas, or the fear of creating social ghettos, or simply to meet the special requests of the housing companies.

In both the case of the Skejbygård Plan and in the case of the Seden Syd Plan, the rationales of these other City offices not only conflicted with the rationales of the plans. They also conflicted with one another. In chapter 6 I will elaborate on how this triangle of mutually conflicting rationales came to influence the practical realization of the plans.

CONCLUSION

The Skejbygård Plan and the Seden Syd Plan are quite different from one another, in terms of their normative bases, as well in terms of the circumstances under which they were prepared. The Skejbygård Plan was based on the latest theories of urban design, and the ambitious intention to include the new an untested aspects of crime prevention and urban ecology, as a response to broad concerns within the Danish planning community and beyond. Conversely, the intention of the Seden Syd Plan was to rediscover old values by the application of a classical theory of urban design, while emphasizing aspects of traffic safety and the provision of green space, rooted in personal concerns of the planner. And while the preparation of the Skejbygård Plan was the absolute focus of attention of the City Planning Office in Aarhus, involving a large number of people over a significant span of time, the preparation of the Seden Syd Plan was overshadowed by other activities, leaving its creation to the incidental initiative of one person.

Notwithstanding the differences between the two plans, they also feature a number of similarities. These similarities are not immediately apparent in the actual urban design however, as they spell out in the thinking and the approach, underlying their design. First, they both share a predominantly formal approach to urban design in their common focus on the visual and aesthetic aspects of urban form. Although the Skejbygård Plan does include aspects of urban ecology and crime prevention, these aspects did not impact the spatial layout of the plan. On the contrary, the author of the plan explicitly states a lack of interest in these aspects.

In the case of the Seden Syd Plan, the choice of traffic calming measure – the

little roundabouts – was made because speed bumps were considered inartistic. It may therefore wonder, that the green spaces does not seem to have been subject to any serious landscaping. It is as though the design effort was primarily aimed at the layout of buildings, which were meticulously distributed in order to create specific views and millieus.

Second, both of the plans are based on the principle of the large lot. Planning by large lots has been a main principle in Danish urban planning for decades. This principle was never reflected, and therefore never questioned, in any of the two plans. As the purpose of planning by large lots is to increase design flexibility, it represents a contradiction to the shared focus of the two plans, on the formal aspects of urban design, and the implied wish to control the detailed distribution, layout, and form of buildings.

Third, both of the plans suffer from problems of legitimacy. In the case of the Skejbygård Plan, the people responsible for the design of the plan did not do any effort to explain the concept of architectural deconstruction (as it was essentially irrational and thus inexplicable), neither to those politically, nor to those administratively responsible for the plan. The head of the City Planning Department simply asked the city council to 'give the architects a chance'. But although the city council ultimately did so, the planning officials still had little grasp – and much scepticism – of the concept. This made the plan potentially susceptible to changes and deviations, thus raising the risk of actual development to become different from what was put forward in the urban design.

In the case of the Seden Syd Plan, the legitimacy problem, in a sense, seems to appear the other way around. In Odense, planning may apparently be intercepted by political dictate, in general, as indicated by the notion of *overruling*, and in the Seden Syd Plan in particular, as the Poppelhaven housing scheme was imposed on the plan during the public approbation period. Regardless of whether the urban design scheme is poorly understood, as in the case of the Skejbygård Plan, or it is simply overruled, as it seems to have been the case in the Seden Syd Plan, the obvious consequence is the same; the resulting urban development is likely to differ from the plan.

Finally, the two plans are subject to unresolved rationality conflicts within their respective institutional settings. The urban design rationales, in both cases, does not always correspond with the rationales of other offices within the City administration, such as the economic rationales of the City Real Estate Office, or the political rationales of the Subsidized Housing Office. This may not be out of neglect or lack of attention to these other rationales on behalf of the authors of the plans. On the contrary, both plans were prepared with the intention to set new standards in urban design. And it is likely that this concern has made the authors reluctant to pay regard to more mundane issues which could weaken their designs.

But as the as the aim to create distinct urban form does not obliterate other aims relating to the creation of urban space, these other concerns must enevitably be dealt with, one way or another. The question therefore remains, whether urban design in practice should be based on a broad or a narrow definition of its scope and aim. The purpose of urban design is not unequivocal, and to define it as that of creating distinct urban form, is but one of many normative positions. In order to evaluate

different normative positions in urban design and their relevance to practice, it is necessary to map the field of normative urban design theory. This is the aim of the following chapter.

Normative theories of urban design deal with the question of how to create the best urban environment, or, as Lynch (1981) puts it, 'how to know a good city when you see one'. However, what is best is a question of values, as well as how cities are conceptualized in terms of what they are for. For some, the most important aspect of a city may be its aesthetic qualities. Although aesthetics may be valued very differently by different people, this quality of a city has a high rank for most people. Others may

look at a city primarily in terms of its capacity as a place to do a particular kind of business, and yet others may prioritize how a city meets their social, economic or cultural requirements to everyday life.

And like people in general, normative theories of urban design also have different foci of interest, as well as different normative bases. Some theories deal with the city as an expression of society and operate mainly on the large scale, while paying little attention to aspects such as environmental fit or aesthetics. Others may focus on aesthetic or sensory aspects of urban form, and pay no attention to functional or social aspects. And yet others may put special emphasis on one or more selected aspects, whether it be traffic, spatial identity, energy conservation, or something else.

Different writers have tried to organize normative theories of urban design along various lines of categorization. Broadbent (1990) classifies different normative theories of urban design by differences in their philosophic bases. This leads him to a distinction between three different approaches; empiricism, rationalism and pragmatism. Empiricism, as formulated by philosophers such as Bacon, Locke and Hume, asserts that we know the world through experience, as perceived through our senses. And by an empiricist outlook, ideas are generated either by resemblance – that one thing is like, or seems like, another, by contiguity – that things that appear together seem related, or by causality – that one thing seems to imply another (ibid.).

Rationalism, on the other hand, is based on the Cartesian view that we cannot trust the evidence of our senses, but must search for universal truths. And these can only be arrived at through logical thinking. Contrary to the empiricist view, rationalism holds that things don't have to be perceived, but can be known without sensory experience, as long as they can be conceived.

And finally, pragmatism, which was formulated and developed by the American philosophers Peirce, James and Dewey, holds that things must be understood in terms of their practical consequences and application. And because ideas are tested against their concrete consequences, solutions may often seem 'impure' from a rationalist point of view. Or in the words of Dewey: "Action and opportunity justify themselves only to the degree in which they can render life more reasonable and increase its value" (quoted in ibid.).

Another way of categorizing normative theories of urban design is offered by Gosling & Maitland (1984). They distinguish between what they call natural models, utopian models and models from the arts and sciences. The natural models of urban design seek inspiration in history and the "… large number of traditional urban forms which have survived the passage of time and which work to a greater or lesser

degree" (ibid., p. 25). This category comprises theorists like Sitte and Unwin, whose theories express a nostalgic longing for the medieval town. That Gosling & Maitland put Le Corbusier in the same category may surprise, but is argued with reference to his fascination of traditional and vernacular settlements for their functional fit. His conclusions for contemporary cities were only different because the functional requirements of the modern age are different from those of the past, but the conceptual model – on a more abstract level – is the same. Gosling & Maitland's models, in other words, must be understood as different sources of inspiration for urban design, rather than urban design models in themselves.

This kind categorization also allows them to group quite different urban design theories together in their category of utopian or hypothetical models. While distinguishing urban design theories based on utopian models as closely tied to visions of society itself, Gosling & Maitland identify three groups of utopian urban design theories. The first group is primarily concerned with visions of society, which form the basis for the formulation of formal theories, accommodating these visions. This group includes the utopian socialists of the 19th century, and the 20th century urban utopias of Howard, Wright and Le Corbusier, as well as the Neo-Rationalists.

The second group includes the more speculative technological utopias of the 1950s and 60s of Buckminster Fuller, Yona Friedmann, Archigram and the japanese metabolists. This group of utopian theories is primarily focused on specific technical solutions to various perceived problems of modern society. And whereas the first group of theories seeks to accommodate built form to their visions of society, the theories in this second group require that society adapts to the technical solutions they devise.

Finally, the third group of utopian models constitute a reaction to the two former, as they are critical of the very idea of centralized social and technical utopias. Including theories such as Wright's Broadacre City and Alexander's Pattern Language, this group of models claims to favor the needs and wishes of the ordinary citizen over the utopian visions of experts, even when they – quite paternalistically – claim to know what these needs and wishes are.

Apart from the natural and utopian models, Gosling & Maitland also include what they call models from the arts and sciences. This category includes the work of Jane Jacobs, Gordon Cullen, and Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City*. The theories in this category draw from other disciplines, such as semiotics, environmental psychology, and the social sciences, in order to investigate the relationship between urban space and various aspects of human life. They are generally more scientific (in the soft, argumentative, social science-sense) than the more ideologically oriented theories of the other categories. The theories in this category are analytical (although value-laden) rather than prescriptive, theories about urban form. As such, they are background theories for urban design, rather than urban design theories in themselves.

Lynch (1981) offers a third system of categorization, based on different metaphors, or models, of what a city is, and how it works. He distinguishes between three groups of theories which are based on what he calls the cosmic model, the machine model, and the organic model. The first group is a historical category, including ancient concepts of urban design, where the layout of the city was related to interpretations

of the workings of the universe and the ceremonial celebration of the divine and the cosmic order. Also the ideal cities of the renaissance and the axial cities of the baroque belong to this category, in their celebration of mathematical order and the power of sovereigns – aspects which are beyond mere utility and comfort.

Contrary to the cosmic model, which sees the city as a unified an stable whole, the machine model is dynamic. Viewing the city as a machine has pragmatic and functional benefits which have made this model particularly useful by the establishment of colonial cities – whether it be ancient settlements, european medieval new towns, or the colonial cities of the Americas – where settlements had to be established from scratch and with scarce resources. But also today, the machine model, with its explicitly rational view of the city as the embodiment of different processes, uses, and flows, presents a powerful metaphor for the technical management of cities.

The organic model, which is much more recent than the other models, views the city as an organism, whose different elements perform different functions, while constituting parts of a unified whole. With theorists like Geddes, Mumford, Howard and Unwin, it is embodied in the thinking of both regional planning and the concept of the garden city. And as such, it has had an enormous influence on 20th century urban planning.

While the three systems of categorization described above cover many of the same theories, it is obvious that their differences reflect variations in emphasis on different aspects of the theories. And although many of the theories are in many ways similar, they are not easily distributed into clear-cut categories. Nonetheless, Broadbent's rational approach, Gosling & Maitland's first group of utopian models, and Lynch's machine models, seem to partially overlap. And Gosling & Maitland's natural models which rely on history and forms which have passed the test of time, are obviously empirical in their approach. But apart from that, none of the other categories bear any distinct resemblance with one another.

The different systems of categorization are also internally inconsistent in part. Although many of the theories might be said to be guided by a dominant philosophical approach, according to Broadbent's categorization, they are most often composite, drawing from both rational and empirical, empirical and pragmatic, or even more lines of thought at the same time. Hence, while Rossi (1982) is a rationalist in the sense that he argues that city building must be guided by the concept of the urban artifact, his derivation of the concept is historical and therefore empirical. And Wright's approach is explicitly composite, as he describes Broadacre City by saying that "whenever repetition (standardization) enters, it has been modified by inner rhythms either by art or by nature as it must, to be of any lasting human value" (1935, p. 244).

Gosling & Maitland's categories also suffer from a certain degree of inconsistency. That urban design theories are utopian in the sense that they require a radical social and institutional reorganization of society in order to be implemented, does not exclude that they draw on natural or historical sources for their inspiration. For example, while Alexander's (1977, 1987) theories are clearly utopian in their radical critique of capitalist society, they still draw heavily on historical examples in their prescriptions for the good city.

But more fundamentally, when dealing with normative theories of urban design,

these different systems of categorization do not give a clear picture of the normativity underlying the different theories in each category. This spells out on two levels. First, while most theories of urban design are partial theories; that is, they do not cover all aspects of urban design, these categorizations do not tell us anything about what aspects are the focus of each theory. Second, even when different theories are dealing with the same aspects of urban design, they may be based on quite different sets of values.

For example, Wright's Broadacre City and Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse are both visions of society and both rational in their approach, yet they are like night and day, when it comes to their underlying values. Whereas Le Corbusier (1947) sees the historical city as an impediment to business as the driving force of society, which require modern cities of high densities, Wright (1935) is critical of the very values that Le Corbusier cherishes, and quite contrarily rejects the dense metropolis in favor of a dispersed and rural environment, and a decentralized social structure, based on use value rather than exchange value.

In order to highlight the differences in normative content among different theories, the following discussion is structured according to the different incentives that motivate them. First, this will allow an understanding of the different aspects of urban design which are covered by the different theories. Second, it will make it easier to evaluate different theories which deal with the same aspects of urban design, but on different normative bases.

The first group of theories views urban design as a means to embody a certain vision for society in space. Because their ambition is to change society through the changing of space, they may also be called urban utopias (Fishman, 1982). Their focus on society at large also makes them focus on cities at large, although they do include considerations on a smaller scale also. The second group of theories sees urban design as the application of particular 'paradigms of order' (Hubbard, 1996) to the built environment. They focus on the aesthetic, formal, or conceptual aspects of the urban environment, either within singular spatial settings or the city as a whole. Finally, the third group of theories focuses on environmental aspects of the urban environment. Here, the main interest is how the urban environment responds to different functional, as well as emotional needs of their inhabitants. The neighborhood is the primary scale of interest to this group of theories, although they also may include considerations at both smaller and larger scales.

SOCIETAL THEORIES OF URBAN DESIGN

Societal theories of urban design focus on the city as an expression of society. Like most other normative theories, they are critical of the existing city, but because this critique is not only spatial but also social, they devise more than purely spatial solutions. On the contrary, they believe that a reorganization of space must go hand in hand with a reorganization of society. And because their critique of the existing city and society is radical, the reorganization of society and space which they devise, is equally radical.

Although different societal theories of urban design may be founded on highly

different normative bases and therefore quite different as to their analysis and critique, and thus also as to the solutions the devise, two main characteristics make them share a common nature. One is the linkage between society and space, and the idea that, like changes in society may lead to changes in space, so can changes in space also be a means to change society. And the other is their radical nature. Because of these characteristics, they may be called utopian theories of urban design (Fishman, 1982). Nonetheless, at least the two societal theories of urban design which are discussed in the following, constitute some of the major intellectual influences on urban development in recent time.

Garden Cities

In 1902 Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928), a stenographer by profession, published a book which became one of the most important contributions to the urban design theory of the twentieth century. *Garden Cities of To-morrow* triggered a whole movement, soliciting Garden Cities, it led to the formation of the profession of town and country planning in Britain, and the concept of the Garden Cities – although in a distorted form – became the basis of the British New Towns Program, which was in operation from 1946 until the mid 1970s. (Thomas, 1985).

What triggered Howard was the appalling living conditions which the rapidly growing city of London offered most of its inhabitants in the second half of the nineteenth century. His distaste for the metropolis and the miserable life of its inhabitants was expressed by a local politician of the time, whom he quotes:

I am always haunted by the awfulness of London: by the great appalling fact of these millions cast down, as it would appear by hazard, on the banks of this noble stream, working each in their own groove and their own cell, without regard or knowledge of each other, without heeding each other, without having the slightest idea how the other lives – the heedless casualty of unnumbered thousands of men.

– In Howard, 1985, p. 4

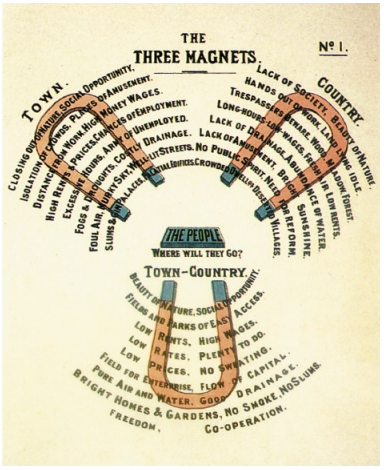


Figure 3.1
Howard's famous diagram of "The Three Magnets", which illustrates how the "attractions" of town and country may be combined in the town-country setting of the Garden City

In Howard's view, the metropolis was bad, not only because of its environmental deficiencies in the form of pollution, absence of nature, poor (albeit expensive) housing, and so on, but also because he, like many of his contemporary (as well as later) urban theorists, believed it to be mentally and morally deteriorating for its inhabitants. However, he recognized that the forces of society drive people to live in the city all the same, and that, in that sense, the city also has something positive to contribute, in terms of jobs and social opportunity, education and leisure.

He therefore contended that the city's 'attractions' outbids its negative sides for most people, because they are stronger than the attractions of the countryside, from which the many new city dwellers of his time had moved. Conversely, the attractions of the countryside, among which Howard lists beauty of nature, 'land lying idle', fresh air, water, and bright sunshine, are not enough to retain the rural population, because of missing social and economic opportunity. It was therefore obvious for Howard, that any viable alternative to the metropolis would have to acknowledge the forces

which drive people to live in big cities, in order to be competitive to it:

… [N]o remedy can possibly be effective which will not present to the people, or at least to considerable portions of them, greater 'attractions' than our cities now possess, so that the force of the old 'attractions' shall be overcome by the forces of new 'attractions' which are to be created.

– ibid., p. 8

The concept of the garden city is based on the idea, that through combining the attractions of the town with the attractions of the country, while at the same time avoiding the negative sides of both, it is possible to develop a completely new spatial structure – a 'town-country', or garden city – which would be competitive to both town and country, and thus ultimately replace both. As such, the garden city was meant to replace the existing cities, rather than to supplement them. Hence, the existing cities – although the garden cities should be developed around them – should themselves eventually become like the garden cities.

The key argument in the concept of the Garden City is economic. Howard, who is influenced by the theories of Henry George (Fishman, 1982), attributes the misery of the metropolis to the question of private land ownership. Private land ownership not only makes it possible to generate high rents for poor housing, but also makes it overly expensive to purchase land for public amenities such as schools, parks, and the like. Howard is therefore harshly critical of private land ownership, and he makes no secret of his despise of the private landlord, whom he sees as a parasite, benefitting from factors such as density and accessibility, without contributing to the generation of these factors merely by owning land in the city.

The economic concept of the garden cities is entirely different. In lieu of private landowners, the municipality owns the land. Because the garden city is supposed to be a green field-development, the costs of purchasing land are modest. And because the city's growth will increase the value of its land, the municipality's revenues will increase as well. And over time, the municipality will have suficient means, not only to repay the loans for the acquisition of the land, but also for all necessary public amenities, and eventually even the pensions of its inhabitants. And all this at a much higher standard than is feasible in the existing city.

The central idea of the concept of the Garden Cities, in other words, is economic redistribution. The 'unearned increment', which covers the enormous difference of rental value between inner city and countryside land, 'cannot be attributed to the action of any particular individuals' (ibid., p. 22), but only to the difference in density. And thus, Howard states, 'it is … obvious that such increment of land value may, with some foresight and prearrangement, become the property of the migrating people (ibid., p. 22). The 'unearned increment' is turned into the hands of the public.

Furthermore, as land is kept on the public hand, it is not subject to speculation. Hence, the high land acquisition costs of the existing city are avoided, allowing for 'ample sites for town hall, public library, museum and picture gallery', a 'magnificent avenue' and 'spacious boulevards', as well as 'schools and churches, which, one may be sure, will not be the less beautiful, because so little money has been expended

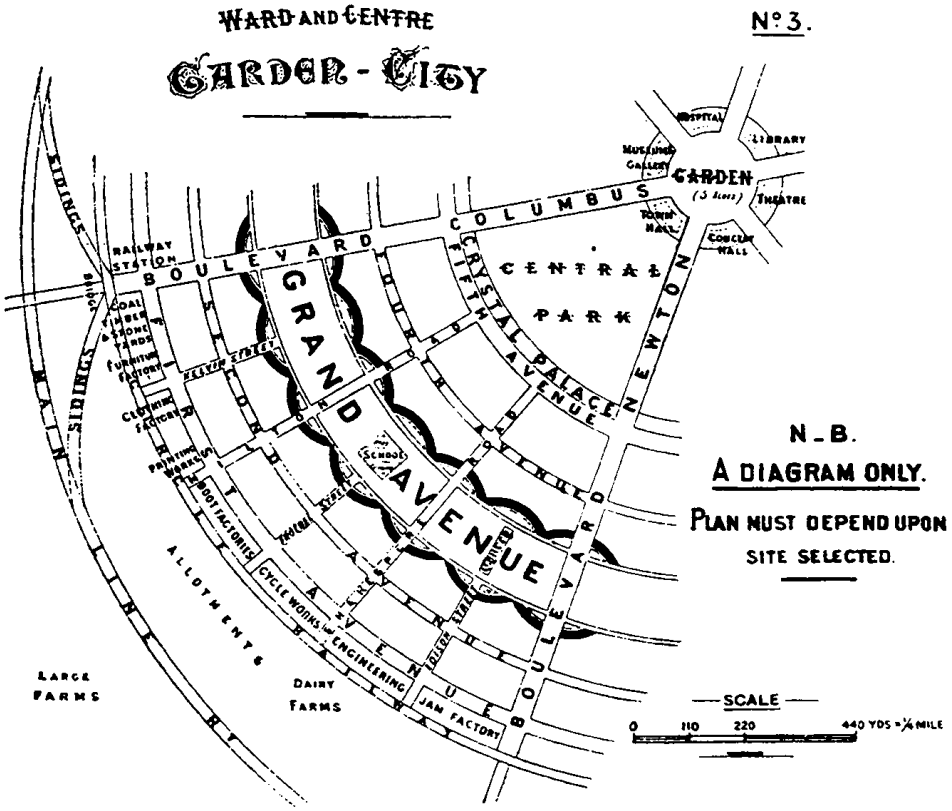


Figure 3.2
Exemplary plan of a ward (district) and the center of a Garden City. Although Howard stresses that it is only a diagram, it nonetheless features formal elements such as the houses 'arranged in crescents' and the crystal palace, which he envisages in his description of the Garden City

on their sites' (ibid., p. 30).

However original the economic principles of the concept of the garden cities might be, in terms of aesthetics, Howard has little new to offer. His description of the garden city features a collection of 19th century urban typologies. Although he is conscious that his prototype city is 'merely suggestive', and therefore is likely to be 'much departed from' in its actual realization (ibid., p. 14), he still puts some effort into describing its features.

Disregarding that Howard was not a designer, and that he therefore might have grabbed whatever models he had at hand, his aesthetic preferences differ from those of Raymond Unwin who, together with Barry Parker, designed the first actual garden city (Letchworth, 1903) and who, more than anyone, formulated the aesthetic program which was to become associated with the garden cities. Unlike Unwin, who solicits the informal beauty of the self-grown, and the narrow perspective of the winding street (Unwin, 1909), Howard describes a grandiose city with 'magnificent boulevards' leading to a center with civic buildings on 'ample grounds', surrounded by a large 'central park' which, in turn, is circumscribed by a 'glass arcade called the 'crystal palace'' (Howard, 1985, pp. 15-17). Midway between center and periphery of the circularly laid-out city, a 'Grand Avenue' is fronted with houses formally 'arranged in crescents', in order visually to enlarge the 'splendid width of Grand Avenue' (ibid., p. 18).

Howard's formal approach to the overall design of the city is similar. Based on

the conception, that 'a town, like a flower, or a tree, … should, at each stage of its growth, possess unity, symmetry, [and] completeness', he concludes that 'the town should be planned as a whole, and not left to grow in a chaotic manner' (ibid., p. 39), as, he contends, is the case for most existing cities. Howard therefore praises the regular, although monotonous, layout of american cities, which 'do not consist of intricate mazes of streets, the lines of which would appear to have been sketched out by cows', although they have not been planned 'in a scientific manner', with regard to public amenities (ibid. p. 40).

In contradiction to this picture of strict geometry, Howard envisages a 'very varied architecture and design', in which 'the fullest measure of individual taste and preference is encouraged'. And for that reason, 'observance of the street line or the harmonious departure from it are the chief points as to house building, over which the municipal authorities exercise control' (ibid., p. 17). It may also seem difficult to reconcile his 'magnificent boulevards' with his description of streets 'in which trees, shrubs, and grass give to the town a semirural appearance' (ibid., p. 30). But after all, for Howard who objected as much to centralized government as to the individual power of landlords (Fishman, 1982), a varied architecture expressing the will and wishes of the inhabitants, may after all be more at his heart, than magnificent boulevards, and houses arranged in crecents.

These inner contradictions in the description of the garden city should not be paid too much attention however, as Howard is far less occupied with aesthetics than with other aspects of urban design. Thus, the spatial organization of the garden city – although a certain amount of symbolism, is discernible, such as the central location of the civic center and the park – is conceptualized primarily with regard to functional considerations. Fundamental to the layout of the city is a view to minimum development and maintenance costs, as well as to hygiene and health.

Production units are located on the perimeter of the city along a circumscribing railway for rational distribution, and in order to reduce traffic on the roads of the town, thereby 'lessening to a very marked extent the costs of their maintenance' (Howard, 1985, p. 18). Green space is distributed in order to give the inhabitants maximum accessibility, regardless of where in the city they might live, and schools are so distributed that '[t]he children will have to expense less than an average amount of energy in going to school' (ibid., p. 37). Finally, the agricultural land and scenic landscapes which surround the garden city, are considered as integral parts of the entire spatial structure, as the combination of country and town, ultimately, is what makes the garden city preferable to both the existing cities as well as the countryside.

Howard also hints some ideas about the social organization of space, as he suggests that some houses may have 'common gardens and co-operative kitchens'. While this is not central to his concept, it illustrates his inclination towards communitarianism. And although he was not at all keen on central government, he acknowledged that, in order to get the garden city up and running, central initiative and planning is necessary. But he was convinced that power should gradually be handed over to local government.

Although he is not in favor of a socialist system with 'complete municipalization

of industry and the elimination of private enterprise', he is convinced, that as the inhabitants of the garden city experience the high quality of service at low costs, which he foresees, 'the field of municipal activity may grow so as to embrace a very large area' (ibid., p. 54). Nonetheless, Howard sees this issue as undetermined and subject to experimentation, and ultimately to be determined upon by democratic decision.

The Contemporary City

To the swiss born architect and urban planner Le Corbusier (1887-1965), urban design was by no means a matter of democratic decision. And even though the existing city, for Le Corbusier like for Horward, formed the basis of critique, Le Corbusier's concerns were quite different from those of Howard. Whereas Howard saw the metropolis as an impediment to a good life for the urban dweller, Le Corbusier saw it as an impediment to business and the wealth of the nation.

For Le Corbusier who published his theory of *The Contemporary City* in 1924, almost a quarter of a century after Howard's *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, the biggest deficiency of the old metropoles was its inability to accomodate car traffic. In the years succeeding the World War I, Paris, where Le Corbusier lived, experienced an immense increase of car traffic. This radically changed the experience of the urban environment, whose pulse had previously been paced by horse carriages. And Le Corbusier felt an immense discrepancy between the narrow urban structure of the city and the energy of this new means of transportation:

Its power is like a torrent swollen by storms; a destructive fury. The city is crumbling, it cannot last much longer; its time is past. It is too old, The torrent can no longer keep to its bed. It is a kind of cataclysm. It is something utterly abnormal, and the disequilibrium grows day by day.

– Le Corbusier, 1947, p. 15-16

For Le Corbusier, the mess of unorderly congestion which was the result of this development, was not just unpleasing, but detrimental to the proper functioning of the city, as he saw it. In his formulation therefore, urban design is a remedy to alleviate the problems associated with car traffic and a means to organize the city in the most rational and efficient manner, both in terms of its function and its construction. Le Corbusier's definition of function is utilitarian: 'A town is a tool' (ibid., p. 13), whose function is to make its inhabitants accomplish their work, and use its amenities, with the least effort. And as much of this effort is associated with circulation, much of his attention is paid to the rational organization of traffic.

The car is cherished as the means of transportation *par exellence* of the twentieth century, and therefore the best possible conditions must be offered for its use. Thus, streets must be wide, straight, and possibly unintersected. In contast to the congested and narrow streets of the existing city, parking spaces must be abundant, and close to travel destinations. The provision of uninhibited access for cars is so much of Le Corbusier's concern, that he proclaims the congestion of the existing city to be 'the very first problem of town planning' (ibid., p. 108).

As business is the vehicle for all progress and development, and thus for the growth and prosperity of the metropolis and the entire nation, urban design must facilitate business. As businesses are dependant on adjacency to other businesses, offices must be located in the center of the city, at high density, and accomodated in spacious, well lit spaces with a view. And under the recognition of the need for free flow for car traffic, these requirements are accomodated perfectly well in Le Corbusier's well known cruciform tower blocks.[1]

Le Corbusier claims that his approach to urban design is scientific, and that his proposals 'rely on the sure paths of reason' (Le Corbusier, 1947, p. 17). Only through the application of the principles of science is it possible to reach an urban design which is free from the nostalgia and romanticism of the Städtebau of Sitte, or the Garden City designs of Unwin and Parker, both of which he criticizes. Nostalgia and romanticism, in his view, are the very virtues which have led to the crisis of the existing city, and essentially, he argues, "it is in this way that cities sink to nothing and that ruling classes are overthrown" (ibid., p. 30).

Underlying his seemingly rational and scientific approach, however, he has a strong prediliction for geometry *per se*, which he associates with civilization, sanity and nobility. He praises Louis XIV, and the ancient romans, as 'the only great town planners of the west' (ibid., p. 26), the latter of whom set their colonial cities 'amongst their barbarian subjects', based on 'preconceived and predetermined plan[s]' (ibid., p. 106). The existing city of Paris, which is the concrete object of his critique, on the contrary, is described as a 'dangerous magma of human beings', and an 'eternal gipsy encampment' (ibid., p. 43).

The most well-known example of this praise of geometry over randomness and irregularity, is probably the quote about the pack-donkey:

The winding road is the pack-donkey's way, the straight line is man's way.
The winding road is the result of happy-go-lucky heedlessness, of looseness, lack of concentration and animality.

[1] Later it becomes clear to Le Corbusier that the business community does not share his ideas of what is best for business and therefore fails to support him. Out of disillusion, he reformulates his urban design theory. In his proposal for The Radiant City (1935), a residential district is substituted for the central business district, and the office towers have been displaced to a less prominent place, at the fringe of the city (Fishman, 1982).

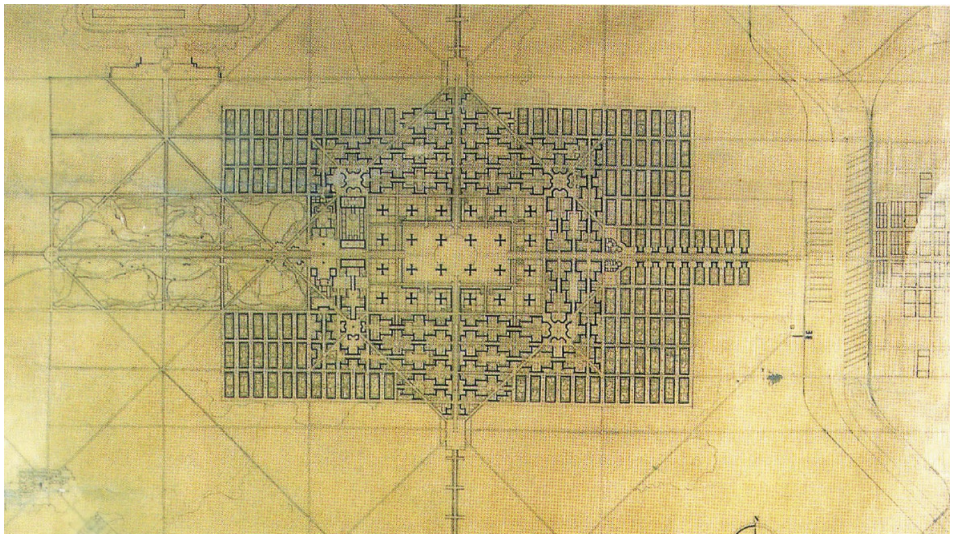


Figure 3.3
Plan of the Contemporary City. The plan is clearly divided into functional zones with the cruciform office towers in the center, surrounded by different types of housing. Industry is located outside the urban envelope (left) which has a very clear boundry.

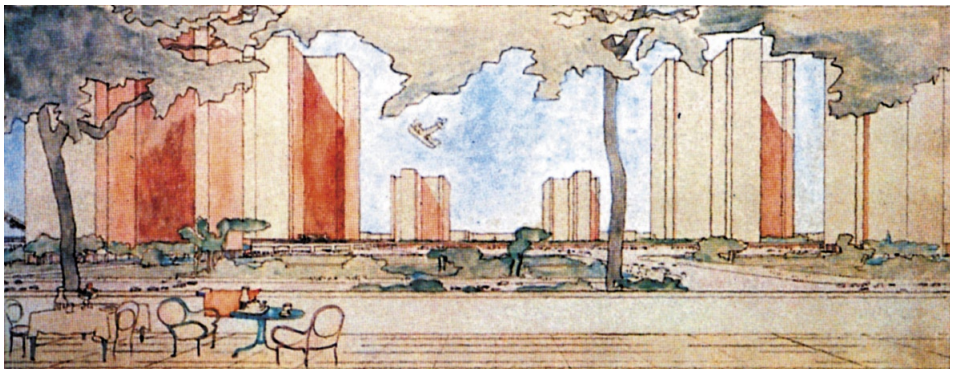


Figure 3.4
Perspective drawing of the cruciform office towers of the central business district

The straight road is a reaction, an action, a positive deed, the result of self-mastery. It is sane and noble.

– ibid., p. 30

Le Corbusier's affection for order and clarity also makes him critical of the way cities grow. He sees the blurring of the city boundary through the development of adjoining suburbs as a serious loss of clarity. This issue (which is widely shared by the urban design profession up to the present day),[2] is so much of Le Corbusier's concern, that he sees the creation of 'a zone free for development' as 'the second problem of town planning' (ibid., p. 110).

Only on one point does Le Corbusier acknowledge certain shortcomings of geometry. While the straight road is 'eminently architectural', the winding road, he admits, is more picturesque. And as he also acknowledges that scenery is a relevant feature for strolling paths, these should be laid out in winding patterns. Otherwise, however, he reduces non-geometric forms to a matter of 'pure aesthetics' (Sitte) or to 'a symbol in themselves of the Garden City' (town planners in general).

Le Corbusier's conception of the city and the life of the urban dweller, expresses a mechanistic attitude. The city is viewed as a system, whose primary function is to serve business. Work, as well as leisure, are seen as mere functions, which must be accomodated by the urban structure in the most rational manner. The city, thus, is likened to a machine, whose parts serve different functions. Urban life is programmed and choreographed to fulfill the overall purpose of the machine. The urban dweller must act in accordance with the function of the machine, and hence becomes a part of it.

Framing urban life in this way, it seems natural to allocate different areas of the city for specific purposes and people: Business in office towers in the center, and factories for production on the fringes of the city. And in between, a residential district in the form of a garden city of appartment blocks, set in a park. And according to their class and the functions they perform, the inhabitants commute between their garden city homes and the business district, and the factories respectively.

In Le Corbusier's view also leisure activities is a matter of utility. Sports activities are carried out in order to preserve health, and spaces for these activities must be abundant and close to the dwellings (in contrast to work places which are remote).

[2] At the annual assembly of The Federation of Danish Architects, December 1999, a discussion on urban planning was conluded with the statement that this was 'one of the most important issues to be dealt with' (Personal notes from the meeting).

As every part of a machine serves a specific function, so must every part of the city. The concept of the private garden, which may serve a number of purposes, must be replaced by rationally structured, communal vegetable gardens and sports grounds. To exercise by tending a private garden does not fit with the idea of the machine age:

Some people may call all this a healthy form of exercise. On the contrary it is a stupid, ineffective and sometimes dangerous thing. The children cannot play there, for they have no room to run about in, nor can the parents indulge in games or sports there. And the result of this is a few pears and apples, a few carrots, a little parsley and so on. The whole thing is ridiculous.

– ibid., p. 215

Le Corbusier is fascinated by the rationality and rigor of science. But it seems that his artistic soul does not quite get to terms with his rationalistic mind, as when he claims that 'statistics are the Pegasus of the town planner' (ibid., p. 119). And even though he motivates his geometric forms as scientifically deduced, he also maintains the importance of (his) intuition. For Le Corbusier, intuition is 'a categorical imperative which nothing can resist'. But as it is based on 'rational elements', intuition can be described as 'the sum of acquired knowledge' which 'every man has earned for himself' Hence (Le Corbusier's) intuition is rational in itself and therefore unquestionable (ibid., p. 51-52).

The arrogance of this argument pervades Le Corbusier's entire theory of urban design, as well as his view of the role of the urban designer. His theory of urban design must be accepted as a *fait accompli*, simply because he knows best. And therefore the urban designer, or master planner, must hold the power to execute his plans independently of government and democratic decision. Le Corbusier's personal efforts to implement his urban design theories in practice was a long and unremitting attempt to obtain such autocratic power. Something which, however, he was never granted (Fishman, 1982).

FORMAL THEORIES OF URBAN DESIGN

Contrary to the societal theories of urban design, formal theories of urban design do not deal with society at large. Their focus of interest is the formal quality of urban space, and their ambition therefore, is to establish specific aesthetic or conceptual paradigms of urban design. Although equally critical of the existing city, the critique of formal theories of urban design is typically directed towards a perceived deterioration of urban space, as caused by non-architectural intervention or what is considered wrong paradigms of architectural intervention.

Because many of the formal theories of urban design see the present state of urban space as deteriorated from a better, historical state, their approach is typically conservative or nostalgic. Urban design, in other words, is seen as a means to repair the urban fabric; to restore the quality of urban space to some undeteriorated, previous state. This, of course, is largely a critique of modernism, and formal theories of urban design are mostly a postmodern phenomenon. An undercurrent of rejection

of functional or social aspects of urban design is therefore detectable within many of the theories in this category.

City Planning According to Artistic Principles

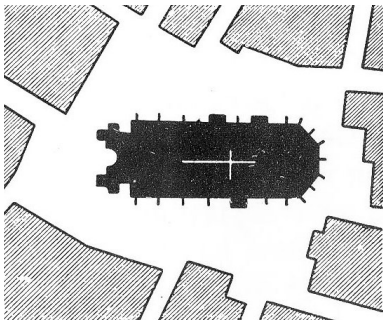
Although his closest contemporary among urban design theorists, the Austrian architect and arts and crafts teacher Camillo Sitte's (1843-1903) approach is, in almost any respect, opposite to Howard's. Whereas Howard's entire motivation is rooted in a strong wish to improve the social conditions of urban life, Sitte hardly reflects on social issues at all. On the contrary, Sitte is almost entirely concerned with the aesthetics of the urban image, which, in turn, Howard pays only marginal attention.

Sitte, like Howard, was motivated by the coming about of the big cities of the industrial society. But whereas Howard was appalled by the living conditions of the city, Sitte was opposed to the spatial layout of the new city, as conducted by the planners of the day. This early city planning was dominated by engineers, often with a military background, who saw the task as one of accommodating the rapid growth, by allocating rational development units in the shape of urban blocks, and safeguarding circulation by means of spacious layouts of streets and boulevards. In this manner, Hausmann conducted the restructuring of the existing city of Paris, and Cerda developed his well known grid plan for the enlargement of Barcelona.

Sitte's home town, Vienna, was subject to similar transformations in the second half of the nineteenth century. Most notably, the development of the famous Ringstrasse around the historic city, was decreed by the austrian emperor Franz Joseph in 1857. The layout of the Ringstrasse was to reflect the glory of the empire, and to incorporate the modern civic institutions associated with the capital of a nation state, such as theater, university, city hall, parliament building, churches, and museums.

In Sitte's view, the way these new urban structures were laid out was totally wrong. He did not approve of the new aesthetics, which, in fact, he interpreted as a lack of aesthetics. He saw this modern city building as an entirely technical enterprise, rather

Figure 3.5
Historical photo of the Ringstrasse in Vienna



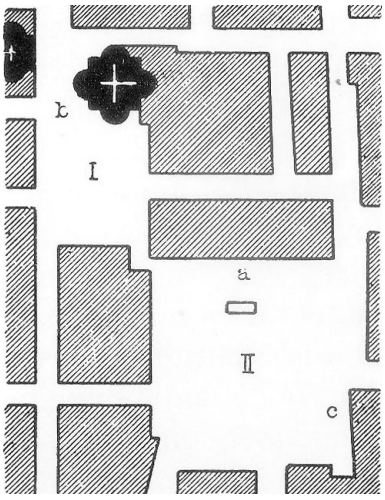


Figure 3.6-9
Plans of squares in European towns. Sitte's survey of hundreds of squares forms the empirical basis for his theory of urban space

than as an artistic enterprise, which it 'in its finest and most elevated sense' should rightly be (Sitte, 1965, p. 3-4). For Sitte, the most important task of urban design was to establish visual setting which could provide pleasing aesthetic experiences. What occupied him the most was therefore the pictorial (malerische) qualities of the townscape.

The strive for such pictorial qualities, he argued, was the foundation of the design of the ancient greek agoras and roman fora, in which the irregular composition of buildings constituted an 'artistic synthesis', which, for Sitte, was the ideal of city building, and something which could not be reached beyond. However, the same qualities could also be found in historic cities, which have not been designed on the basis of geometry, and which therefore possess a certain 'naturalness', which, in Sitte's view, is required, in order to establish beauty.

Through an extensive examination of hundreds of historic squares and streets, Sitte argues how their pictorial effects are established through the irregularity of their layout, which he finds is the result of deliberate reflection, as much as it is the outcome of haphazard development over time. Apart from irregularity, enclosure is also an important element for Sitte. First, space must be contained, in order to be appreciable. Second, the eye should be restricted, and views be limited, in order to achieve a full aesthetic experience. Streets, therefore, should not enter squares perpendicularly, but at an angle, in order to reduce the number of 'offensive gaps' (ibid., p. 34).

The word 'offensive' might well be taken rather literally in Sitte's phrasing, as he clearly linked his aesthetic argument to psychological well-being. For him, the beauty of the environment was a prerequisite for mental relief:

If we could linger again in those places whose beauties never wane, surely we could then be able to endure many difficult hours with a lighter heart, and carry on, thus strengthened, in the eternal struggle of this existence.

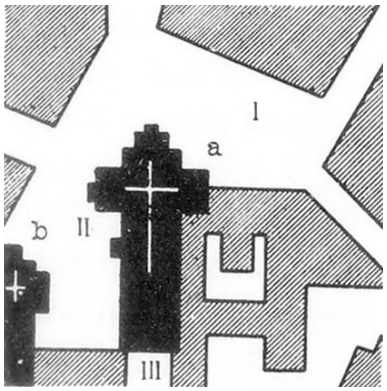
– ibid., p. 3

This link between 'the strong influence of physical setting on the human soul' (ibid., p. 3), he believed, was also true on the negative scale. Not only do beautiful surroundings delight the spirit of man, but bad spaces could also be psychologically harmful. Thus he argued against the scale of modern urban spaces, which he found far to big, as he contended that "[o]n our modern gigantic plazas, with their yawning emptiness and oppressive ennui, the inhabitants of snug old towns suffer attacks of … agoraphobia" (ibid., p. 45).

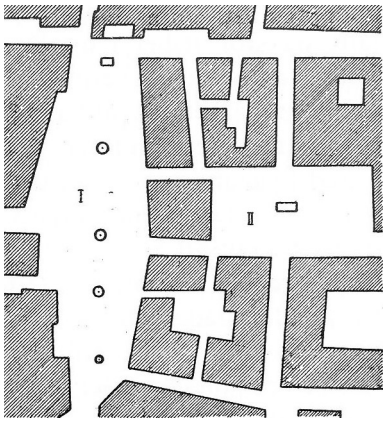
One of Sitte's biggest concerns, however, is the relationship between the square, or plaza, and its dominating monumental building – church or palace – as it can be found in historic cities. He acknowledges though, that both the functional and symbolic significance of the public square has diminished significantly in the modern society, where newspapers have taken over from public readers and town criers (ibid.) and the "gay activities of vending have … been shut up in the glass-and-iron-cage of a market hall" (ibid., p. 16), and that, as such, "… all we have stressed so far as a characteristic of the enhancement of old plazas is today absent" (ibid., p. 16). But even so, he still finds it important to maintain this formal relationship for aesthetic reasons, and to

study the planning of old cities, 'even the merely picturesque', in order to establish parallels to modern conditions.

Sitte saw the extensive use of 'clumsy geometry' in the layout of the new city as 'arbitrary drawing board decisions' (ibid., p. 43), and what he saw as a false belief in symmetry as the remedy for 'such difficult artistic problems as those of town planning' (ibid., p. 51). Whereas 'the old masters' of city building were able to 'attain naturalness easily by judging and arranging everything on the spot', he taunted the city planners of his day for mechanically producing 'projects, conceived to fit any situation' (ibid., p. 75).



Although his own argument is purely aesthetic, Sitte fails to recognize any aesthetic reasoning behind what he sees as the unfortunate city planning ideals of his time – "Today nobody is concerned with city planning as an art – only as a technical problem" (ibid., p. 85). He reduces all features of modern city planning to questions of technical rationality, whether it be considerations about traffic, health or hygiene. He thus attempts to battle modern city planning on what he believes to be its home ground, as he questions the traffic efficiency of cross-streets (he prefers T-shape intersections in order to constrain the view), the hygienic efficiency of parks (which ostensibly is what they are there for), and he ridicules the 'rage to widen the streets' which is taking place 'even when completely unnecessary', "for the sole reason that this is the fashion nowadays" (ibid., p. 42-43).



However, Sitte acknowledges the progress which modern engineering has brought about, in terms of improved health and living conditions in the city, and as such, he admits that the artistic approach to city building must make concessions to modern planning objectives, as "… no artistic planning could be a thorough or lasting success unless it complies with modern living conditions" (ibid., p. 105). This does not seem to conflict with his ambitions though, as he is not concerned with the city as a unity. As his approach is purely visual, he is not concerned with the large scale structures of the city, such as the street network, which cannot be appreciated artistically, and thus "only that which a spectator can hold in view, what can be seen, is of artistic importance: for instance, the single street or the individual plaza" (ibid., p. 91-92).

Hence, as Sitte's view of the city is partial, different areas in the city may have different artistic intensity, and some may even be left to modern city planning and its merely technical rationality:

The broad mass of living quarters should be businesslike, and there the city may appear in its work-clothes. However, major plazas and thoroughfares should wear their 'Sunday best' in order to be a pride and joy to the inhabitants, to awake civic spirit, and forever to nurture great and noble sentiment …

– ibid., p. 92

Evidently, Sitte makes no effort to include functional or social concerns into his argument. Although he acknowledges the need for functional concerns in city planning at large, he does not seriously attempt to incorporate them into his concept of city planning according to artistic principles. He merely regrets that the economic forces, which, in his view, lead to much destruction, are stronger than aesthetic arguments. On

the other hand, his call for aesthetic concern does not apply to aesthetics in general, but but only to aesthetics as defined by himself; that is, the beauty as it can be experienced in the irregularly composed pictorial setting of historic urban environments.

Urban Artifacts

In the 1960s the architectural movement Tendenza emerged in northern Italy. Tendenza was critical of the modern movement and its maxim of 'form follows function'. Instead, it wanted to redefine architecture 'on its own terms'; to set up architecture itself as the measure of architecture. The key postulate of the movement, in other words, was that architecture could be defined as an autonomous phenomenon (Turan, 1998).

One of the most prominent theoretical works in this tradition is Aldo Rossi's *The Architecture of the City* (1982). Despite a rather abstruse style of writing, the book became a bestseller, and was translated into several languages. But although it is often referred to as such, it is not a theory of urban design in any conventional sense of the notion.

Rossi sees the city as 'total architecture' – as 'a gigantic man-made object' – and to deal with the city, for Rossi, is therefore to deal with the architecture of the city. The architecture of the city is constituted by two categories of 'urban artifacts'. One is the 'study areas' – a term borrowed from the Chicago school of sociology – which signifies urban districts, or the neighborhoods of the city which, in their totality, constitute the bulk of the architecture of the city. The other is the more distinct manifestations of architecture, in the form of monumental buildings, or monuments, and so-called 'primary elements'.

Because the architecture of the city constitutes the city as a physical reality, to Rossi, the essence of the city – *l'âme de la cité* – or its quality, is embodied in its architecture. And as the architecture of the city, is the carrier of transient values, which constitute the city as a collective fact, the monuments play a special role "… because [as] the city is preeminently a collective fact it is defined by and exists in those works that are

Figure 3.10
Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Rossi uses the building as an example of a 'primary element', whose use may change over time, while its form remains the same, thus maintaining the essence of the city

of an essentially collective nature" (ibid. p. 126).

Rossi's seeming enterprise is to define what constitutes the urban artifacts. Most of his attention is paid to the monuments, and, in his opposition to modernism, he argues that what constitutes a building as a monument is not its function – as over time, monumental buildings may serve different functions than those originally intended – but solely its form. To view the various parts of the city merely as embodiments of functions is therefore dismissed as 'ideological', and an expression of 'naïve functionalism' which is "… suppressing the most important values implicit in the structure of urban artifacts" (ibid. p. 66) and "… prevents an analysis of what is real" (ibid., p. 46).

In order to develop a 'scientific' theory of architectural form, he turns to the french architectural treatise writers of the enlightenment. They, like Rossi, wanted to develop the principles of architecture from 'logical' bases, and from them he draws the concept of the architectural type. Typology is a formal way of categorizing architecture, which "… presents itself as the study of types of elements that cannot be further reduced, elements of a city as well as of an architecture" (ibid., p. 41). Typology, in other words, is seen as a 'constant' which constitutes form; "… the very idea of architecture, that which is closest to its essence" (ibid., p. 41).

In terms of the 'study area', or urban district, Rossi makes two a priori statements. Due to the way the city is created, it cannot be reduced to a single idea – a masterplan. On the contrary, the city is made up of numerous different 'moments of formation', and it is the unity of these moments which constitutes the city as a whole. Furthermore, urban intervention should operate only on a limited part of the city, because it is the most 'realistic approach' in terms of the city's program and the knowledge which we have of it.

Hence his focus on the districts, which – although he uses a variety of sociological categories – study area, dwelling area, or residential area – are not socially defined. Rossi sees an important relation between the monument, or primary element, and the district in relation to the dynamic of urban development. By reference to a selection of historical examples, he argues that some primary elements function as nuclei, as a sort of grains of condensation, which spark the urban development around them, just as the relationship between them "… is responsible for configurating [the] city in a specific way" (ibid., p. 95).

Despite conceptual references to the Chicago School of sociology, his rejection of any functional criteria is also a rejection of social criteria. Although he acknowledges the role of power and economics in the formation of the city, his social considerations remain oddly detached from his theorizations. Not even his recognition that technological development, first through industrialization and later through individual transportation, which increasingly questions the traditional notion of a city as a distinct, spatially defined entity, is capable of shaking his strictly formal view:

[W]e want to contest … that this 'new scale' can change the substance of an urban artifact. It is conceivable that a change in scale modifies an urban artifact in some way; but it does not change its quality.

– ibid., p. 160, emphasis in original

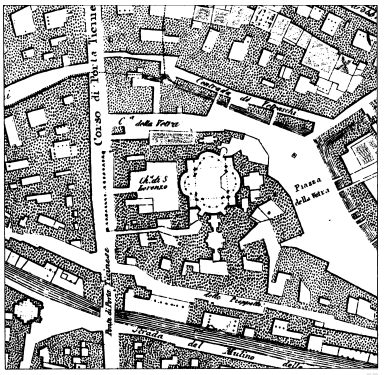


Figure 3.11
Basilica di San Lorenzo Maggiore and surroundings, Milan. The plan shows the two kinds of urban artifacts, the 'study areas' and the `primary elements' which constitute 'the architecture of the city'
(cf. figure 3.15-17)

Although Rossi bases his theorization on different concepts such as monuments, primary elements, study areas and others, he never explicitly defines these concepts. And while establishing the framework of typology as the 'true' measure of architecture, he does not attempt to isolate any concrete types. As such, his theory only suggests that there is 'something' there, which, allegedly, is the essence of architecture. The various concepts therefore appear rather fuzzy. And as Mo (1995) points out, this fuzziness is reinforced by recurrent contradictions, ambiguities and circular references between the various concepts, which indicate unclear or unfinished thinking.

This leaves the theory vastly open to individual interpretation, and it is therefore little wonder when Rossi states that his concept of the architecture of the city, in his mind '… has been … cited both appropriately and inappropriately' (Rossi, 1982, p. 165). But the fuzziness of the theory may also be a strategy which, as Mo (1995) suggests , through 'a certain vagueness or deliberate mystification' serves the purpose of inspiration, rather than constituting a coherent theory in any academic, let alone scientific sense.

Notwithstanding the aim of the theory, the question remains whether Rossi's approach to architecture and the city is at all feasible in the poly-cultural society of contemporary western democracies. To demand adherence to certain typologies is not only to claim supremacy for a specific architectural style, but also to demand a view of architecture as technê (Turan, 1998). Like in ancient Greece, the architect's role becomes that of a craftsman, interpreting – more or less skillfully – a given set of rules. Such games may be played by a number of architects, and their individual achievements may well be enjoyed by many people. But to claim that a given set of rules could exist as a mystical 'collective' (Mo, 1995) which could function as a general principle for the development of cities would require a degree of historical and cultural unity, which is hard to discern in present day urban society.

Collage

In the 1980s the term collage became a widely used term within architecture and urban design, as an analogy to the heterogeneous structure of the postmodern city with its plurality of different and often contradictory forms and programs, as well as architectural languages. It also became a sort of conceptual argument for the abandonment of those grand schemes and total designs which had been guiding much of modernist urban design thinking (Oechslin, 1985).

The concept of collage in urban design was developed by Rowe & Koetter (1978) who, with reference to Lévi-Strauss, argue in favor of a *bricolage* approach to urban design. They build their argument on a critique of both modernism and what they term 'ad hocism'. The ambition of modernist urban design, they contend, is illusory, not only because it is organized around a single central vision, but also because modernism makes false claims to science. On the other hand 'ad hocism', which is their term for user oriented urban design approaches such as advocacy planning and community architecture (see chapter 4 and 7), is equally undesirable, because it tends to be as 'monolithic' as modernism – just with different sets of value – as well

as conservative.

As the elitist utopia of modernism and the populist traditionalism of 'ad hocism' are equally unbearable to Rowe & Koetter, the logical conclusion for them is to argue in favor of a 'theory of contending powers' in which "… the focus of illusion is in constant fluctuation with the axis of reality" (ibid., p. 137). In order to illustrate their argument, they refer to Versailles and Hadrian's villa at Tivoli as examples of the different kinds of thinking which underlie the modernist central vision, and their proposed bricolage approach, respectively. And it is argued further, that Hadrian's villa – as a model – is preferable in a contemporary political context:

… whatever may be the contemporary and conscientious concern for 'the single central vision', it should be apparent that the manifold disjunctions of Hadrian's villa, the sustained inference that it was built by several people at different times … might recommend it to the attention of political societies in which political power frequently – and mercifully – changes hands.

– ibid., p. 95

While Rowe & Koetter are very clear in their condemnation of both modernist utopianism and populist traditionalism, it remains fuzzy what they are actually offering in their place. As the quotation above suggests, they seem to argue along political lines, for a pragmatic approach to urban design, a state of mind, which acknowledges the complex distribution of power in contemporary society. If this is the case, they seem to be led astray by their own examples, whose status lies ambiguously between the metaphorical and the literal:

The proposition [that the outcome of urban design must be sought in a collision of interests] leads us … automatically to the condition of seventeenth century Rome, to that collision of palaces, piazze and villas, to that inextricable fusion of imposition and accommodation, that highly successful and resilient traffic jam of intentions, an anthology of closed compositions and ad hoc stuff in between, which is simultaneously a dialectic of ideal types plus a dialectic of ideal types with empirical context …

– ibid., p. 106

Rowe & Koetter's contention that '… it is almost certain that the uninhibited aesthetic preference of the present … is for the structural discontinuities and the multiplicity of syncopated excitements which Tivoli represents' (ibid., p. 94), suggests that their models are quite literally meant. This, however, does not lead them to suggest any concrete strategies to pursue their spatial vision, something which seems ironical for a theory which is presented as a pragmatic alternative to the utopian visions of modernism.

Not only does Rowe & Koetter's critique of modernism appear rather bombastic – even though they do not attempt to qualify their critique – but, as Oechslin (1985) points out, they also have little new to contribute, both in terms of their critique, and

in terms of alternatives. Their concept of collage '… remains vague and indeterminate and curiously non-architectonic' (ibid., p. 19), and seems to limit itself to an aesthetic and (or) philosophical formulation of the problem of, and subsequently principle for, urban design.

This double nature of the concept of collage, as both an analysis of the problem and a remedy for its alleviation (at least conceptually), also seems to mask the complete absence of any palpable vision. Therefore, the concept of collage too easily reads as a way of raising existing coincidences to a principle, as a means to avoid commitment to any original ideas; something which – as the legacy of modernism has shown – may lead to most impugnable results.

Needless to say, as Rowe & Koetter's theory is first and foremost a conceptual justification for a certain view of the city – a 'state of mind', it is devoid of considerations of a more practical nature. How the concept of collage could be formulated into concrete methods or strategies for the implementation of urban design, therefore remains an open question.

Wholeness

Contrary to Rowe & Koetter, Alexander (1987) pays much attention to the process of urban design. He also differs from Rowe & Koetter in his concern for the 'wholeness' of the city. His aim is to identify a process which produces a 'whole' city over time. As the city is the outcome of a network of processes, constituted by the activities of an array of different public, commercial and individual actors, each guided by their own motives, the task in defining a theory of urban design, for Alexander, is to understand what makes these processes produce a whole.

Whatever the individual aims of the different actors in the urban development process might be, they must therefore be subsumed to an 'overriding rule', whose aim is to make sure that the outcome is 'whole'. This overriding rule therefore prescribes that "every increment of construction must be made in such a way as to heal the city" and that "every new act of construction … must create a continuous structure of wholes around it" (ibid., p. 22).

Although 'wholeness' is the central concept of Alexander's theory, he states that it is 'hard to define', although he claims that most people have an intuitive sense of what it is. Nonetheless, he asserts that wholeness is an objective condition which can be measured, and that the process which creates wholeness is well-defined. Yet, while the theoretical concept of wholeness is rather vague and undefined, Alexander's explicit ideal is the organic and 'self grown' traditional town with its feeling of naturalness and coherence.

The fundamental features of the organically grown town; its piecemeal growth, its unpredictable structure, and its sense of coherence, to Alexander, evokes 'feeling'. In opposition, conventionally planned cities can only aspire to gain 'admiration for design', but never to evoke 'deep feeling'. Because the quality of the traditional town, its wholeness, is a product of its genesis as being unplanned, the quest must be to develop an urban design strategy which is capable of reproducing – or simulating – its development process.

Figure 3.12
Mountain village, Oman. To Alexander, the ideal urban form is constituted by the wholeness which characterizes self-grown towns

In order to make the concept of wholeness more tangible, and thus to make the theory practicable – something which is stressed as important to the viability of the theory, the overriding rule is broken down into several 'detailed rules of growth', which have been arrived at through 'preliminary studies', which, however, are not presented as part of the theory. The criteria for the development of the rules, as is the case for the development of his earlier 'patterns' which constitute his 'Pattern Language' theory (Alexander, 1977), thus remain obscure. Hence, the deeper nature of wholeness, in Alexander's definition, is never made explicit.

Like the Pattern Language, the seven detailed rules of growth are a system of prescriptions, which are generated on the basis of considerations about urban space at all levels '… from the largest level of public space, to the intermediate wholes at the scale of the individual building, to the smallest wholes that occur in the building details' (Alexander, 1987, p. 29).

In brief, the seven detailed rules of growth prescribe incremental growth, small scale development, and a distinct focus on the quality and coherence of public urban space. As wholeness is too complicated to be built in large lumps, development should ideally be broken down into equal amounts of big, medium and small projects, so that no building increment gets too large. Furthermore, a 'reasonable' distribution of functions must be maintained, so that an ideal distribution of functions is achieved at all stages of development.

The overall urban structure should be arrived at incrementally, without a general plan. Instead, development should be guided by the concept of 'centers', distinct and recognizable entities of public space, such as squares, streets and gardens, which should emerge successively, as one project is added to the next. For individual projects, the dominant rationale should be the optimization of the quality of the larger context, on the basis of visions based on human impulse, rather than narrow and detached performance criteria or economic calculation. And as for so many postmodern urban design concepts, buildings, rather than being surrounded by space, must themselves surround space, in order to create 'well-shaped' and coherent public space.

On the scale of the individual building, elaborate rules based on arbitrary aesthetic predilections and considerations about construction and building materials, conjures up a rather traditionalist image of iconic design. And an obscure definition of 'centers' and the role of symmetry, are deployed to distinguish designs, of buildings as well as open spaces, which are 'true' from those which are not.

That Alexander is unrightful in his claim when he, in the tradition of both Le Corbusier and Rossi, states that his theory is both objective and scientific, is not hard to see. Yet, this indirect claim to universality would be unnecessary if everyone else shared his normative standpoint. And this is evidently a much more serious weakness of the theory.

Alexander and his students put the theory to test in an experiment, carried out as a sort of role play, a simulated development process, for an area on the San Francisco Waterfront. Whilst the students played the role of individual designers and developers, Alexander, who had conceptualized the theory, took on the role of 'the committee responsible for checking and administering the growth process'. As it must be assumed that this committee governed in accordance with the theory which it had itself formulated, and that the students tried to accommodate it through their proposals, it is little wonder that the experiment, and hence the theory, was subsequentially declared (partially) successful.

However, what is completely overlooked is, that in the real world, planning commissions and planning authorities, which are part of the political system, are guided by other concerns than that of producing wholeness (although it may be one of them). Similarly, there is no reason to believe that individual developers would change their rationales in favor of the larger whole rather than individual interest, just out of the blue.

What may have been the natural way for cities to develop in pre-industrial society therefore seems to require either a fundamental change of society or the use of coercion. Although Alexander stresses the tentative and preliminary status of the theory, and even hints some negative consequences (internally to the theory) of some of the rules, this may seem less important to the viability of the theory than the more fundamental approach; that it is either utopian, as it requires a fundamental change of society, or that it is authoritarian, as it requires the use of power to overrule unwanted rationales. Or perhaps even both.

ENVIRONMENTAL THEORIES OF URBAN DESIGN

Parallel with the postmodern trend towards formal approaches to urban design, another line of development has taken a more environmental point of departure. Rather than dealing solely with formal issues of urban space, environmental theories of urban design see urban space as a living environment, which must meet a range of requirements in order to be a pleasurable place to live. Although formal and aesthetic issues are also a concern of these theories – but often with different preferences than the formal theories – this is seen as only one of a range of aspects of urban space pertaining to the quality of urban life.

Particularly the concepts of community and public space are central to this group

of normative theories of urban design. Space, hence, is regarded with regard to its (ostensible) capacity to foster community and support public life. But also more physical and quantitative aspects of urban space, such as traffic and the functional distribution of space play important roles. As such, the ambition of environmental theories of urban design may be categorized as mid-way between the societal and the formal theories of urban design: While urban design is regarded as more than a matter of formal aspects of space, the social, cultural and economic aspects of urban design can still be improved without major changes of society.

Livable streets

In the mid-1980s, Allan Jacobs and Donald Appleyard summed up what may be characterized as the mainstream of environmental urban design thinking in a tentative urban design manifesto (2000). Their manifesto identifies what, in their mind, are the problems of modernist urban design, and establishes their goals for urban life as well as a set of means for achieving these goals.

The primary object of critique for Jacobs & Appleyard is the modernist view of the city as epitomized in the CIAM Charter of Athens, because of its focus on buildings and their internal functions, rather than urban space and its role for public life. The Garden City Movement, however, is also problematic, as its focus on 'garden' rather than 'city' has produced low density suburban environments which are equally devoid of the urban qualities they seek.

Moreover, they find little consolation in the postmodern developments within the design professions and their "… withdrawal from social engagement back to formalism" (ibid., p. 494). Architecture, on the one hand, has become "a dilettantish and narcissistic pursuit … finding its ultimate manifestation in the art gallery and the art book", while city planning, on the other, is too immersed in administration "… to have any clear sense of direction with regard to city form" (ibid., p. 494).

In their critique of contemporary urban design, Jacobs & Appleyard point out some major problems. 'Giantism' and the large scale of intervention is negligent of the human scale, and tends towards a sense of lack of control. Consumerism and its focus on the individual, along with the spread of cars, has led to privatization, internalization, and segregation of urban space, while public space – particularly in american cities – has become fragmented and an 'empty desert', leading to a loss of public life and leaving little room for different social groups to meet each other. As a result, alienation has led to a widespread social segregation, and the division of the city into homogeneous enclaves of housing, production and consumption. Furthermore, what is left of historic urban environments is destroyed by tourism and economic exploitation, while the placelessness of the rest of the urban environment is alienating and incapable of inducing any meaning to us. Finally, the infrastructure of most cities is unjust, leaving the rich disproportionally better off than the poor.

Apart from these problems pertaining to the physical structure of the city and the organizational structure of society, Jacobs & Appleyard also identify the design professionals as part of the problem. Embedded in their professional culture and unconscious of their own value systems, they make too little inquiry and too much

Figure 3.13
Housing development, Amsterdam. The central issue for Jacobs Applegard is liveability. Urban space should be designed with regard to use value, and meet people's needs for health and comfort, reduce alienation and foster the sense of identity and 'rootedness'

proposing, and often devise solutions which are out of touch with the individual contexts in which they operate. Additionally, planners have no visions and no arguments to counter the pressures of capitalism.

Although Jacobs & Appleyard are in favor of participatory planning, they argue that urban designers must still have a vision, and a sense of what is right, which, although it may be vetoed, can serve as a basis for urban design. In their vision, they formulate some goals, whose fulfillment is essential to the creation of a good urban environment.

A fundamental goal is livability. Cities must provide for people to be able to live and bring up children in health and comfort. The urban environment must therefore be relatively free from nuisance, danger, and pollution. The urban environment should also invoke a sense of attachment and responsibility to the people living there. It should therefore be designed with regard to use value rather than exchange value, and encourage participation, in order to reduce alienation and anonymity, and strengthen the sense of identity and 'rootedness'. Cities should be more than just functional entities, providing merely for utilitarian needs. Apart from offering a variety of housing and job choices, cities should therefore also be a stage for culture and pleasure, including cultural experiences, excitement, theater and magic. And cities should be authentic and meaningful, "… express the moral issues of society and educate its citizens to an awareness of them" (ibid., p. 496).

Cities, as the physical embodiment of society, should "… encourage participation of their citizens in community and public life" (ibid., p. 497). And rather than being a battleground for different interest groups, it should "… breed a commitment to a larger whole…" (ibid., p. 497). Hence, public life should be encouraged, not only through the city's institutions, but also through its public spaces. Finally, cities should be more self-sustaining with regard to energy and resource consumption, as well as socially just.

Jacobs & Appleyard identify five 'physical characteristics', or means, which they deem essential to the fulfillment of their goals. These physical characteristics can be

summarized as livable streets and neighborhoods, minimum densities, functional integration and proximity, positive urban space, and human scale and variation.

Jacobs & Appleyard contend that although livability, in terms of high standards for sunlight, clean air and open space, as well as strict limits for noise and pollution, is a primary goal in modernist urban planning, too strict norms can also reduce livability because of the unintended implications of these norms. Hence, strict norms for the layout of streets and buildings, as well as for the compatibility of different uses, often result in dull and fragmented urban spaces. They therefore plea for 'reasonable' rather than 'excessive' livability standards.

For streets not merely to be 'stage sets' but a framework for "human exchange, public life …, diversity and community", a certain density of people is required. For this reason, and in order to increase the viability of mass transit, Jacobs & Appleyard therefore suggest minimum densities (as a supplement to maximum densities) for the most parts of the city, which are radically higher than for traditional detached housing. In addition to a certain density, urban areas must have a certain mixture of uses in order to generate life. Jacobs & Appleyard therefore call for a high integration of both housing, workplaces, shopping and leisure – if not always within the same area, then at least within walking distance.

As the potential for interaction in urban space is related to its physical quality, buildings should be designed with this regard. Buildings that define and enclose public space are therefore preferable to buildings that 'sit in space'. Furthermore, urban space should form a connected system of public ways and public spaces, designed for pedestrian use. Finally, buildings and open spaces should generally be small, in order to increase variation and complexity, as well as to avoid big inward oriented developments which turn their back on public space.

Urban Quarters

The Luxemburg autodidact architect and theorist Leon Krier is one of the protagonists of the Neo-Rationalist movement within architecture. With his great drafting talents and publication skills he, more than anyone, has contributed to the general apprehension of the movement's formal program. His many drawings of toy block-like buildings composed from primitive shapes, constitute an imagery which has become iconic for the Neo-Rationalist architectural style. Yet, his urban design theory goes beyond mere form, as it encompasses explicit notions about the good society and the good city. And as such, his normative theory differs significantly from (and in part also contradicts) those of other representatives of the movement, such as Aldo Rossi.

Krier is fundamentally critical of the industrial society, whose founding principle, the accumulation of money through consumption, and destruction of human culture, he sees as antithetical to architecture, the essence of which is to embody 'a common world' (Krier, 1981). Hence, architecture cannot collaborate with industrial civilization, because the concessions to non-architectural capitalist considerations which it implies, would compromise its essence. And in extention of this view, Krier holds that architects should refuse to build under capitalist society.

With the works of Ferdinand Tönnies, Heinrich Tessenow and Camillo Sitte as

Figure 3.14
Leon Krier's imaginative drawings and diagrams which have been widely published, epitomize the formal language of Neo-rationalism

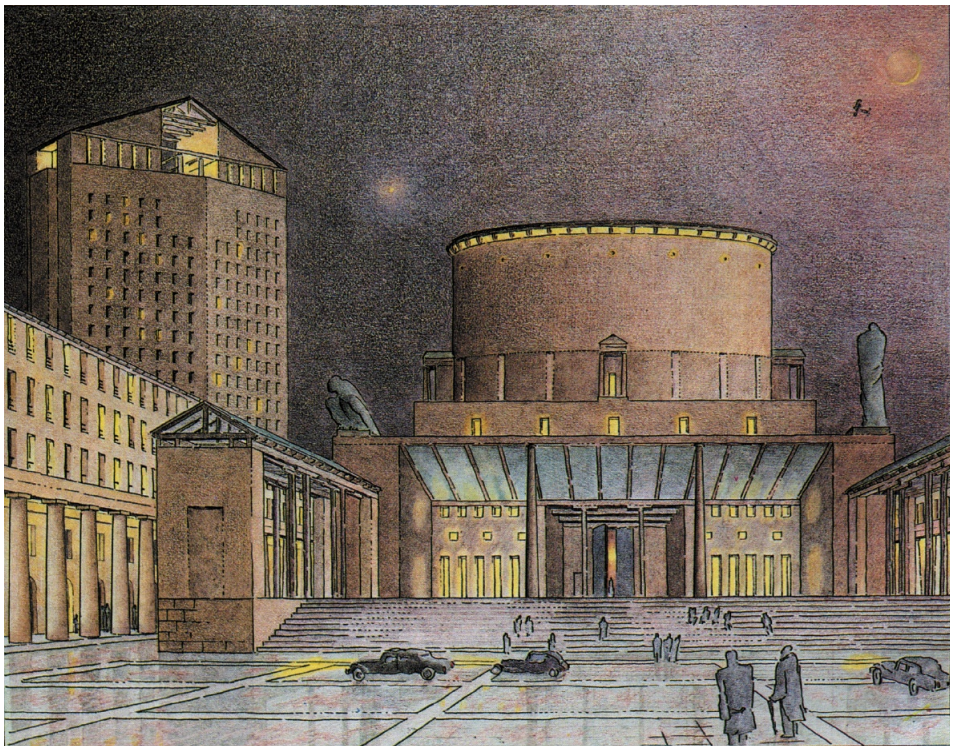
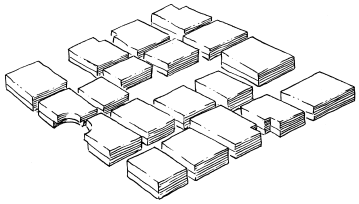


Figure 3.15-17 (below)
Diagrams showing urban space as the combination of private and public space
(cf. figure 3.11)



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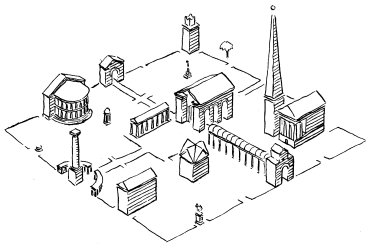

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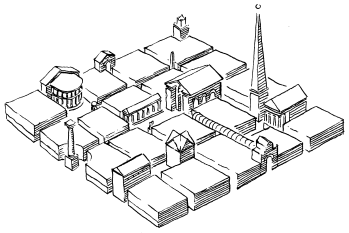


CIVITAS

part of his intellectual legacy (Ellin, 1996), Krier's critique of the industrial city takes him to the pre-industrial city, in his search for the basic elements of his theory. The pre-industrial city, to Krier, has an 'absolute value' which must be recognized, and in his 'Outline for a Charta' he therefore advocates for what he calls the reconstruction of the European city (Krier, 1981).

In contrast to the pre-industrial city, the industrial city is characterized by the spatial separation of functions through zoning. Functional zoning, however, "is not an innocent instrument", as it has destroyed "the infinitely complex social and physical fabric of pre-industrial communities" (ibid.). Apart from its social consequenses, zoning, in Krier's view, is responsible for the excessive consumption of both land, energy, and time, expressed through massive sprawl and the consequential increase in transportation and commuting time.

The central tenet in Krier's remedy for the alleviation of these problems is the reorganization of urban space into 'urban quarters'. Each quarter must de defined spatially, by a clear center, periphery and limit, and funcionally it must integrate all the daily functions of urban life, such as dwelling, working and leisure. The size of each quarter must be defined by reasonable walking distances between these functions, in order to make urban life independent of mechanical means of transportation. In its totality, the city should be organized as a system of urban quarters, each selfcontained, and in an unhierarchical relationship with one another.

Because the essence of architecture is to install a common world, "the form of the city and of its public spaces cannot be a matter of personal experiment" (ibid., p. xxvii). On the contrary, Krier finds empirical evidence in the 'millenary culture of

streets and squares' for the justification of a traditional formal repertoire. And with a Vitruvian echo, Krier states that classical architecture "… has solved all technical and artistic problems in solidity, in beauty, in permanence and commodity" (ibid., p. xxix). He therefore dismisses all other architectural approaches as false architecture or kitsch, and cultural pluralism as "… the moment in history where despair and private obsessions replace collective culture" (ibid., p. xxviii).

Krier's attitude to architecture, as well as his general cultural and social outlook (as they all go together for Krier), are founded in artisan, values and cherish the virtues of craftsmanship. This leads him to an understanding of the pre-industrial city and society as inherently good. Regardless of whether this is a feasible outlook for contemporary urban design (after all, Krier dismisses contemporary society), it is both static and culturally narrow. It is therefore unlikely to gain support, other than from a narrow segment of the population, which shares his social and cultural aspirations.

The identification of the negative aspects of contemporary urban life, such as spatial fragmentation, functional segregation, excessive energy consumption, and the loss of community, however, are likely to gain considerable resonance. Yet, it is questionable whether his identification of the causes, as well as the remedies, for these problems is correct. Hence, that functional zoning in itself is the primary cause of urban sprawl is questionable. And the belief that the restructuring of the city into urban quarters in itself will reduce the time and energy spent on commuting and foster a sense of community, has a certain air of environmental determinism to it.

Krier's denunciation of capitalist society, and his utopian call for a retreat to pre-industrial models for the city, lend his theory a place among the societal theories of urban design, along with those of Howard and Le Corbusier. Nonetheless, these aspects of his theory have (not surprisingly) gained much less attention than his ideas about the urban quarter. And almost paradoxically, these ideas have formed a major source of inspiration for the highly pragmatic urban design movement, which has become known as New Urbanism.

New Urbanism

In the early 1980s, the architect couple Duany and Plater-Zyberg developed a masterplan for a development called Seaside at the Mexican Gulf in Florida, USA. Leon Krier was a consultant for the project, which was the earliest example of so-called Traditional Neighborhood Development (Ellin, 1996). The inspiration for Traditional Neighborhood Developments, a concept developed by Duany and Plater-Zyberg, is the small American towns of the the prewar period. Traditional patterns are used, both in the layout of the plan and in the building code, which are the two basic elements of the concept. Apart from being an aesthetic program, it is a stated aim of the concept, through conscious design and small scale, to reintroduce some of the civic qualities of prewar small town life, as an alternative to the alienating lifestyle offered by edge cities and suburban sprawl.

While Seaside was being developed and increasingly gained the world's attention, the architect Peter Calthorpe and other planners and theorists on the American west coast fostered the concepts of the Pedestrian Pocket and Transport Oriented

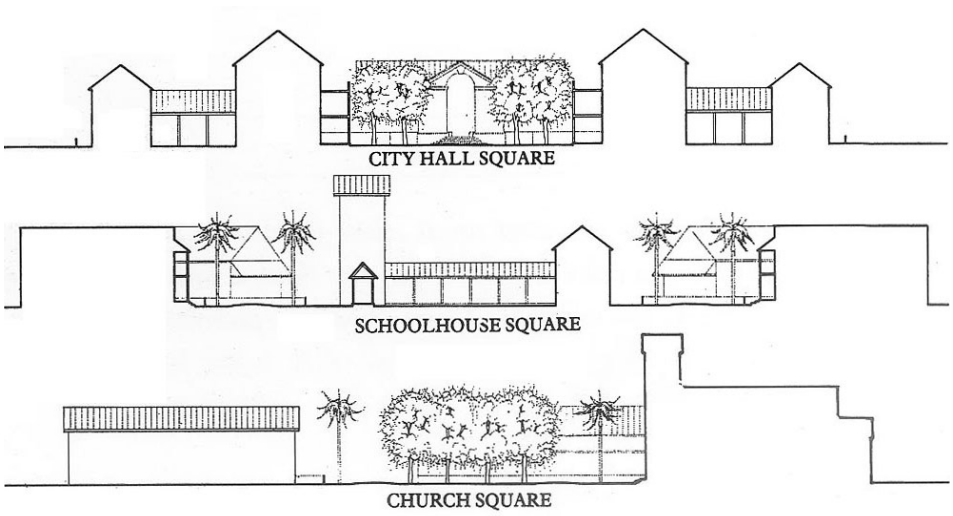


Figure 3.18
Prototypical street sections examplifying the urban code of the New Urbanist town of Seaside, Florida. Both the architectural style and the nomenclature of urban spaces illustrate the classical ideals of New Urbanism, or Neo-traditionalism

Developments (ibid.). While sharing many of the same values and goals of Duany and Plater-Zyberg's concept of Traditional Neighborhood Development, these concepts do not encompass specific aesthetic preferences, but focus on urban development, in the regional context, and in relation to the issues of mass transit and sustainability. These strategies also include the retro-fitting of existing suburbs, an issue which is highlighted by their more quantitative focus.

Both of these trends favor small scale development, mixed land use, and higher densities than by conventional suburban development. They also share a focus on public space, and a priority of pedestrianization over car traffic. This mutual scope, in combination with their different foci of interest, has made them the two major trends towards the concept of New Urbanism.

In 1993, The Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) was founded on the initiative of real estate marketing consultant Peter Katz. Strongly promoted by this organization and its annual congresses, a movement – like the Garden City Movement – has since developed, advocating the tenets of New Urbanism. These tenets have been formulated into a document, Charter of the New Urbanism, by the CNU (2000).

While regretting the spread of suburbian sprawl on the expense of central cities, increasing social and economic segregation of urban space, and the deterioration of the natural and cultural qualities of the environment, the authors of the charter see these problems as interrelated. The charter asserts that these urban problems cannot be solved by urban design alone, but requires an interdisciplinary approach. Urban design, however, plays an important role, and must address the built environment at both the regional level, the district level, as well as the block and building level (CNU, 2000).

On the regional level, CNU asserts that metropolitan areas should ideally consist of multiple individual urban developments, each functionally selfcontained and with distinct centers and edges. Urban development should be clearly separated from rural areas, and infill and redevelopment within the existing urban envelope should have preference over greenfield development. A mass transit transportation system should

be developed, in order to maximize mobility between different urban areas, and to support pedestrian and bicycle modes of local transportation, in order to reduce car dependency.

The physical organization on the district level is envisaged much like Leon Krier's urban quarters. Districts should be compact developments within clearly defined boundaries, and with centers containing civic functions like churches, schools, libraries and parks, as well as commercial functions, all accessible by foot from within the district. Furthermore, each district should offer a diverse array of housing, in order to promote diverse populations with regard to age, race and economic capacity.

On the block level, architecture's primary task is seen as that of defining streets and public spaces as 'spaces of shared use' (ibid.), which are safe, comfortable and interesting. Architecture should be regional and relate to local climate, topography, history, and 'building practice', and buildings should be 'seamlessly linked to their surroundings'. Civic buildings and spaces should have a distinctive form due to their special role of 'reinforc[ing] community identity and the culture of democracy' (ibid., p. 3).

Despite the downplaying within New Urbanism of the importance traditional architectural styles like in Seaside, it still features many traditional concepts, which make Neo-traditionalism – another label for this line of thought – a more appropriate name for it. Although the movement's analysis of urban problems is in line with much current thinking, its remedy is narrow. The nostalgic aspiration to an alledged past of harmonious small town living – similar, in fact to Howard's ideals for the Garden City – appeal to middle class values (as did Howard's ideas), although the stated aim is to strive for an inclusive and diverse urban society, comprising all social classes.

Furthermore, many of the features of the concept, such as social integration, small scale commercial activity, and mass transit systems, are unlikely to be achieved through planning and the market alone, without legislative, financial and other governmental action. This, however, is beyond the immediate scope of urban design, and in its pratice achievements, the CNU, being an urban design movement, has therefore been limping along on one leg, forced to leave many of its stated goals unaccomplished.

CONCLUSION

Normative theories of urban design, as this chapter shows, constitute a motley body of ideas. They are not immediately commensurable, as they define the object of their inquiry quite differently. As such, this rather blurry theoretical field encompasses large epistemological differences as to what aspects of the physical environment are the focus of inquiry, and for what reason. Furthermore, there is a vast span of normative postitions within each group of theories. Different normative theories of urban design, in other words, express different views of the task of urban design as well as different world views.

A feature common to most of the theories, however, is the linkage between a specific normative position and specific urban form. These linkages are often speculative or postulatory, as it mostly remains unexamined whether given forms will actually accomplish their accredited effects. Ever so often it may even seem

that formal preferences come first, and that accredited effects are used as a reverse argument for their validity. Speaking with Lynch, normative theories of urban design are characterized by dogma and opinion as they represent "… no systematic effort to state general relationships between the form of a place and its value" (1981, p. 99).

The postulatory character of the argument of many of these theories makes them vulnerable in relation to more quantitative or well-established value sets, based on economic, tehcnological and environmental argument, or cultural practices. When it is fuzzy what such theories are acutally good for, or hazy whether they will invoke their alledged effects, the power of their argument is weakened. And not unimportantly, to the extent that their normative bases are not broadly accepted, they are likely to be deemed unimportant or irrelevant.

Another feature, common to these theories – even the societal theories of urban design – is that they each deal with only a subset of the problems pertaining to urban design. They are partial theories, and therefore they cannot stand alone as single bases for urban design in practice. As Hubbard (1996) points out, the proper potential of (normative) design theory[3] is "… to propose conceptions critical of, or alternative to, those the larger world gives us" (p. 163). But this, as Hubbard continues, is only possible because those discourses – or rationales – which are not central to the theories can be suspended in theory. However compelling such theories may seem, it is therefore problematic if they are applied in the understanding that the issues that they deal with are more important than the ones they leave out.

The application of a normative theory of urban design which critical of the existing city (or society), may be termed a 'resistant practice' (ibid.). But like the theories themselves, resistant practices are only possible under special conditions: 'Having no power to actually countermand [contending values], a resistant practice can operate only where those values are willingly held in suspension' (ibid., p. 163). When contending values are not willingly suspended – as it is mostly the case – any normative theory of urban design therefore has to acknowledge this.

The aim of any critical normative theory is to invoke a change from status quo. This, in essence, requires a change of existing paradigms. Critical normative theories of urban design therefore must challenge such paradigms. And so they do. In fact, radicality in normative theories of urban design has mostly been cherished as a noble feature among the architecture and planning profession, just as have resistant practices. And putting radicality to test, in theory as in practice, has unquestionable value for the development of the field. Under more profane circumstances, however, unless such theories seek a balance between idealism and pragmatism, between radicality and practicality, they will have to rely on autocratic rule for their implementation.

However valuable normative theories may be for the development of urban design, the viability of any normative theory of urban design in practice therefore depends on its ability to relate to other rationales. But because normative theories of urban design do not only have a particular view of the city but also adopt particular normative stances – whether it be aesthetic, social or political – they are likely to be exclusive rather than inclusive; that is, they require the adoption of their particular views in order to be operational. In that sense, ironically, the very normativity of these theories – what constitute their theoretical content – is what most likely stands in the

[3] Hubbard's focus is architectural design, but the argument is equally valid for urban design.

way of their application in practice.

To demand the adoption of particular views in a democratic setting is obviously problematic. Unless normative theories of urban design accept coercive means for their realization, they therefore have to be responsive to contesting views and values. And to claim autonomy, or even superiority, in relation to other values will ultimately lead to either irrelevance or oppression (Harvey, 2000). Normative theories of urban design therefore cannot meaningfully consider themselves autonomous, but must incorporate a larger context of theorization about society and the city.

The field of theorization which is most related to urban design theory is planning theory. Like urban design, planning deals with organization of urban space. But while urban design focusses on aspects of urban form, planning is more oriented towards the distribution of uses and services in space. What constitutes the best distribution of uses and services, however, is equally determined by norms and values, as the question of what constitutes the best urban form. Therefore, the following chapter will investigate the question of normativity in urban planning.

Urban planning has taken on many different forms throughout the history of its practice. It has been conceptualized as acting solely upon space, as well as acting upon society at large. It has been viewed as a purely scientific endeavor, as well as intrinsically political. It has been seen as a utilitarian means for the implementation of sanctioned policy, as well as a means for social change. And it has been regarded as a paternalistic top-down approach, based on synoptic knowledge, as well as a

democratic bottom-up approach, based on pluralistic discourse. Although many of these paradigmatic differences in the definition of planning can be partly ascribed to the evolutionary history of the discipline, planning remains an 'essentially contested concept'.[1]

What binds the many different conceptions of urban planning together, and thus makes it meaningful to speak of one distinct concept, is a general understanding, that planning is future oriented and "seeks to connect forms of knowledge with forms of action" (Friedman, 1993). As such, planning can be described within the paradigm of the design disciplines (Needham, 1998). Central to any design discipline is the role of normative theories in its practice (Needham, 1998; Næss & Saglie, 1999). Planning, in other words, has to have an idea – a vision – about the future, and how to implement it.

Although normativity seems to be at the very core of planning, norms and values – or the question of why to plan – seems to be a territory rarely visited by planning theory (Alexander, 1979; Klostermann, 1978; Moore, 1978). Rather than examining the question of why to plan, it has with much scrutiny delved into the questions of what, and how, to plan. This is reflected in the generally acknowledged division of planning theory into theory *in* planning and theory *of* planning (Faludi, 1973; Moore, 1976). Substantive theory, or theory in planning, deals with what planning is about, i.e. the object of planning, whereas procedural theory, or theory of planning, deals with how planning is performed, i.e. the planning process.

Some theorists bulk the two together under the term theory on planning, whereas theory for planning for some (Næss & Saglie, Healey) signifies theories about relationships and conditions which are conditional to planning, such as behavioral psychology or empirically based theories, while others (Faludi, Strand) define it more narrowly as the tools and techniques of planning, such as data generation and communication techniques (according to Næss & Saglie, 1999).

What seems to be missing in this picture, is a normative (or scientific) theory, dealing with why to plan, or what planning is for. Obviously, this is not the case, but normative planning theory, rather than being a distinct field of inquiry, seems to be hidden somewhere else. First, as norms and values belong to the realm of politics, it may be argued, that it is constituted by what is normally referred to as political theory. But although planning theory does not have a widely accepted canon (Campbell & Fainstein, 1996a), political theory is not generally considered part of planning theory. The reason for that may be, that planning was for a long time considered an applied science, as expressed through the paradigm of instrumental rationality, also referred

"Decisions about urban policy, or the allocation of resources, or where to move, or how to build something, must use norms about good and bad. Short-range or long-range, broad or selfish, implicit or explicit, values are an inevitable ingredient of decision. Without some sense of the better, any action is perverse. When values lie unexamined, they are dangerous."
- Kevin Lynch, 1981, p. 1

[1] The notion of essentially contested concepts is developed by W. B. Gallie, and signifies concepts whose existence is generally acknowledged, although a general definition cannot be agreed upon. This includes concepts like art, democracy and the city (according to Albertsen, 1999)

to as synoptic planning. Second, within procedural theory (of planning), a distinction is normally made between normative theories of planning, dealing with how planning *ought to* be carried out, and positive, or behavioral, theories of planning, dealing with how planning *can* be carried out, within the practice settings of the actual planning process (Faludi, 1973; Holden, 1998).

This somewhat hidden position of normative planning theory, is unfortunate, as it may defer the discourse on norms and values in planning to a question of planning procedures, and whether they are workable, or equitable, etc., rather than being a question about, what future is planned for. Or, if considered part of political theory, it may be treated with neglect, as something secondary to proper planning theory.

In this chapter, the question of normativity in planning – or why to plan – will be discussed from three perspectives. The first perspective adopts an economic view of why to plan. Although it is today generally agreed upon, that there is no such thing as value-free, scientific, public planning, this does not exclude the existence of some generic qualities of, planning, a core definition, or something intrinsic to the discipline, which is applicable regardless of conceptional differences. Such a common denominator of planning seems to be extractable from economic theory, as the role of planning as the alleviater of market failure (Alexander, 1979; Klosterman, 1985; Moore, 1978; Sager, 1992).

The second perspective adopts a retrospect, historical view, which situates the question of normativity within the evolutionary history of the planning discipline. This approach is helpful in order to grasp how the discourse on normativity has developed within the discipline, and why it has to for long periods of time been considered beyond planning itself.

Although not mutually exclusive from the historical perspective, the third perspective frames the question of normativity within a political context of power, or, in Friedman's words, whether planning should work for the maintenance of established power relations, for a gradual system change or for a radical transformation of society (1987). This approach largely positions the question of why to plan, as a question of for whom to plan.

AN ECONOMIC VIEW OF WHY TO PLAN

From an economic point of view, public planning may be regarded to be at the expense, both economically and otherwise, of individual citizens and organizations, which has to be justified as a meaningful activity. From this point of view, public planning therefore has to have a purpose, which cannot be achieved otherwise, or at least not as efficiently. As such, planning must be an instrument for the realization of public policy goals, which would not come about without intervention.

In a market society, one important purpose of public intervention is to correct market failure. Market failure occurs when the market is unable to allocate goods efficiently, or to distribute them equitably (Moore, 1978). Thus, intervention in order to correct market failure serves both to make the market function better in itself, and to provide conditions which the market alone is incapable of providing. The justification for public planning is therefore partly economic and partly political. On the one hand,

it functions to oil the engine of society in order to make it run smoothly, and on the other hand, it functions as a tool to correct the way the engine is running.

Public goods, according to economic theory, is defined by two characteristics. First, they are non-rivalrous, in the sense that the consumption of a public good by one person does not preclude its simultaneous consumption by someone else. Second, they are non-appropriable, meaning that it is impossible to specify clear ownership of a public good, and hence to restrict its consumption (Klosterman, 1985; Moore, 1978). However, pure public goods are rare, and in reality many public goods are 'quasi-public' (Klosterman, 1985) and share some similarities with private goods (Moore, 1978). Clean air, for example, may be considered a pure public good, as it can be enjoyed simultaneously by everyone without limiting the supply, while at the same time it would be impossible (in practice) to restrain its consumption. Clean water on the other hand, may be considered a quasi-public good, as it might be of limited supply and its consumption can more easily be restrained.

The non-appropriability and non-rival character of public goods makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the private market to supply them satisfactorily. In the private market, goods are priced according to supply and demand. This works fine with private goods, such as labor or consumer items, where demand and supply is easily bargained: If you want a car, you have to buy it. The consumption of public goods on the other hand, due to their non-appropriability, cannot be restricted, and therefore, people will not be inclined to pay for them. You can breathe all the fresh air you want, whether you pay for it or not.

So, in theory, if people were to pay for a public good in the private market, they would be likely to understate their real appreciation of it and attempt to become 'free riders' on the expense of others, as they cannot be excluded from its consumption, once it is provided. Or they may fear that others might do the same, leaving themselves as 'suckers', paying for more than they get. According to this attribute of public goods, if they were to be provided in the private market, it would be impossible to gain an income which would be sufficient to pay for the costs of their provision.

The non-rivalrous character of public goods means, that once they are produced, they can be consumed (almost) without additional costs. The costs of providing tap water lies in constructing the pipings, not in having the water flow. Thus, if the costs of providing public goods were to be retrieved by pricing their use, it might discourage some from taking them into account. This would not affect the costs, but only reduce the overall value, in terms of the welfare provided. In other words, the public good would benefit less people, but at a higher price for each user.

Due to the non-appropriability and the non-rivalrous character of public goods, they cannot be provided effectively in a private market situation. Adam Smith's famous invisible hand fumbles, and a market failure occurs, making public intervention in the market economically justifiable.

Externalities, or spill-over effects, are unintended side effects of activities, which impact other activities, without having any direct consequences for the activity causing the effect. They are similar to the concept of public goods, but can be both positive and negative in their consequences. If a chemical plant emits pollutants to its environment, it has no direct consequences for the company, because the costs

of doing so are carried by those who get affected by the pollution. Thus, there is no economic incentive for the company to do anything to reduce pollution, and a negative external effect occurs (Klosterman, 1985). If a public transportation system, such as a subway, is implemented, it increases the accessibility of the land around the subway stations. In addition, the value of the land is likely to increase, and the implementation of the subway therefore causes a positive external effect, on behalf of the land owners.

In order to prevent negative external effects, public intervention is necessary. Interestingly enough, whilst the costs of preventing negative external effects resulting from private actions, are carried by the intervening public body, the value of positive external effects as a result of public action, as in the case of the subway, rarely translates into public revenues, but are generally benefitting the private sector.

Opposite to externalities are prisoner's dilemma conditions, which are associated with lack of information. A prisoner's dilemma condition occurs if the pursuit of individual interests lead to outcomes which are sub-optimal, not only for the whole, but also for the individual. If, for instance, a neighborhood is in decline, its landowners have a mutual interest in its improvement, in order to retain the rental value of their property. The improvement of the neighborhood is dependent on the support of all landowners, through the improvement of individual properties. However, if not all buildings are improved, the effort of improving one building will be in vain, and thus, each individual landowner will be reluctant to undertake improvement. The result is further decline, leading to a decreased rental value for all (ibid.).

Both the concept of public goods and prisoner's dilemma conditions are related to another phenomenon, the 'tragedy of the commons',[2] which has to do with the problem of large numbers (Moore, 1978). Like the Rousseauan maxim, that what is to the benefit of man is not necessarily to the benefit of mankind, the tragedy of the commons expresses the situation where, in the short run, an activity may be advantageous to all individuals independently, while in the long run being detrimental to all.

This condition occurs when demand exceeds supply: If everybody want to drive their own cars, it works as long there is enough road capacity. However, if traffic exceeds the capacity of the road system, it will lead to congestion, and everybody get delayed. But although everybody get delayed, there might still be an incremental advantage for each individual by car driving, compare to other means of transportation.

Furthermore, the difficulty of changing the mode increases with the number of individuals involved, as communication gets more difficult, while at the same time, the relative impact – positive or negative – from a changed behavior decreases. In other words for instance, if a small number of individuals are concerned about litter in the streets, it is relatively easy to agree upon street cleaning measures, and at the same time, the impact of refraining from littering is relatively bigger, and thus relatively more meaningful.

The provision of public goods and the prevention of negative externalities, prisoner's dilemma conditions, and situations like the tragedy of the commons, are all difficult to handle by means of the market and individual initiative. Therefore, some kind of public intervention is required. However, public intervention can take different

[2] The term was coined by Garrett Hardin in 1968 in a seminal article in Science, describing how the ancient British system of commons broke down due to overgrazing, and is widely used as a metaphor for the deterioration of the global environment.

forms. Apart from planning, taxation, subsidization and legislation also represent forms of public intervention.[3] Thus, the need for intervention alone, does not justify the need for planning, as other forms of intervention may be more efficient. From an economic point of view, nonetheless, it is still a prerequisite for the deployment of public planning (Klosterman, 1985; Moore, 1978).

Finally, whether planning should be practiced in order to alleviate market failure or not, is not only a question of its capacity to do so. Ultimately, it remains a political question, or a matter of conviction, to which extent market failure should be alleviated, as formulated by Campbell & Fainstein:

The duality between planning and the market is a defining framework in planning theory. A person's opinion of planning reflects his or her assumptions about the relationship between the private and public sectors – and how much the government should 'intrude'.

– 1996, p. 6

A HISTORICAL VIEW OF WHY TO PLAN

The idea of planning cities, in some form or another, is as old as urban civilization itself. Planning in the modern sense, as the act of systematically applying knowledge to action (Friedman, 1987) for a purpose which reaches beyond urban form, is a more recent conception, however. Although modern planning has its origin in the enlightenment period, it was not consistently applied before the beginning of the twentieth century (ibid.). In this form, planning has undergone a dramatic development, from the formative years of the late nineteenth century to around 1910, through a period of institutionalization, professionalization and self-recognition between the two world wars, to a period of standardization, crisis and diversification in the postwar era (Campbell & Fainstein, 1996).

Planning for Beautiful Cities

Predating this development, urban planning as an activity took on already in the middle of the nineteenth century, out of sheer necessity, as a means to control the development of the new urban growth, which was the result of the breakthrough of the industrial society, and which was facilitated by the invention of the railway. Although planning in this period bore some resemblance with pre-modern planning, as a means to impose an authoritative, divine, or imperial order on three-dimensional space, in the form of orthogonal design (Friedman, 1987), a new aspect, in the form of utilitarian efficiency, had been added.

Rooted, as it was, in military strategy and the new polytechnic science of engineering, planning in this form was regarded as a purely spatial activity, aiming at the economically rational allocation of space to different purposes, in such a way that maximum utility at minimum cost, was achieved. In order to accommodate the needs of the growing industry and the new urban growth, land had to be provided for industry and housing, and made developable through the layout of streets and

[3] In legal terms, planning is most often also a kind of legislation, as plans by their adoption aquire the status of legal documents. However, there is a significant difference between planning documents and laws, as – in most cases – laws are general and apply universally, while planning documents are specific and apply only to local situations.

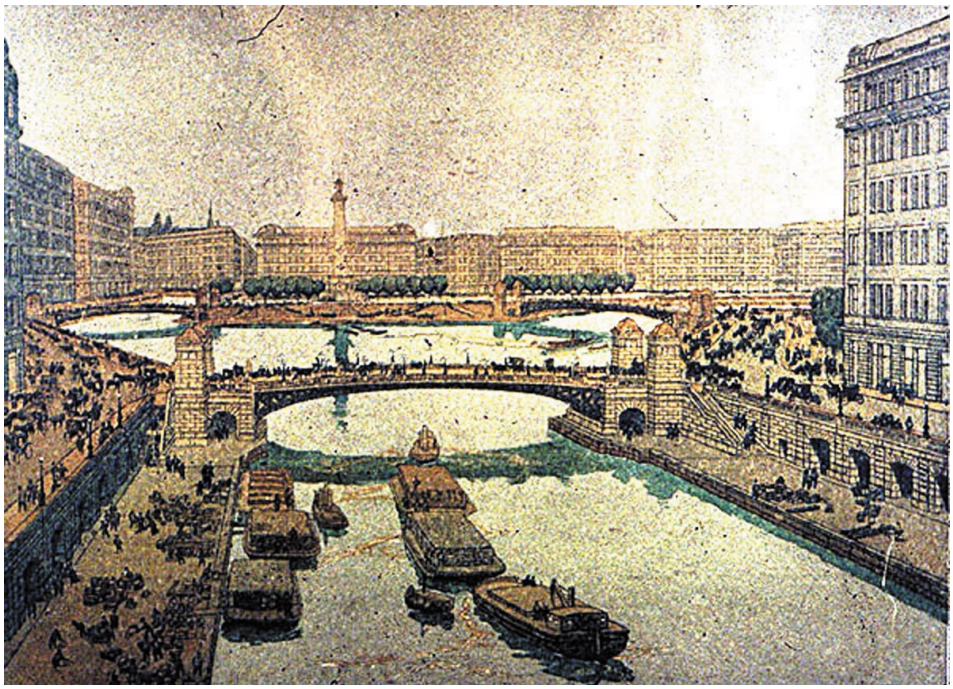


Figure 4.1
Perspective drawing from the 1909 plan for Chicago by Burnham & Bennett. Whether in Chicago, Paris, Vienna, or elsewhere, nineteenth century planning focussed on the monumental qualities of the city

the provision of water pipes and sewers, and other technical infrastructure.

But still, the monumental qualities of the city, as a cultural expression of society, were regarded as important. As industrialization had changed the traditional power relations in society, the emerging metropoles became symbols of the new industrial bourgeoisie (Lefebvre, 1996). Theaters, museums, parliament buildings and other institutions of this new class, along with parks, boulevards and squares, became new features of the city, and the grandiose layout and interconnection of these elements became a primary task for urban planning (Hall, 1996). The Ringstrasse in Vienna (cf. fig. 3.5), Hausmann's transformation of Paris, Cerda's extension of Barcelona, and – somewhat later – the City Beautiful tradition in the United States, are all prominent examples of this monumental tradition in urban planning.

Focussing exclusively on utility and aesthetics, monumental planning was a purely technical matter, and a job for engineers and architects, and in its application it became a willing tool of the ruling class. Although partly criticized for applying a crude and insensitive form of aesthetics (Sitte, 1965), the sins of monumental planning were of a much more severe kind. Despite its achievements in city building – many of which are still widely treasured today – it remained negligent, and even directly adversary, towards any wider social purpose (Hall, 1996).

Planning for Social Improvement

Towards the end of the nineteenth century it became increasingly obvious, that the beautiful city had a rather ugly backside. Despite the fact that the recent city extensions had alleviated the cramped conditions of the overpopulated European cities of the early nineteenth century by allowing development beyond the often remaining

renaissance fortifications, millions of urban dwellers still lived in misery. And although the great epidemics such as cholera and typhoid had been battled successfully, hygiene – a key word in the urban critique of the time – was still far from satisfactory. And for many, the daily fight for survival presented a life of long working hours and travel times, and poor housing at high prices (Hall, 1996; Howard, 1985).

Appalled by the living conditions of the urban poor, well-meaning members of the middle class started agitating for what was to become the reform movement, and ultimately the profession of urban planning (Fishman, 1977; Thomas, 1985). One of the central figures in this movement was Ebenezer Howard, who conceptualized the Garden City as a radical alternative to the city-building of the nineteenth century. Although specific (but somewhat mediocre) in its considerations about the spatial layout of the city, the concept of the Garden City was first and foremost an attempt to link a vision for a new social order to its expression in physical space, thereby giving birth to the idea, that the purpose of planning is beyond mere utility and the aesthetic expression of the city.

Although the concept of the Garden City was originally both radical in scope, in terms of its vision of social change, and comprehensive, in its considerations about the larger urban system as a web of inter-linked communities, its application in practice was more modest. Even though the concept gained immense popularity, it quickly mutated into an urban design concept for garden suburbs, stripped of its original regional potential, as well as its organizational and social principles. As such it became associated primarily with a specific architectural form – embraced as it was by the traditionalist architects Unwin and Parker – and became a primarily residential type, favored largely by the middle class (Hall, 1996).

Nonetheless, planning for social purposes had been put firmly on the agenda, and the improvement of urban living conditions became a primary task for the emerging planning profession. Whatever form planning took, the provision of light, fresh air and green spaces were steady ingredients, and the illustrations agitation for new and better living environments, by comparing the dark slums of the old city with the green and sunny paradise of the new, were numerous.

But the focus was still on the physical environment and the material quality of life. The devised means of improvement – light, air, and green space – were rather simplistic, and the approach was that of the technician – now in the form of the (architect-) planner – devising technical solutions to physical problems. And essentially, the formulation of both the problems of the city, as well as their solution, came from above, from the newborn professionals.

Figure 4.2
Promotional poster for Welwyn Garden City, propagating the fortunes of living in the green, clean and sunny garden city, compare to the dark and dust of the smoking old city

Planning for the Welfare State

As both cities and society became increasingly complex towards the middle of the twentieth century, the scope of planning was widened to encompass not only socio-spatial, but also purely social concerns. Planning became institutionalized as a governmental tool for the adjustment – economically, socially, as well as spatially – of society. By this shift, planners were increasingly recruited from both the technical and social sciences, and sociologists, economists, lawyers, demographers and statisticians

became engaged in planning (Friedmann, 1987).

Not only the physical layout of cities, but also the provision and distribution of public services and amenities, such as, schools, hospitals, sports facilities, and parks, as well as major infrastructure systems, such as highways and electric power systems, became objects of physical planning. Planning became an instrument for policy implementation, including not only technical-functional, but also social, economic, and environmental rationales. As a societal activity, operating in the 'public domain' (ibid.), planning was justified with reference to the public interest, as a means to provide public, or collective, consumption goods (Klosterman, 1985).

By this time, planning had developed into a well-defined profession, which saw its practice as a purely instrumental one of implementing public policy by means of scientific knowledge:

In this view, planning was a form of social engineering in which the objective value-free knowledge of the natural and social sciences could be applied to issues of public policy just as the objective findings of natural science are applied through engineering.

– Klosterman, 1983, p. 216

By this definition, a clear distinction was made between facts and values. Whereas planning as a scientific endeavor, should only deal with quantitative questions of fact, any expression of value was considered beyond planning, belonging solely to the realm of politics (ibid.). Along this line of thought, quantitative methods became central to planning, and the planning process was conceptualized as a repeated cycle of goal formulation (input from politics), problem formulation, definition of different planning scenarios, evaluation of means against ends, and decision, followed by implementation, and subsequent monitoring and feedback.[4]

The scientific nature of planning was largely constituted by its ability to overlook and control this process. Planning therefore had to be synoptic and comprehensive, as every aspect relevant to planning had to be charted, and every effect of planning had to be controlled. Charged with this scientific precision, planning was regarded as the proper means for guiding the course towards implementing the often long range goals of the welfare state.

Although the aim of planning was still to achieve goals which were beyond the physical environment itself, planning in this paradigm seems oddly familiar to the planning of the nineteenth century. Although western societies had meanwhile become democratic, planning was again readily at service to the ruling powers, as a technical science. And although planning was rationalized as serving the so-called public interest, it largely ignored any distributional questions (Klosterman, 1985).

[4] This is the essence of the model of synoptic planning. Some authors formulate it more truncated (Hudson, 1979) and others more meticulously (Friedman, 1987). See also Scott & Roweis, 1977.

The Proliferation and Crisis of Planning

From the late 1950s and up through the 60s and 70s, synoptic planning, based on instrumental rationality, became subject to increased criticism on both epistemological and political grounds. An early critique held that the synoptic planning model was

unachievable in reality, as true comprehensiveness would require endless amounts of time and money. Moreover, as real-life politics imply an incremental process of 'mutual partisan adjustments', the idea of scientific planning based on initial goal formulation, was seen as illusory, and planning, it was deemed, was in reality an incremental sequence of leaps from one stepping stone to the next (Lindblom, 1973).

Although attempts were made to mend the deficiencies of the synoptic planning model, by combining it with features of incrementalism (Etzioni, 1973), the final blow (to both) came from Rittel & Webber (1973), who stated that the paradigm of science and engineering is fundamentally inapplicable to planning. Because the question of whether planning problems have been resolved satisfactorily or not cannot be reduced to a matter of scientific fact, but is always a matter of values, planning problems are inherently 'wicked'. Given the infinite number of variables pertaining to the implementation of planning, there is no way to determine whether a planning solution has actually worked. All planning solutions are therefore 'one-shot-operations', rendering futile any attempts to correct planning measures on the basis of feedback (ibid.).

Also, political critique soon proliferated. Given the many disastrous results of rationalistic planning, especially within housing, but also the narrow technical rationale which lay behind much traffic planning (Hall, 1996), the questions of what and whom planning was for, (re-)entered the planning discourse. Two major strands of critique emerged. One was opposing institutionalized planning, either in the form of advocacy planning (Davidoff, 1973) or in the form of radical planning. The other was aiming at a democratization of institutionalized planning, in the form of transactive planning (Friedman, 1973b).

Advocacy planning emerged as a reaction to the centralist and technocratic values underlying the synoptic planning model, speaking the case of the poor, of neighborhoods, and other groups, whose views and interests were not represented by institutionalized planning (Alexander, 1979). Radical planning, in its activist formulation, sought a general retreat from society, "content to operate in the interstices

Figure 4.3
The 1972 demolition of the 'Pruitt-Igoe' social housing in St. Louis, USA, which Charles Jencks proclaimed as 'the end of modernism' epitomizes the failure of rational-comprehensive planning.

of the Establishment rather than challenging the system head-on" (Hudson, 1979, p. 390). Personal growth, cooperation and freedom from authoritative rule were the central values underlying this approach (ibid.).

A similar set of values formed the foundations of transactive planning, although this strand was aiming at society at large. Rather than dealing with overarching goals for an anonymous public, planning goals, by the standards of the paradigm, should be formulated in a collaborative process, including the people who were affected by the planning. As much as focussing on the goods and services that planning provides for people, planning was measured by its effect on people. As transactive planning was the only alternative to synoptic planning which offered a new direction for institutionalized planning, it was to become far the most influential. However, it presented a major modal change for planning, as it required a shift from technical and analytical skills to communicative skills and mutual learning processes (ibid.), as the process of planning in itself became an important goal of planning.

Later on, in the 1980s, carried by the Neo-liberalist winds blowing from Thatcherist Britain and Reaganist USA, planning was swayed by yet another trend. Taking side with the corporate world, supporters of strategic planning and public-private partnerships argued that traditional planning presented an unnecessary restraint for the free forces of the market, thus inhibiting growth and welfare (Kaufman & Jacobs, 1987). Moreover, a contended supremacy of the market led to the suggestion that planning tasks should as widely as possible, be transferred to the private hand (Squires, 1996).

Regardless of the many constructive contributions to the development of the discipline, this proliferation of planning into many different styles has in many ways weakened the status and legitimacy of planning within society. And even though planning continues to be carried out, and few seem to question the necessity of planning – in some form or another – it seems harder than ever, unequivocally to answer the question of why to plan. In that sense, it seems evident that planning is in a state of crisis (Friedman, 1987).

This brief account of some 150 years of planning indicates the remarkable changes which the discipline has experienced since the precursory activities of monumental planning in the 19th century to the seeming confusion of the present day. Not only has there been a shift in focus, from the immediate physical environment to broader societal goals, but the very ability of planning to handle the tasks that it has been deployed to solve, has been repeatedly questioned and reformulated. In its conceptualization it has been swaying forth and back between being regarded as a value-free technical or scientific endeavor, or a means for redefinition of values and social change. This oscillating course of the discipline has largely reflected its changing position as being either at the service of the establishment or the disenfranchised.

A POLITICAL VIEW OF WHY TO PLAN

As planning is a future oriented activity, it must be founded on a vision about how this future should be. A conservative vision would want it to be little different from the present, and would see planning as a tool for system maintenance. A radical vision, on the other hand, would want it to be much different from the present, and would

see planning as a tool for system transformation. Mediating between these extremes, a moderate vision would want things to alter gradually, and would see planning as a tool for gradual system change (Friedman, 1987).

Different planning styles may accommodate these positions more or less distinctly, and some may even be ambiguous about them. Some are formulated explicitly in favor of a certain role for planning, while others only implicitly sustain a given position. Whereas system-maintaining planning is generally bureaucratic and articulated by the state, system-transforming planning is a form of autonomous action in opposition to institutionalized planning. System-changing planning, by nature, may encompass aspects of both (ibid.).

Despite these ambivalences and differences, the different roles for planning as either system-maintaining, system-changing, or system-transforming represent fundamentally different conceptions of why to plan. And as the question of whether the established order should be maintained or changed is intrinsically linked to the question of power, they also express different views of whom to plan for.

Planning for the Status Quo

One of the most significant critiques of the synoptic planning model was presented by Charles E. Lindblom (1959) and was pointed at the impossibility, in practice, to obtain an overview of all aspects relevant to the formulation of comprehensive plans. In his famous article 'The science of muddling through', he therefore suggested the adoption of an incremental approach to planning (or, in fact, to public administration in general), by which any aspiration to comprehensiveness was deliberately declined upon, in favour of step-by-step action, defined by a 'realist' apprehension of what is feasible.

As planning is generally viewed as a deliberate process leading to the implementation of specified goals (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1996), incrementalism has largely been viewed as a non-planning approach, based on laissez-faire premises (Alexander, 1979; Fainstein & Fainstein, 1996). However, even though incrementalism may be regarded as the opposite of planning, it has gained much attention within planning theory, as "it produces the fruits of planning in its results" (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1996, p. 272).

The central argument in Lindblom's critique is, that although the rational-comprehensive method of synoptic planning, with clarification of values and subsequent policy formulation on the basis of comprehensive analysis of alternatives, may be preferable in theory, this method is impossible in practice. The reason is, that it is impossible, in reality, to establish an information base for analysis which is truly comprehensive, and therefore it is impossible to take all relevant factors for decision making into account.

Instead, he argues in favor of incrementalism, or what he calls 'the successive limited comparisons method' as superior to the rational-comprehensive method in solving complex problems (such as planning problems), because no ultimate goals are defined, but only solutions within reach are considered. The fundamental difference between the two approaches is, that while the rational-comprehensive

method approaches problems 'by root', the successive limited comparisons method approaches problems 'by branch' (Lindblom, 1959).

This however, is not a problem, Lindblom argues, because, in reality, choosing between values is only possible when concrete policies, which offer a different weighing of values, can be compared. Hence, values cannot be evaluated in beforehand, but only chosen between during the process. And thus, specifying the goodness of a policy is relative, as it becomes a matter of its preferability to other policies. Furthermore, because politics in reality are always incremental, there is no reason why radical alternatives should be evaluated, because they are unrealistic, and therefore politically irrelevant.

As choosing between policies in practice is often a question of, in a sense, choosing between lesser evils, any given policy may be preferred simultaneously by more conflicting parties, as the best possible solution, although for different reasons. Hence, fundamental disagreement can be resolved in practice, as means do not necessarily correspond to only one end. Agreement, then, becomes the practice test for the goodness of policy, and "therefore it is not irrational for an administrator to defend a policy as good without being able to specify what it is good for" (ibid., p. 160).

Because social science is not capable of fully predicting consequences of policy moves, the rational-comprehensive method does not work in reality, and may even be deleterious. Therefore, planning is better off choosing a method of incremental change, as it would otherwise risk 'lasting mistakes' (ibid., p. 165). The incremental approach, due to its ability to adjust along the way, is also more capable of catering for the fact that policy is a continuous process and not made up once and for all.

Finally, while the branch model works by comparative analysis of incremental changes, any attempt to precursory policy formulation requires abstraction, as "man cannot think without classifying" (ibid., p. 165). The root model, therefore, relies heavily on abstracted 'theory'. Theory, however, is often of little help to practice, because it is greedy for facts – as it can be constructed only through large data collection – and insufficiently precise for processes that move through small changes.

Although Lindblom's critique of rational-comprehensive planning is certainly relevant in many ways, his 'realist' approach shares the view of the rational-comprehensive approach to planning as something merely applied to politics – however intertwined with politics in its application, and thus as devoid of normative content in itself. Nonetheless, because of the deliberate rejection of any radical policy scenarios, the nature of incrementalism is conservative. When working 'by branch', only minor adjustments can ever be achieved, and the system as it is, is generally maintained. This may be a very workable approach, but by nature, working for radical, or even moderate change, is working against the current. While floating with the stream is always the easiest thing to do, being mainstream is basically to accept the way things are.

Although 'the way things are' is always an expression of the existing power relations, this does not worry Lindblom at all. While, in the most bureaucratic sense, taking the administrator's point of view, he is not interested in why planning is carried out, but only in how it can be carried out with the least effort and the highest level of integrity on behalf of the administrator (or planner):

Since the policies ignored by the administrator are politically impossible and so irrelevant, the simplification of analysis achieved by concentrating on policies that differ only incrementally is not a capricious kind of simplification. In addition, it can be argued that, given the limits on knowledge within which policy-makers are confined, simplifying by limiting the focus to small variations from present policy makes the most of available knowledge. Because policies being considered are like present and past policies, the administrator can obtain information and claim some insight. Nonincremental policy proposals are therefore typically not only politically irrelevant but also unpredictable in their consequences.

– ibid., p. 162

An obscuring factor in revealing the conservative nature of incrementalism is, that by stressing the 'realism' and the operational virtues of the approach, it may appear to be purely positive. However, describing planning as it is (positive theory of planning), rather than as it ought to be (normative theory of planning) does not mean that planning as it is, is not normative. It might only suggest that it is so implicitly, rather than explicitly.

In sum, although incrementalism – or non-planning – may not explicitly be meant to be conservative, it produces the fruits of conservatism in its results. Or, in the words of Alexander: "To the extent that one agrees … that the *status quo* is good and needs only minor changes, … he or she will accept nonplanning to some degree" (1979, p. 122, emphasis in original).

Different from incrementalism in its clearly formulated theoretical foundations, but similar both in its partial view of planning and its uncritical stance towards existing power relations, is the concept of strategic planning. Originally developed in the corporate world as a means for corporations to plan more effectively in a world of increasing uncertainty, strategic planning began to gain attention within public planning in the early 1980s (Kaufman & Jacobs, 1987).

Although the deficiencies of comprehensive planning were widely acknowledged by that time, the arguments in favour of strategic planning, as in the case of incrementalism, was largely based on a critique of comprehensive planning, with which public planning was equated (ibid.). Much like incrementalism, strategic planning was solicited as being realistic, not over-expecting the capabilities of planning, as being more concerned about estimating costs, and for a generally better performance in getting the job done.

Central to strategic planning is the concept of SWOT-analysis, which is the idea of analyzing Strengths and Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats as the basis for strategy formulation. This is done in a sequence of scanning the environment, selecting key issues, stating a mission and formulating goals, undertaking internal and external analyses, developing strategies, and formulating plans for strategic action, succeeded by monitoring, updating and repeated scanning (ibid.).

This cycle may appear familiar, as it bears strong resemblance with the classic model of the process of comprehensive planning (cf. above). The crucial difference being, however, that by the strategic planning model, the environmental scan precedes

goal formulation, whereas by the comprehensive planning model, goal formulation is the basis for all the succeeding steps. In other words, by the strategic planning model goals, are formulated on the basis of what appears feasible, rather than on the basis of what is politically desirable.

As is the case for incrementalism, this is a significant reduction of the scope for planning, but again, not without a certain bias. Strategic planning, being originally a corporate model for action, focuses specifically on what the acting body is good at – something which is expressed by favoring strategy over policy. Hence, fields in which the acting body is weak, are not considered as feasible fields of action, and are omitted from the formulation.

For businesses which can allow themselves to be selective in their scope of action, this may not represent a problem, as their main objective is to produce the best result on the bottom line, regardless of how. The policy, or strategy, pursued may have no end in itself, as long as it translates into dollars by the end of the day. Most often however, public planning – when not defined narrowly within a public corporation or agency with a similarly narrow scope of tasks – includes the provision of services which, by nature, are not productive or profit generating. When the strategic planning model is applied to public planning, it is therefore likely to change not only the planning performance but also the planning objectives, and hence, it becomes a question, not only of getting the job done, but also of what job to get done.

In focussing on strengths rather than weaknesses, strategic planning prioritizes fields in which performance is good, and neglects fields in which performance is poor, leaving out any discussion about which performance is wanted. Not unlike incrementalism, this is most likely to have the outcome that the existing order of things will prevail, as existing strengths get stronger, while existing weaknesses get weaker. Strategic planning must therefore be considered to be a predominantly conservative style of planning.

Furthermore, strategic planning may also, to some extent, be regarded as non-planning, from a public planning point of view. In focusing on competition as a way to gain advantage from strength, it does to some extent play by the rules of the market. In doing so, it works counter to the tasks of public planning of alleviating market failure, as it is impossible to do both.

In this latter respect, strategic planning is similar to the concept of public-private partnerships, which, although not canonized as an actual planning style, has also been paid increasing attention within planning, since the 1980s. The fundamental idea of public-private partnerships is to hand over public sector tasks to the private sector, in order to achieve better performance. This idea is founded in the belief, that because the private sector is more productive, innovative, and effective, than the public sector, both sectors will be better off, if public sector tasks are laid in the hands of the private sector (Squires, 1991).

As such, the concept of public-private partnerships is rooted in the ideology of privatism, which, basically, is the belief that the joint forces of the private sector and the market are, by nature, always superior in promoting development. And hence, the primary task of the public sector should be to facilitate private capital accumulation. Therefore, public planning should support the private sector for the purpose of

growth, by augmenting market forces, rather than supplanting them. Furthermore, any corrective measure that might intervene in private investment decision making, or challenge market forces for the betterment of the community, is explicitly rejected (ibid.).

Given the economic dominance of this view, public-private partnerships have been put to work especially when economic development has been seen as the primary task of planning. Such a narrow definition of the scope of planning, however, leans towards a definition of planning similar to that of the paradigm of instrumental rationalism:

Given that [development] is presumed to be principally a technical rather than a political process, cities must work more closely with private industry to facilitate … restructuring in order to establish more effectively their comparative advantages and market themselves in an increasingly competitive economic climate. Such partnerships, it is assumed, will bring society's best and brightest resources (which reside in the private sector) to bear on its most severe public problems.

– ibid., p. 269

This view seems to fail to acknowledge, or rather to ignore, that neither cities nor markets are neutral, let alone unified entities. On the contrary, they are arenas of conflict which are not only structured by, but also reflect, differences in wealth and power. As such, the city does not represent a unified interest, just as little as the market works for a unified goal. On the contrary, the city represents several conflicting and unequal interests, which the market is incapable of – or uninterested in – unifying. In fact, this is the very reason why there is urban politics.

So, the rosy idea of unifying the forces of the public and the private sector for the mutual benefit of both, is, at best, illusory. Not only does the self interest of the market in the city make it incapable of working as a neutral tool for a unified goal, but the possibility of establishing a unified goal is in itself is a misconception. On the contrary, the annihilation of the role of planning as a corrective measure against market failure, in favor of one of promoting the market, represents a strong bias in favor of the market.

The aims of the market, of course, can only be expressed in economic terms. Favoring the market, therefore also promotes a view of the city in terms of exchange value, at the expense of a view of the city in terms of use value. In a market economy, use value is a vulnerable concept in relation to exchange value, and by favoring the latter over the former, the losers will be those who praise the city for its use value, and the winners will be those interested in its exchange value (ibid.). As those viewing the city in terms of its exchange value, typically real estate developers, commercial business interests, and manufacturers, represent the traditional power base in society, in opposition to 'ordinary' people, for whom the city is a place to live and work, introducing markets as a force for development seems, as Squires puts it, to "… reinforce prevailing unequal social relations and dominant values …" (ibid., p. 270).

Although the planning approaches described in this section have been solicited

on the basis of their 'realist', rather than idealist approach, and justified with reference to their operational qualities, they are not devoid of normative content. By its clear ideological foundation in privatism, the normative position of the concept of public-private partnerships, however, is much more explicit than it is the case for both incrementalism and strategic planning. But building on existing power relations is always easier than trying to change them. Therefore, approaches which put an emphasis on feasibility inevitably tend to be conservative in their achievements – an attribute which they do all have in common.

Planning for Radical Transformation

As planning deals with the allocation of space and resources for different purposes, it can be framed within the classical definition of politics, as a question of "who gets what, when, where, why and how" (Davidoff, 1973, p. 292). In this view, it is clear that planning may favor some more than others. And as the conservative planning approaches discussed above are favoring the established powers in society, they are unlikely to respond to the needs and desires of underprivileged and politically unorganized groups in society (Etzioni, 1973).

This contention is the motivation for Davidoff, in his call for advocacy and pluralism in planning (1973):

The just demand for political and social equality on the part of the Negro and the impoverished requires the public to establish the bases for a society affording equal opportunity to all citizens. The compelling need for intelligent planning, for specification of new social goals and the means for achieving them, is manifest.

– ibid., p. 277

Two basic obstacles, in Davidoff's view, are in the way of a just planning which would cater for alternatives to the established views of planning. First, traditional planning is centralized within public planning agencies which hold a planning monopoly. This leads to narrowness in the definition of possible planning scenarios. Second, the underprivileged groups in society have no established channels for their points of view. Therefore, their opinions about planning have no voice. The measure that Davidoff suggests as a means to remove these obstacles, is to make planning more pluralistic, offering broader alternatives for evaluation, and to make planners deliberately advocate the views of the underprivileged.

Because plans always have different social and economic consequences for different groups of people, they are always politically contentious. To charge a single planning agency with a planning monopoly is therefore undemocratic, as it is likely to be biassed in favor of the established order of things, as well as the technical rationality of the planning profession. And even if several planning alternatives are offered, they are likely to be narrowly defined within the same paradigm, as the parameters for variation are still set up by the same body of planners.

By opening up for other planning agents to produce planning proposals in a pluralistic planning situation, would allow for genuinely different planning views to

enter the discussion. A plurality of plans representing a wider range of views would form a more informed base for political discussion, which in turn would improve the level of rationality in planning. Furthermore, the critiques of established planning would find a medium by which to render constructive, enabling citizens' organizations and others critical of central planning, to become proactive rather than reactive, as they are likely to be under the traditional planning system.

In order for alternative and especially underprivileged views of planning to be present in the discussion, they must be solicited by the professional planners. Instead of making claim to a meaningless value-freedom, planners, in Davidoff's view, should therefore not only make their underlying values explicit, but wholeheartedly engage themselves in favor of what they 'deem proper'. The metaphor of this approach is that of a lawyer advocating his client's interest in a lawsuit:

The idealized political process in a democracy serves the search for truth in much the same manner as due process in law. Fair notice of hearings, production of supporting evidence, cross examination, reasoned decision are all means deployed to arrive at relative truth: a just decision.

– ibid., p. 279-280

Advocate planners, in other words, should present the arguments of the groups they represent in a language understandable to the decision makers. In this view, an important task of the planner is to act as a mediator between different views. At the same time, the planner should inform his clients about the effects of different planning proposals, as well as legal and organizational aspects of planning. This attributes the planner with a double role of both educator and informer, much different from that of a technical expert, devising the proper remedies for planning problems.

The concept of advocacy and pluralism in planning is based on an inclusive definition of planning, which not only acknowledges the inherently political nature of the discipline, but also requires a fundamentally different approach than traditional planning. It is not just a question of making planners and planning agencies act differently; it has consequences for the entire structural organization of planning. As Davidoff acknowledges, resources must be allocated to advocate the views of groups and organizations which would otherwise not have a voice in the planning process. But also different forums for communication, as well as other decision making processes would be required.

As such, the call for advocacy and pluralism in planning is also a wish to fundamentally change planning to be something else than it has traditionally been. It is therefore not a 'realist' view of planning, but a radical view, by which planning must be changed, in order to change the outcomes of planning.

Another fundamental critique of planning, similar to that of Davidoff's, both in its wish to change the focus of planning, and in its epistemological implications for the practice of planning, comes from feminist planning theory. Based on feminist theory, which developed in the 1970s and 80s, especially within the arts, humanities, and social sciences (Liggett, 1996), feminist planning theory is rooted in the idea that "gender is a significant aspect of the cultural, social political, and economic construction of reality"

(Ritzdorf, p. 445). Feminist planning theory thus contends that gender and gender differences pervade all aspects of social life, including language, moral consciousness, as well as categories of thinking (Friedman, 1996). Therefore, as little as theory can be value neutral in general, it cannot be gender neutral either.

This has implications for planning on two levels. First, as both society and planning are historically male-dominated, traditional planning has tended to focus on male, issues and to give second priority to issues of importance to women. Second, established norms for relevance, credibility, and methodology exclude female ways of knowing, communicating and acting.

As it is a fundamental assumption in feminist theory, that women are oppressed or devalued by society, their views and needs are not appropriately catered for by conventional planning. Whereas traditional planning theory ignores or justifies inappropriate or exploitative treatment of women, feminist planning theory focusses on issues such as the implications of the different economic status of women and men, women's location in, and movement through space, and the relation between public and domestic life (Ritzdorf, 1996). The difference between traditional and feminist planning would be expressed, for example, through the priority given to adequate provision of child care or the importance given to public versus individual transportation. But also on the level of physical design, more attention would be paid to issues such as personal safety and pedestrian access (Fainstein, 1996a; Ritzdorf, 1996).

In many ways, traditional male-dominated planning can be described as favoring economic growth and efficiency, which can be measured in monetary terms, over issues relevant to women, who are still performing the majority of nonpaying reproductive labor. This gives a bias towards 'hard' services, such as infrastructure and buildings over 'soft' social services. Regarding the physical environment from an economic point of view also neglects the use aspect of space, as demonstrated in residential zoning and the resulting division of home from work (Fainstein, 1996a).

Traditional planning theory is strongly committed to functional rationality as the basis for human action, and to the use of abstract principles and rights as criteria for decision making. According to feminist theory, however, female ways of knowing include narratives, listening, and visual forms of communication, as well as tacit and intuitive knowledge and 'learning by doing' (Sandercock & Forsyth, 1996). Therefore, a fundamental problem exists, both in planning research and practice, in that established norms exclude female frameworks of justification.

As female ways of knowing are subject-related, feminist theory holds that knowledge is autobiographical and 'gendered' in nature, and emphasizes that personal experience and grounded research are valuable theory-building and research tools. It rejects the notion of detached science, and asserts that research must bridge the gap between theory and practice. In addition, it is in favor of a holistic approach to problems, as well as cooperative problem solving (Ritzdorf, 1996).

The feminist approach to planning stirs up conventional norms and views, concerning the content, as well as the epistemological foundations for planning. Although it is not alone in this venture, it does so with a distinct focus, and a specific set of values. Whether these are all specifically feminist has been subject to dispute.

Ironically, feminist epistemology has also been criticized for being unconscious of its own embeddedness in dominant culture as a white, western, middle-class notion. In addition, it has been questioned whether women is at all a useful unifying category, as it may not transcend the categories of class, race, ethnicity or sexual preference. (Sandercock & Forsyth, 1996).

Regardless of these disputes, feminist planning, in Liggett's words, still offers a distinct critique, and devises a different way for planning, as

… feminist theory offers a variety of tools with which to begin the work of knowing and reacting to the limits of current 'realisms' in planning. Following the tradition of advocacy planning and working with current concerns with equality and ethics in planning, feminist theory offers a foundation from which to shape and reproduce the discipline.

– 1996, p. 454

Planning for Moderate Change

A third way of planning, positioned politically between the conservative styles of incrementalism and strategic planning, and the radical forms of planning such as advocacy planning, suggests moderate change, on the basis of democratic planning processes. While most forms of radical planning attempt to redefine planning to meet particular interests of specific groups of people, whether it is the interests of the poor, of minorities, or of neighborhoods facing problems of gentrification or redevelopment which is not in their interest, and therefore tend to be in opposition to the established planning system, democratic planning theory attempts to redefine institutionalized planning itself.[5]

Criticizing both traditional technocratic forms of planning and partial planning styles, democratic planning theory focusses on the planning process, and particularly on communication, as a means to enhance democracy in planning. On the one hand, traditional planning is criticized for giving priority to economic rationality over the needs and wishes of the citizens as well as the regard for the environment. More fundamentally, though, the hegemonic power of scientific reason over other realms of knowledge in planning is questioned, as it represents an a priori exclusion of alternative discourses (Healey, 1996).

On the other hand, the advocacy approach, by which planning is conceptualized as a power game, is also criticized. By putting hard against hard, and treating each interest as a power source, and the planning process as a bargaining process aiming at creating "a calculus that expresses the power relations among the participants" (ibid., p. 250), it excludes the possibility of mutual learning, which depends on communication and dialogue.

One of the first to address the question of communication in planning was John Friedman, who developed the concept of transactive planning (1973b). Friedman contends that one of the major problems in planning is, that the planners and their clients do not speak the same language. The differences in thinking and language between planners, who rely on processed (technical) knowledge, and their clients,

[5] Democratic planning is used here as a common denominator for Friedman's concept of transactive planning (1973b,) and Healey's concept of communicative planning (1996, 1999).

who typically rely on knowledge which is based on personal experience, represent a communication barrier, which makes it difficult to rationally link knowledge to action. Because of this problem, seemingly rational planning efforts are at risk of rendering irrational (Forester, 1980; Friedman, 1973b).

Whereas processed knowledge is based on theories about narrow aspects of the world, which can be generalized (although only under limited circumstances), personal knowledge is richer, but less generalizable. As such, different ways of knowing constitute different cultural realms which mold people's approach and behavior. In order to improve communication, it is therefore not enough just to 'speak in simpler terms'; the very relationship between planner and client must be changed.

Hence, transactive planning focuses on planners and clients as individual persons, and the way they interact, in order to establish a setting in which communication, mediating between different ways of knowing, can ultimately lead to meaningful planning:

If the communication gap between planner and client is to be closed, a continuing series of personal and primarily verbal transactions between them is needed, through which processed knowledge is fused with personal knowledge and both are fused with action.

– ibid., p. 177

Because planners might not be able to give useful advise if technical rationality is deployed in a detached manner, it is important for them to be able to understand the reasons behind the tasks they are asked to solve. This involves a process of mutual learning, where personal knowledge and technical knowledge is exchanged and both undergo a change, so that a common image of the situation can emerge, and a new understanding of the possibilities for change can be discovered.

In this view, planning is not guided by common fundamental ideas or principles about what is good and bad (Healey, 1996); on the contrary, these definitions must be constituted during the planning process. In order for this to be achieved, the planning process must be founded on an acceptance of otherness, openness, and a readiness for change. It requires accept of conflict, as agreement may not always be achievable, but also implies mutual preparedness for continued dialogue (Friedman, 1973b).

Therefore, the planning process cannot be forced, neither should it be. As transactive planning is based on communicative rationality, its primary task is to guide the process of planning. The views of the client must be respected, although they may change through the process of mutual learning. However, understanding and behavioral change takes time. Hence, the role of the planner is neither political – to want things to happen, nor implemental – to make things happen (ibid.).

Although later contributions to this view of planning are largely congenial with Friedman's concept of transactive planning, they make more explicit reference to critical theory and the notion of communicative action, as developed by Habermas (Forester, 1980; Healey, 1996). Building on Habermas' universal pragmatics, Forester stresses that acts of speaking must be comprehensible, sincere, legitimate and truthful,

for communication to be meaningful. This understanding, he contends, is crucial in planning (as in other aspects of life) because the contested nature of planning easily leads to distorted communication, which may ultimately lead to counterproductive, as well as undemocratic planning decisions (Forester, 1980).

Whereas Friedman stresses the importance of undistorted and meaningful communication on the interpersonal level, Forester argues that it is equally important on the organizational, as well as the political and ideological levels, as they constitute the larger framework of discourse, or thought-worlds, within which communication takes place. In this picture, the contribution of critical theory to planning is to develop "pragmatics with vision – to reveal true alternatives, to correct false expectations, to counter cynicism, to foster inquiry, to spread political responsibility, engagement, and action" (ibid., p 283).

As the vision of planning, in this view, is one of democracy and a just planning process, democratic planning in itself does not have a vision about substantive goals. Clearly, as the very idea of democratic planning is that planning goals must emerge out of a communicative planning process, any preemptive formulation of substantive goals would be adversary to its conception. Hence, the goals of democratic planning can only be recapitulated from its application in practice.

CONCLUSION

In the course of the past 150 years, planning has experienced immense changes, both in its nature as an activity, as well as in the definition of its purpose. From being a purely technical activity, focussing on utility and aesthetics, in the form of nineteenth century monumental planning, social issues entered the planning agenda at the turn of the twentieth century. While the physical environment was still the focus of planning, its purpose now shifted towards the improvement of the quality of life for the urban dweller. Towards the middle of the twentieth century, planning had become institutionalized as a public activity, aiming broadly at the provision and distribution of public services, as a means to implement the welfare society. As planning in this period was seen as purely instrumental, leaving normative considerations to the level of politics, it ultimately faced a crisis. This led to the proliferation of the profession into several normative strands, ranging from system-maintaining approaches, over system-changing approaches, to system-transforming approaches.

System-maintaining theories of urban planning argue along lines of realism and feasibility. Lindblom argues for an incrementalist approach to planning (as opposed to the rational-comprehensive approach) by which only solutions within reach are considered, as a means to raise the predictability of the outcomes of planning. But the rejection of radical scenarios, in essence, is conservative, as it only allows for minor adjustments to the status quo, while the overall system is generally maintained.

Similarly, strategic planning, building on SWOT-analysis, and the concept of public-private partnerships are conservative in their focus on economic feasibility, as they force planning to operate on market terms – and thus on the terms of established economic powers – rather than trying to alleviate market failure.

Not surprisingly, system-transforming theories of urban planning are critical of the

narrow scope of the system maintaining theories. On the contrary, both Davidoff, with his notion of advocacy and pluralism in planning, and feminist planning theorists like Liggett, Ritzdorf, and Sandercock & Forsyth argue for broadening up the rationales for planning.

The radical planning theorists argue that traditional planning values are likely not only to be in favor of the established order of things, but also to reflect the technical rationality of the planning profession. Hence, they are conscious of the aspect of power in planning, as they argue in favor of giving voice to the underprivileged and the impoverished, regardless of whether they argue along lines of ethnicity, gender or social status.

The more moderate system-changing theories of urban planning are critical of both of the former approaches. While conservative or traditional planning styles are criticized for putting hard, technical, and economic issues over soft, social and environmental issues, the radical approaches, such as the advocacy approach, are criticized for putting hard against hard, leaving no scope for mutual learning.

The system-changing, or democratic, planning theories of Friedman, Forester and Healey focus on interaction on the personal level. Planners, in this view, must be capable of fusing their own, technical knowledge and insight with the personal knowledge of clients. Therefore communication and mutual learning becomes paramount, as planning problems cannot meaningfully be solved without a broad understanding and consensus among stakeholders.

While the system-maintaining theories of urban planning are generally not conscious – or reflective – about their own embedded normativity, the system-transforming theories are very explicit on the issue of normativity, as they take a very clear standing in favor of the groups which are marginalized by established planning. The system-changing theories of urban planning, on the other hand, are equally explicit about not defining a normative base, as this should be constituted through the planning process. As such, the normativity of the latter is a meta-normativity, as the issue of concern is how the normative base should be constituted, rather than what it should be.

Although planning, despite its recurring reformulations, has consistently been dealing with the shaping of the physical environment, its attention has shifted from immediate physical design to the distribution of uses and the provision of services. Furthermore, a growing awareness of the importance of the physical environment for the quality of life for different social groups has made the political nature of planning more explicit and subject to increased attention.

With this dual shift in planning, towards function and use on the one hand, and towards social issues and the question of power on the other, the practice and purpose of planning has grown increasingly alien to architecture, which, in its central focus on form, is more concerned with the design of urban space. This alienation, in many ways, triggered the formation of the contemporary field of urban design within architectural thinking, as an attempt to reintroduce the aspect of urban form in the shaping of the physical environment.

In their shared object of the shaping of the physical environment, none of the disciplines of planning and urban design can be negligent of each other's aims. After

all, uses and services cannot be distributed in space without resulting in some kind of urban form, as little as urban form can be designed without consequences for the distribution of uses and services and their implied consequences for the quality of life. As planning and urban design are two sides of the same matter, their objectives must be joined in action.

In order to be successful in the shaping of the physical environment, it is not enough to adopt a broad definition of objectives, however. Without an understanding of how urban life interacts with the space of the city, the effort may be in vain. While the creation of space is the object of both urban design and planning theory, the socio-spatial relation is the object of urban theory. As the socio-spatial relation may be analyzed in many different ways, and as the conclusions about what constitutes good urban life may be just as varied, urban theory, like urban design and planning theory, features many different normative positions. The next chapter therefore supplements the investigation of normativity in urban design and planning with an investigation of different approaches and normative positions in urban theory.

Urban theory is an umbrella term for the different theoretical fields that deal with the relations between the physical world and the social world within the space and scale which is normally referred to as 'the city'. As urban theory deals with both space and the social, it is interdisciplinary by nature. It therefore attracts the interest of a number of social and human sciences. Its contributors recruit from an array of disciplines, and each draw on both sociology, human geography, psychology, history and philosophy.

This plurality of disciplines, as well as the internal discourses of each discipline, has fostered the formation of different scholastic traditions within urban theory. Within the different traditions, different priorities prevail, the relation between space and the social, as well as different conceptions of the nature and scale of the relationship between space and the social.

Broadly speaking, urban theory may be categorized into three major approaches: Urban sociology, which investigates the social processes that develop within, and characterize, the urban; a politically and economically oriented approach within urban geography, which investigates the structural relationships that shape and determine the development of cities; and finally, an urban policy oriented approach, which investigates the local state and local politics (Lindboe, 1988).

Sociology deals with the relations between people. The question of whether, and to what extent, space – the physical world – is determinant for the relations between people – the social world – has been subject to changing interest and priority within the disciplin. The branches within sociology that deal with space are normally referred to as 'urban sociology' or, with Tonboe's (1993) more neutral term, sociology of space.

Urban sociology dates back to the work of the early German sociologists, who focussed on the social reality of the new metropoles of the nineteenth century, such as Berlin and Vienna. It was consolidated by American sociologists associated with what has become known as the Chicago school of sociology.[1] Like the German sociologists, their point of departure was social life as it was shaped by the new metropoles and Chicago in particular. Thereby, the empirical object was the metropolis as such.

This position was confronted by the later Neo-Marxist theory which rejected the views of the Chicago school. The Neo-Marxists held that the social life of the city, as well as the city itself, are fundamentally conditioned by the economic system, in the form of the 'capitalist mode of production'. In this view, the social is not conditioned by the city; both the social and the city are conditioned by the economic system. To consider space as determinant in relation to the social, in this view, is considered unscientific and an expression of 'spatial determinism'.

Geography has also been dominated by different schools, but contrary to the sociologist, geographers have not had the same problems about dealing with space, as it represents the very focus of their theoretical field. On the contrary, theorists of urban geography have at times been criticized of giving to much priority to space over the social.

To overview the field of urban theory at a glance is not an easy task. This is due,

[1] The Chicago school of sociology of the 1920s must not be confused with the the late nineteenth century Chicago School of architecture which is known for the development of high rise buildings based on the curtain wall structural system, and whose most prominent figure was Sullivan, the mentor of Frank Lloyd Wright.

not only to the number of different schools and disciplines that take interest in the field, but also to their different approaches to the field. First, different approaches represent different scales of investigation. Thus, some theorists, such as Castells and Harvey, deal with the socio-spatial relation on the macro, or structural, level, while others, such as Sennett, focus on the micro, or actor level. Yet others, such as Lefebvre, adopt a broad focus, spanning from actor to structure. Differences in scale may relate to the social dimension – from society to the individual or group, as well as to the spatial dimension – from the region to the level of the city, neighborhood or street.

Second, different approaches have different conceptions of the notion of space. Physical space may be regarded in terms of either extension or enclosure. Looking at the distribution of uses in space and the overcoming of distance represent a view of space as extension. Conversely, looking at three-dimensional space as 'material' that either conveys or restricts the actions of individuals represents a view of space as enclosure. As with Lefebvre, space may also be categorized by conceptional differences, such as absolute space, (the space of nature), perceived space (the space of culture, space as a means or expression, or the space of architecture and the city), and abstract space (space as exchange value) (Tonboe 1993).

Finally, different approaches may have different conceptions of the relation between space and the social. It may be understood as a one-way relation from the social to space, by which space is described in relation to the social. It may be understood as a dialectical relation, by which both space and the social exert powers that impact the socio-spatial relation. To some, this is attributing mysterious powers to space – as a basically inanimate thing – which are unaccountable for. Instead, the socio-spatial relation may be understood as a dual relation, by which both space and the social matter, although space simply reflects the social. Some hold that space and the social are inseparable and must be understood as a duality, and finally some, like Østerberg, hold that the question is more complex, and that some relations must be understood as external relations, pertaining to either space or the social even when separated, while other relations must be understood as internal relations, which are a product of the combination of space and the social (ibid.).

Depending on the approach and focus which is adopted, different statements can be made about the relation between space and the social. These different statements are not necessarily mutually inconsistent. On the contrary, they may present useful supplements to one another, in order to provide a broad understanding of the relation between space and the social.

THE CHICAGO SCHOOL

Together with Simmel and Weber, who represented the so-called 'German idealism' (Tonboe, 1993), Durkheim and Tönnies were the first actual sociologists.[2] The latter is known in particular for his definition of the notions of Gemeinschaft (community) and Gesellschaft (society). In Tönnies definition, Gemeinschaft is a rural sociality, characterized by personal networks and responsibility for the local community, whereas Gesellschaft is an urban sociality, characterized by constantly changing, impersonal bonds, alienation and economic calculus (Andersen, 1988).

[2] Ferdinand Tönnies, 1855-1936
Émile Durkheim, 1858-1917
Georg Simmel, 1858-1918
Max Weber, 1864-1920

The German sociologists, and Tönnies in particular, became very influential to the sociologists of the Chicago school, including Robert Park, who is considered the founder of the human ecology-approach to urban sociology in the 1920s. Human ecology, which is the first specifically sociological theory about the city, represents the breakthrough for urban theory, which is sometimes dated by the publication of 'The City' by Park, Burgess and McKenzie in 1925 (Castells, 1982). Another seminal text was the 1938 article 'Urbanism as a Way of Life' by Louis Wirth.

Community and Society

As for Tönnies, the notions of community and society are central to Wirth. To him, community originally emerged through development of natural and unplanned, mutual bonds between people. These bonds emerged because human existence was originally based on spatial closeness and kinship among people. This led to a division of labor and an 'ecological' interdependency. To Wirth, the notion of community represents this 'natural' interdependency among people. In contrast, the notion of society represents intentional and contractual relations between people, which depend less on spatial closeness than ecological relations (Smith, 1980).[3]

Wirth and Park developed a three-level hierarchical typology of social order. The first level is the symbiotic or ecological order; a system of competition, conflict and temporary equilibrium, based solely on interdependence in space. The second level is the cultural order, which is a system of generally accepted understandings, based on human interaction and communication. The highest level is the moral and political order that emerges through the articulation of common norms and definition of common goals, and the formulation of rules for the achievement and maintenance of these norms and goals (ibid.).

According to Wirth, the transition from community to society thus represents a shift from spontaneous to conscious conditions for social coherence and order. This transition, however, is seen as a continuous process, and hence, community and society are not seen as complementary, but rather as entities that will always coexist, although in varying proportions.

Urbanization and Urbanism

Wirth held that the ecological and demographic structure of urban life, particularly the size of cities, population density and social heterogeneity, imply a number of social and socio-psychological consequences. And these consequences lead to a new way of life, urbanism. Urbanism may lead to personal, social and political problems, which, however, are not inevitable.

Wirth shares the view of the classical sociologists Tönnies and Durkheim, that the general trend in the modern world goes from community-like to society-like social relations. Therefore, it has become increasingly difficult to establish a broad consensus within society, and the differences between different subcultures and interest groups increase the risk of conflict. Difference, in combination with the high population density of cities, thus poses a threat to social harmony and integration

[3] The sections about Wirth and Sennett (below) are based extensively on Michael Peter Smith: The City and Social Theory.

based on common understanding. At the same time however, Wirth held that when people are not subject to intense social contact, they develop indifference, leading to cynicism and normlessness which, in turn, makes common understanding more difficult to achieve. This is obviously a paradox.

The decreasing importance of geographical proximity to the development of social bonds also presents a problem to the social cohesion within society. Although contemporary communities are technologically inter dependent, they have to turn to the media as a means of communication. And communication is a prerequisite for the development of common values. Although Wirth believes that it is possible to develop common values, the structural conditions of modern society has made it much more difficult than in the traditional society.

Sociologically speaking, the metropolis, according to Wirth, is defined by three qualities: Large size, high density and social diversity.

Size and Density

Particularly two conditions are the product of the large size of the metropolis. One is the introduction of formalized systems of social control as a consequence of the weakening of traditional social bonds. The other is the division of the personality of the individual as a consequence of the large number of different relations – and their implied roles – which metropolitan individuals are part of.

In metropolitan society, traditional social bonds, based on kinship, neighborhood and family ties, are weakened and substituted by formal social control. Thus, laws, bureaucracy, separation of uses in space, professional norms, traffic regulations etc., are inevitable side effects of urbanism. Such formal means of social control serve the purpose of coordinating activities in different ways. The complex relations which are the product of the specialized division of labor must be coordinated, in order for production and distribution to take place.

According to Wirth, the combination of high density and large population only works if a differentiation and specialization takes place. The combination of high levels of physical contact and high density changes the way people navigate in relation to the urban environment. People become less sensitive to internal differences, and increasingly navigate by external signs and symbols. A mutual stereotyping through visual signs such as uniforms and status symbols takes place, decreasing the sensibility towards the natural world, human individuality and intimacy. Furthermore, close physical contact which is not associated with social intimacy may produce loneliness.

The lack of emotional bonds between people promotes competition, self-aggrandizement, mutual exploitation, irritation and frustration. This tense situation is intensified, partly by the speed and the technological complexity that condition life in dense urban environments, and partly by the contrasting social conditions.

The struggle over space drives the economic forces to make the most efficient use of it. This leads to spatial division of commercial, industrial and residential uses. By the separation of the dwelling from the place of work, areas close to commercial and industrial uses become both economically and socially unattractive. High densities

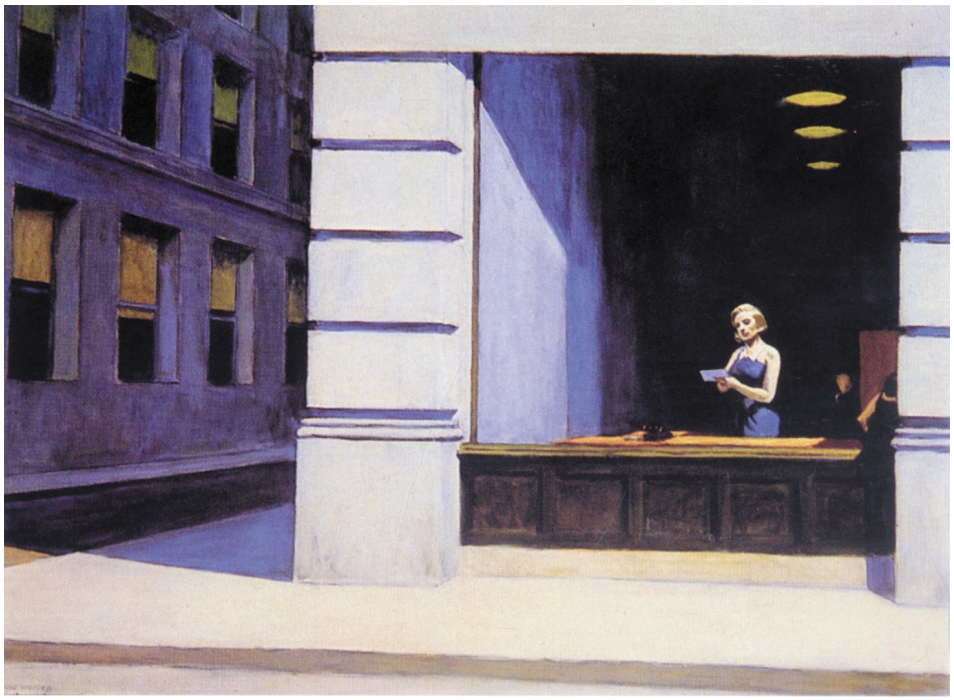


Figure 5.1
Loneliness and social detachment are some of the consequences which Wirth ascribes to urbanism as a way of life

thus tend to drive out residential use.

Within each residential area, an additional social differentiation takes place, which, according to Wirth, is conditioned by three factors. It is ascribed, in part, to social attraction to certain areas because of prestige, health, access to certain facilities, and culturally defined factors such as aesthetic values and ethnic and cultural affinities. It is also ascribed to social exclusion from certain areas because of prejudice, differences in lifestyle, pollution or other disadvantages. Finally, it is also ascribed to inertia, based on tradition, custom and social laissez-faire.

Social Diversity

The social diversity of cities leads to the deterioration of traditional class structures. The urban dweller becomes socially mobile, leading to radically different social group affiliations, compare to traditional societies. As the urban dweller's affiliation to different social groups is defined by individual interests – and thus reflects different parts of the individual personality – the individual becomes unable to establish a coherent identity. Through continuously changing affiliations, the self is continuously redefined, and in the socially mobile urban society, with changing work and private relations, the number of intimate and lasting acquaintances is reduced. The personality of the urban dweller thereby becomes fluid, detached, anomic[4] and disintegrated. Furthermore, the de-personalization of social relations within urban society is increased through the pecuniary relations imposed by market economy, as personal relations are replaced by objective relations oriented towards the acquisition of goods and services, as a basis for interpersonal relations.

[4] The notion of anomie is defined by Durkheim as "a sense of normlessness and emptiness which fosters individual pathology, communal disorganization, and social disorder." (Smith, 1980, p. 8)

The Problems of Urbanism and Their Solution

To Wirth, urbanism is associated with a number of undesirable consequences. Social disintegration leads to the formation of a plurality of interest groups, each of which are pursuing partial, individual interests. That makes it difficult to define general political objectives and thus to accommodate social needs by means of political programs. In addition, it reduces people's capacity to figure out whether the political programs which are pursued actually respond to their needs.

By the same token as the political organization of society as a whole is rendered difficult by conflicting interests, conflicting subcultures impede the development of a general cultural understanding, as a basis for the informal regulation of behavior. This, to Wirth, is the fundamental cause of crime and legal offense (ibid.).

Although the psychological, political and social problems of urbanism, in Wirth's view, are consequences of ecological changes in the urban spatial structure, his remedy is cultural. In his opinion, the modern urban social order provides the basis for a new common value system, based on 'objective' science. He hopes that social scientists and other intellectuals, as well as urban planners, by means of 'objective' knowledge, will be able to establish a new normative order which provides for a scientifically based hierarchy of values, as a measure of priority by the solution of urban social problems.

However, Wirth paradoxically acknowledges that the cultural plurality of the urban reality makes it impossible to establish universal criteria for truth and value. The lack of a common understanding has led to disillusion, nostalgia, cynicism, as well as to over simplification of the complexity of the social reality, all of which express depreciation for the value of thought. By clarifying the origins of such reactions, Wirth nonetheless holds that it is possible to establish common 'working agreements'. By acknowledging that there are no ultimate truths concerning the social, people will be less eager to seek them. And acknowledging the limitations of one's own views, will lessen the risk of ideological conflict. Such a compromise-seeking approach, to Wirth, constitutes the first, crucial step towards the establishment of a secularized culture, based on scientific thought.

Planning in Practice

As a means to bridge the gap between the need for the political organization of society as a whole and the ability to do it, Wirth argues in favor of rational-comprehensive planning. He trusts that an approach based on objective science and careful empirical research will provide as a planning tool, to link theoretical analysis to policy making. To Wirth, 'Human ecology' provides the best such tool, because of its capacity to identify the 'natural areas' of social problems across arbitrary administrative and political boundaries.

Administrative and political boundaries are of particular interest to Wirth, as they are not a product of rational reflection, in his view. To him, the metropolitan region is a living socio-economic entity. And as human ecology prevails as an approach to the understanding of changing demographic and ecological patterns in real life – and is thus the most capable of rendering realistic picture of the social reality – it should

be acknowledged a greater importance in planning.

As the social reality of the metropolis is regional in nature, Wirth argues that planning must unfold on the regional scale. Although he acknowledges that centralized political control is likely to foster arrogance and bureaucracy and that centralized government, despite even the best intentions, is likely to lead to ignorance, formalism and inertia because of its dissociation from local conditions, the advantages of centralism, in his view, still outweigh the disadvantages. In his argument for political centralization he stresses that the benefits of the division of labor, the attraction of talent, and economical productivity is only possible within large entities. The same is true for many vital public tasks such as the provision of unemployment insurance, education, highways, and housing.

As both the 'ecological' basis for planning, the economic and structural forces which are conditional to planning, as well as the means to solve planning problems are regional, planning must take place on the regional level. As Wirth also regards the shift towards urbanism as a way of life as an irreversible process leading towards a society based on rationality and science, he is critical of the concept of neighborhood planning, which he regards as conservative and incapable of dealing with the real tasks of planning.

Nonetheless, Wirth holds that it is both possible and desirable to combine rational-comprehensive planning with democracy. He therefore thinks that it is important that citizens support planning, as long as it takes place on an informed basis. He sees it as a planning task to provide the necessary information for citizens to be able to judge the social and economic pros and cons of pursuing different planning goals. Despite this latently elitist position, Wirth holds that the planners' role as public educators is operational, as planners will ultimately be judged by the level of success in planning. Besides, Wirth finds it potentially dangerous if planning does not contain the aspect of mediation, as it might lead to the seduction of people by advertisement and mass media into pursuing individual, rather than common, social goals.

The Importance of Mass Communication

Because of the importance of mediation, Wirth is interested in communication. Communication is problematic in the modern mass society, as it consists of widely different people, who are mutually anonymous as individuals. Hence, they are susceptible to manipulation by the opinion-forming elite. In addition, Wirth is aware of the problem that the success of ideas is determined the effectiveness of their mediation, rather than their 'truth value'.

I Wirth's view, the very future of democracy is contingent upon the capacity of social scientists and planners to develop effective means of creating contact and two-way communication between opinion-makers and the general public. As views are formed on the basis of irrational factors as well as knowledge, he sees an important task for social scientists and planners in bringing attention to the unarticulated values and assumptions underlying the formulation of ideas and ideals.

According to Wirth, the many diffuse ideas and ideals of the modern world will find the best response, if they address the human needs for safety, freedom, creativeness,

self-realization, and social participation. And to him, the more capable social scientists and planners are to work in self-conscious and self-reflected ways, thus avoiding to become the tools of the power elite, the better ideas and ideals will be unified with these needs.

Summary

To Wirth, modern urban sociality – urbanism – is a consequence of the transition form traditional, local communities to large, dense urban societies – urbanization. Urbanism which is characterized by predominantly society-like social relations, is fundamentally different from traditional sociality which is characterized by community-like social relations. It is not a matter of either-or, however, as community-like relations may exist within the modern urban sociality, although to a lesser degree. Urbanism implies a number of social problems which relate to the alienation in social life, which is considered 'ecological' and thus a natural and inherent consequence of urbanization. Wirth is particularly concerned with the negative consequences of urbanism as a way of life, such as social disorder, decay and crime, which planning must seek to avoid.

In Wirth's view, modern urban society has irreversibly shifted away from pre-modern, community-based sociality, however regrettable he may find it, given his romanticized view of it. Because of the irreversibility of modernism, as well as the social segregation in urban space which he identifies as one of the problems of urbanism, Wirth is critical of the concept of neighborhood planning. To him, the proper means is rational-comprehensive planning, based on a scientific approach.

Although he thus cherishes a topdown approach to planning, he is aware of the dangers which it entails. Among those is that the distance between planning authorities and the real world may imply the risk of misjudgment of problems, as well as of bureaucracy, lack of responsiveness, and inertia.

Because of the lack of direct relations between people and the predominantly mediated relations of the urban way of life, it is crucial to democracy to develop effective two-way communication structures within society.

Wirth only indirectly (in his considerations about communication) deals with the fact that different social classes hold different amounts of power, and thus that some social classes are subject to the exertion of power from others. The market economy and its implied pecuniary relations are not regarded as central to modern urban sociality but merely as a reinforcing side-effect. The lacking attention to the power relations of class structure and the impact of market economy on urban life is criticized by Neo-Marxist theory, and becomes the key issue in its critique of the Chicago School. By the advent of Neo-Marxist theory, the importance of the Chicago School – particularly through the widespread acceptance of the understanding of the city in human ecology which dominated urban theory into the 1950s and 60s – was so far brought to a cease (Andersen, 1988).

NEO-MARXISM

The 1960s experienced a shift within urban theory, triggered by the writings of

Althusser who argued that the economic level within the triangle of economy, state, and civil society is fundamental to the mode of production and consequently for the economic system. This development led to the formation of what was later to be termed Neo-Marxist urban theory.

According to Manuel Castells, urban sociology had two golden eras prior to its alleged crisis around 1970; the inter-war period, when the Chicago School's analyses of integration and disorganization within the rapidly growing metropoles were dominating, and after the Second World War, when the questions of urban sprawl and the formation, interdependency, and mutual hierarchy of large urban regions were the foci of attention. In the 1960s the great issue was no longer integration, but the governing of cities in general, and the focus shifted towards the issues of the organization of collective consumption and the spatial relations in an increasingly technological setting, as well as the control of social tensions. Thus there was a shift from the question of social reform to the question of urban planning (Castells, 1982).

Around 1970, urban sociology, as defined by the Chicago School and its notion of human ecology, faced increasing criticism. The main argument of Castells, who was one of the leading figures of this criticism, was that from a theory of science perspective, urban sociology had to be regarded as ideology rather than science. He thus argued that urban sociology did not have a specific theoretical object, nor a specific real object (ibid.).

As described above, the two central concepts of human ecology were urbanism and urbanization, the former of which was regarded as a product of the latter. Castells contests the validity of this relation as he argues that 'urbanism' as a cultural phenomenon defined by social and individual isolation, segregation of roles, weak social relations, utilitarianism, market economy, secondary relations rather than primary relations, etc., is a characteristic of mass society and thereby of modernity in general, rather than a specific quality of urban life. As such, this way of life, which had erroneously been termed 'urbanism', is in fact associated with the liberal capitalist mode of production, rather than with urban living.

Hence, to claim a connection between certain types of characteristic behavior (urbanism) and the formation of large agglomerations within the industrialized society (urbanization) is a false correlation. To characterize the modern way of life as urbanism, Castells argues, is ideological, as it refers to the invalid theory that the characteristics of urban culture may be deduced from the ecological characteristics of the city. Thus, urbanism is not a scientific concept but a myth, which implies that urban sociology does not have a specific theoretical object.

Just as Castells denounces the existence of a specific urban sociality, with reference to the contingency of the social to the general structure of society, he finds it problematic to operate with the term 'urban' as an independent unity as opposed to 'rural'. In the industrialized society, functions and activities which had previously been separated in space, are mixed in space, independently of their mutual geographical proximity. As the rural has been integrated into the urban and vice versa, the industrial society has become almost fully urbanized. And the plurality of spatial types in society can therefore neither be described as urban-rural opposition

pairs, nor can they be organized according to an urban-rural continuum. 'The city', in other words, is no longer a meaningful object for urban sociology, and hence it does not have a specific real object.

New Urban Theory

The scientific shortcomings of traditional urban sociology, to Castells, does not mean that it must be considered decomposed as an independent science, nor that it is simply identical with sociology in general. Rather, its theoretical foundations must be redefined. In his analysis of traditional urban sociology, Castells finds that, when looking through the ideologically founded conceptualization of urbanism, it deals with the relation between space and the social on the one hand, and with what he calls 'the process of collective consumption'.

In his view, the relation between space and the social, "the concrete way in which 'space' as a material object is joined with the social structure as a whole", both can and should be subject to sociological analysis. At the same time he finds that the issues which urban sociology has dealt with so far may be characterized as belonging to 'the sphere of collective consumption' (ibid.). "That means the processes of consumption whose organization and control can only be collective, due to their nature and size, such as housing, public amenities, leisure facilities, and so on." (ibid.). These two areas, sociology of space and sociology of collective consumption, is what Castells makes subject to renewed theorization.

In his delimitation of the new theoretical field of urban sociology, Castells finds it necessary to distinguish between different analytical approaches as well as different levels of analysis. He thus identifies three different approaches, the historical, the functionalist, and the semiological approach, "depending on whether one seeks to study the creation of social forms, the functional mode of social systems, or the structure of the semantic field" (ibid.). These three categories make up the new theoretical objects. The new real object, space, may be analyzed at three levels; first, as a confined spatial entity, defined by the societal needs which make up the basis for the research; second, as the general system of relations of mutual dependencies at the level of space, by which each spatial entity must be interpreted as a function of the general spatial structure; and third, as the relation between space and social structure, by which space is only one element within the system as a whole.

Castells himself ventures into historical analysis, that is, into the study of the production of social forms. In his concretization of sociology of space and the social forms of collective consumption, Castells argues that it is necessary to "analyze transformation of space as a specification of the transformations within the social structure" (ibid.).

The transformation of space is determined by the variations and mutual relations between the elements of the urban system which Castells defines as the spatial aspects of production, consumption, exchange, and control. Examples of the spatial aspects of production, consumption and exchange could be industry, office buildings and mass media; housing, cultural and recreational facilities; and technical infrastructure and shops respectively. By control, he means the process of regulating the relations

between production, consumption and exchange, manifested through planning authorities and other public bodies.

As the nature of a number of needs in society, such as the provision of housing, cultural and recreational facilities, and educational institutions, is such that their fulfillment, according to Castells, must necessarily be collective, the control of the urban system has become more important than the production of space. Therefore, the sociological study of space and the process of collective consumption, as an appropriate successor to classical urban sociology, must focus on urban planning.

In practice however, Neo-Marxist urban theory split into two main approaches. One approach, followed by Castells, focussed on collective consumption, and thus on the city as a politically controlled system. The other approach focussed on the logics of capital accumulation and the interests of monopolistic capitalism, and thus on the city as an economically controlled system (Albertsen, 1985).

The Political Approach

According to Castells, the development of western capitalist societies after the Second World War was characterized by the growing societal importance of the sphere of collective consumption; that is, general public goods such as technical infrastructure and traffic systems, recreational and sports facilities, cultural and educational institutions, housing, nursing and health care, etc. Furthermore, these goods have increasingly been provided by means of direct or indirect public intervention (Castells, 1982).

The presence of general public goods is crucial to the capitalist system which needs to distribute goods and labor, and needs a work force which is sheltered, healthy and well educated. These needs are not special to this time period, but a number of developments in society means that it has gained increased importance.

A concentration of capital within the sphere of production (business and industry) has taken place, centralizing production and management within the larger urban regions. This has led to a similar concentration of the labor force as well as its reproduction (education, recreation, etc.); of collective consumption, in other words. The individual's scope of action also becomes increasingly determined by the level of access to general public goods, such as technical infrastructure, public transportation, education, and so on.

With the monopolization of capital, the turnover of goods must be stimulated in order to avoid stagnation, which would otherwise be the result of the relative reduction of buying power in relation to the increased mass of capital. To this end, collective means of consumption such as technical infrastructure and a housing policy which stimulates home ownership, used as a lever for the development of mortgaged detached housing and its accompanying lifestyle which stimulates consumption.

Because of the increased complexity of the technical and economic relations within the process of production, the work force must be stable and appropriately trained, as irregularities and interruptions have a negative impact on the profitability of production. This increases the strategic importance of the reproduction of the labor force, from education and training to the provision of stable means of transportation

Figure 5.2
In the post-war era, public intervention in the sphere of collective consumption, such as housing policies favoring home-ownership, is used as a means to stimulate consumption. Surburban housing in Esbjerg, Denmark

and distribution.

Finally, the upturn of various mass movements and trade unions has enabled the formulation of wider demands, addressing the sphere of collective consumption, e.g. tenant and consumer rights and the like (ibid.).

In sum, mans aspects of society are contingent upon the regulation of collective consumption. This is why Castells regarded collective consumption as the heart of the matter in relation to the urban crisis. The developments in the sphere of collective consumption, in other words, are crucial to the development of society, something which is evident in the different importance of collective consumption to capital and labor respectively.

To capital, collective consumption is a means to optimize the process of production in order to generate profits. As collective consumption must be financed via the profits generated by production, any investment in collective consumption which does not support this goal, must be considered a bad investment and thus undesirable. To the labor force, on the contrary, collective consumption is a good, a form of indirect pay, which constitutes a supplement to direct salaries. Therefore, the development of public consumption is not only a necessity under 'developed capitalism', but also an object of 'class struggle'.

Depending on the prevailing power relations in society, priorities vary with respect to collective consumption, and thus to the planning and development of the physical city. Hence, during the 'bourgeois' rule in France, which is Castells' empirical field in this time period, the country experienced an urban policy which led to the formation of new urban centers, to accommodate the needs of the concentration of capital for office and service facilities. In the field of housing, large detached housing areas were developed for the middle class, while the losers of the housing market were offered low standard public housing. Shopping was organized rationally in large discount shopping centers on the edge of cities, while the transport sector was developed in accordance with "the logics of [the] urban structure which is essentially organized to support the accumulation of capital" (ibid.).

In this period, David Harvey looked at urban development in capitalist society from an economical perspective. Building on Marx, he uses the notions of accumulation and class struggle as an explanatory framework for the development and transformation of cities (Harvey, 1982). He analyzes urban development, or 'the urban processes', on the basis of the capitalist system's need to generate profits. Harvey, like Castells, differentiates between production, consumption, and exchange, but whereas Castells focusses on collective consumption and on planning as a means to control the spatial aspects of these elements, Harvey focusses on the economic forces which determine the distribution and organization of production, consumption and exchange under the capitalist mode of production.

In order to generate profits, production must be competitive, and in order to be competitive, the processes of production must continuously be optimized. This has decisive impact on the development of geographical space. The separation of home and workplace is central to industrial production, but there are also other forms of separation taking place. Management functions which depend on central locations, are separated from production, whose location is determined by variables such as land prices and the the access to labor and transportation.

The infrastructure of consumption is subject to a similar separation in space, as it addresses different markets. Thus, while the sale of staple and retail goods has its specific location criteria, the sale of luxury items, holidays, or leisure, notwithstanding the markets for machinery and semi-manufactured items, all have different location criteria.

The separation of space dictated by individual concerns for competitiveness, demands a highly developed transportation and information infrastructure. As the time factor is central to competitiveness, the complexity of the geographical structure requires the provision of an efficient transportation system, as Marx has phrased it, in order to 'annihilate space through time' (Harvey, 1989).

In this way, there is a close relation between the capitalist system's need for accumulation and the shaping of the physical landscape. In Harvey's words, "it is impossible to imagine such a material process without the production of some kind of urbanization as a 'rational landscape' within which the accumulation of capital can proceed. Capital accumulation and the production of urbanization go hand in hand" (ibid., p. 22).

A special aspect of the imprint of the accumulation of capital on the physical landscape relates to the fact that investments in physical structures are tied to a concrete space. The value added to physical structures, in other words, cannot be transferred without being destroyed. Investments in physical structures are made in order to create rational and efficient settings for the accumulation of capital. The perpetual competition however, may lead to changes in the circumstances of production, such as new technologies, changes in location demands, or other factors which may change the use value of physical structures and thereby the value of the investments.

Therefore, the physical landscape is subject to a continuous transformation process by which the productivity of existing physical structures – and thus the return on the investments which are tied to them – is continuously measured against the need

Figure 5.3
Through a process of creative destruction, the physical landscape is continuously transformed to meet changing location demands. An inner-city power plant in Aalborg, Denmark, is demolished to give way for a concert hall

for adaptation, or destruction, in order to make way for new and more productive structures. The physical expressions of this internal contradiction is clearly visible in the historical geography of the landscape, for instance in structures which have been successively extended or transformed, converted, or even abandoned (Harvey, 1982).

Urban Development and Over-Accumulation

Another aspect of the accumulation of capital, the innate tendency of capitalism to generate over-accumulation and crisis, also has an impact on the urban process. Over-accumulation typically leads to over production, drops in profit rates, excess labor, or excess capital.

Investments in physical structures do not enter directly into production, as the physical structures merely provide the setting for production. Through investments in the physical environment, excess capital may be transferred from production to real estate, in order to secure it and avoid crisis. This is only a temporary solution however, as the productivity of investments in real estate will eventually also be saturated. It is therefore rather a means to defer crisis (ibid.).

Over-accumulation and under-consumption are two sides of the same matter. Hence, one way to avoid crisis as a result of over-accumulation is to stimulate consumption. This became the leading strategy for urban development after the 1930s and the Second World War, when there was a shift from a production oriented to a Keynesian, consumption oriented urban development.

Based on the credit system and a strong state control, an unprecedented transformation of the physical landscape began. Both public and private loan-financed development was booming, both in the form of health and educational facilities, transportation systems, and – most notably – in the form of suburban housing. This development strongly stimulated consumption, which was no longer a luxury but a necessity. Not only did this development stimulate both production and consumption,

it also provided a basis for further investment, and the system worked as an upward spiral up until the debt crisis of the 1970s (Harvey, 1989).

Urban Development and Class Struggle

To Harvey, as to Marx, there is a close relation between accumulation and class struggle under capitalism. Class struggle is a struggle over the price of labor, or the laborers' share of the profits of production, and thus has its origin in the workplace. However, certain form of pay are indirect, in the form of public goods such as access to health care, education, recreation and housing. The struggle over these goods may therefore be considered as a 'deferred class struggle'.

According to Harvey (1982), deferred class struggle influences the urban process in a number of ways. In the area of housing, access to ownership housing became a means to pacifying and disciplining the middle class, and to mitigate its demands for direct pay. In addition, suburbanization and the resulting spatial and social dispersal of the working class, became a means to avoid social unrest as a consequence of large concentration of workers and unemployed. As history is replete with instances of such unrest, 'the moral impact of the suburbs' was considered an important factor (ibid.).

Finally, Harvey also regards the notion of local community as an expression of deferred class struggle within the urban process. On the one hand, he sees improvements within local communities and the developments of its institutions as a bourgeois attempt to mitigate class difference. On the other hand, the strengthening of local communities is also an aim for the workers, as a means to improve their general life conditions, as well as to improve the basis for the further struggle for the aims of the working class.

Summary

Regardless of whether a political or an economic approach is adopted, Neo-Marxist urban theory generally puts most emphasis on the societal aspects of urban development. It is as though the fundamental recognition that the process of urbanization cannot be meaningfully theorized outside the context of the prevailing economic system, or mode of production, has shifted the focus away from the city towards society at large. Although it elucidates a number of relations between the capitalist mode of production and the shaping of physical space, Neo-Marxist urban theory repeatedly tends to treat a-spatial aspects of capitalist society (an aspect which has largely been left out in this context).

By focussing on the economic system (capitalism) and the social classes (workers and bourgeoisie) in the analysis of the socio-spatial relation, Neo-Marxist theory has no eye for the relation between culture and space, and the individual and space. Without loosing sight of the fundamental importance of general societal aspects for the socio-spatial relation, this neglect of Neo-Marxist urban theory is compensated for by the theorists whose theories are the topic of the next section.

SENNETT AND LEFEBVRE

The writings of the American sociologist Richard Sennett and the French sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre, both of whom have made original contributions to urban theory, cannot be classified within any particular theoretical schools. Each going their own ways in the theorization of the city, Sennett's point of departure is socio-psychological, while Lefebvre's is philosophical. When held against the Chicago school of sociology and Neo-Marxist urban theory, their approaches feature several similarities, however. In this context it therefore makes sense to discuss them in sequel.

The Socio-Psychological Approach

Sennett adopts a socio-psychological approach, as he espouses the view that the individual mentality is developed as a result of how people deal with the threats and crises they encounter, and with the disorders of everyday life. "Because of the wish to detach the 'self' from painful involvement in the apparently random chaos of external events, people often impose, prematurely, a rigidly fixed self-definition on situations they may encounter, prior to any actual experience" (Smith, 1980, p. 153). This fixed self blocks the capacity to get emotionally involved in social situations and is therefore alienating for the individual's concrete participation in life. According to Sennett, alienation is therefore a product of people's attempt to limit the likelihood of exposure to conflict in life.

This urge to 'purify' life from everything unpleasant may lead to the formation of structures of social isolation, individually, in families, as well as in entire social communities, which can offer protection against disturbances. This is done by building up a mythological homogeneity which enables the denial of individuality and human diversity, and makes it easier to justify the repression of such qualities. And thereby, social life gets deprived of all vitality, surprise and dynamism.

Correspondingly, the contemporary city is characterized by an entropic state of lifelessness, homogeneity, and order, which contrasts the metropoles of the inter-war period. According to Sennett, urban life at that time reflected the multitude of social encounters which resulted from the cities' social structure. This social structure, in turn, was the product of a complex pattern of land use, by which many different uses were mixed in space, allowing for social encounters across highly diverse sections of the population, professionally, ethnically as well as socially.

The social depletion of the contemporary city, thus, is the result of the functional separation of land use. Functional separation nonetheless, has been an explicit goal in urban planning (cf. Wirth), which has indeed been guided by a 'purified' vision of the good city. The aspiration for order, coherence and homogeneity in urban planning aims to avoid potential conflict, and according to Sennett, the desire in urban planning to predict development expresses the same immature wish for control which characterizes the fixed self.

The generally high standard of living in the postwar period has contributed to the increased segregation of the city and its uses, as well as to the vulgarization of social life. It is no longer necessary to share resources with others outside the nuclear

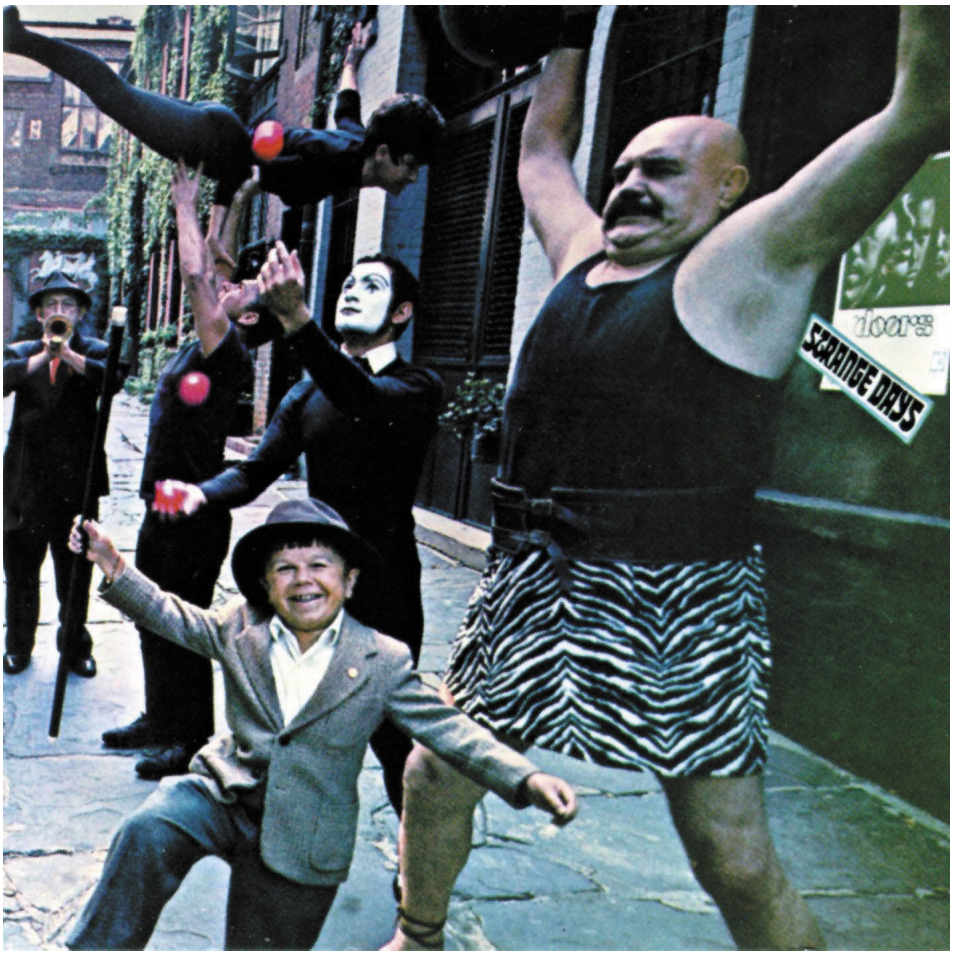


Figure 5.4
In Sennett's view, the spatial separation of uses is deleterious to urban culture, which nurtures on the encounter with otherness. Through 'planning for disorder', vitality, surprise and dynamism must be reintroduced into urban life, and allow for the meeting with 'the stranger', as a prerequisite for the development of tolerance and mutual understanding

family, which has become a refuge for most social interaction, while domestic life has become separated from other aspects of life. Increased wealth has also enabled many people to withdraw to homogeneous areas where living is separated from shopping, education and work. In such areas, people can evade the conflicts and disorders of life and do no longer need to learn how to deal with them.

The prize for this 'secure' and secluded living of self-imposed isolation is dulness and sterility:

The contemporary metropolitan milieu becomes a series of stagnant fortresses rather than a vibrant place fostering intellectual stimulation, emotional diversity, and personal growth.

– ibid., p. 155

The lack of encounters with 'the stranger' prevents the development of mutual understanding and tolerance in the heterogeneous modern urbanity. Furthermore, the conflicts that will inevitably emerge, even under these circumstances, tend to be more violent and destructive than they need to be. And this, to Sennett, is the central

problem of contemporary urban life.

Planning For Disorder

In Sennett's view, the causes of the problems of the contemporary metropoles are dual. On the one hand, there is an individual, psychologically determined urge towards withdrawal and separation, in the attempt to protect the self from an incomprehensible world. And on the other hand, there is urban planning which – rooted in the same psychological origin – seeks to provide this very state of harmony and apparent harmony. Because of this twofold nature of the problem, Sennett's critique, and his call for a solution, is also dual.

In the first part of his argument, Sennett launches a severe critique of traditional rational-comprehensive planning. When planning for a projected future, the plan itself tends to become more important to the planner than the people who get affected by it. In addition, seemingly future oriented plans, based on linear projections of needs, are in fact backwards looking, as they have their point of departure in the already known. Finally, traditional planning, in Sennett's view, is both mechanistic and holistic, as it expresses the idea that individual parts may be planned on the basis of a conception of the whole.

As an alternative to traditional planning, Sennett speaks of a 'planning for disorder', an 'unzoning' of the city, which can foster stimulating and challenging social milieus. Rather than planning on the basis of predetermined plans, planners ought to work in the fashion of a medieval craftsman, with an open mind to the changing of forms and materials in the course of the creative process. Furthermore, planners should work as advocates and counselors for the public, in a planning process characterized by communication between the actors involved.

The second part of Sennett's argument is that the real task for planners is to increase the number of fora in which people may get a direct experience of the consequences of their actions to others, thus – so the argument – increasing their social skills and mutual understanding. Through 'unzoning' and a dismantling of bureaucracy, people will be forced to confront conflict, and to develop a modus vivendi. Sennett's hope is that people through the recognition of their mutual differences, and thus of potential conflict, will give up the illusion of a harmonious community and "settle for mutual survival rather than purified victory" (ibid. p. 162).

The Philosophical Approach

Lefebvre takes a philosophical point of departure in his theorization of the city, as he relates the nature of the industrial city to the nature of the pre-industrial city, with a view to their differences in urban culture and urban life. The key concepts of Lefebvre are of 'the city as a work of art' (œuvre) and its most prominent role as a setting for 'celebration' (la fête). Central to his discussion are also the concepts of use value versus exchange value (Lefebvre, 1996).

The pre-industrial city was the setting of mercantile capitalism and as such a it was a precondition to the generation of wealth. To a large extent, this wealth was

Figure 5.5
The pre-industrial city was an artwork whose monuments served no rational ends. It was the unified frame of everyday life as well as celebration, and its quality lay in its use value. In Lefebvre's view, this is fundamentally different to the nature of the industrial city

invested unproductively in the city, in the form of art and monuments. Thus, the city as such was an artwork and its quality lay in its wholeness and use value. Thereby, the city represented a surplus and its creation was an end in itself. This city was the setting of an urban life, an urbanity, which – as the city itself – was characterized by wholeness.

According to Lefebvre, the transition to industrialism implied a crucial change in the nature of the city, imposed by the advent of rationalism in urban planning. Under industrial capitalism, the industrial economy is the driving force of urban transformation and development, and use value is ousted by exchange value as a parameter for urban development. And by the rational organization of the city as a machine – a tool for production – its spaces are objectified with regard to the requirements of production.

The city is divided into functional units – housing areas, industrial areas, control center (CBD), etc. – and its unity and artwork character is dissolved. This process is prompted by the concern for the 'rational' organization of the city. It implies a radical shift from seeing the city as an end in itself – as an artwork – to seeing it as means for production and thus as a commodity – as a product – devoid of irrationality and artistic ambition.

Referring to Heidegger, Lefebvre makes a distinction between 'the place of living' (l'habitat) in the sense of dwelling in a narrow, ecological sense, and 'to live' (habiter), which includes participation in the social life and the community of the village or the town. With the advent of the rational approach to the city, the notion of 'the place of living' gradually supplants the notion of 'to live'. 'The urban fabric' – the suburbs – and its housing areas, whether it be detached housing or housing blocks, are pure 'places of living' which do not provide their inhabitants with any of the fundamental urban qualities which are necessary in order 'to live'. This eliminates the sense of the city as an artwork and urbanity gets lost.

The industrial city, in other words, is characterized by its lack of wholeness, and by division, which does not provide space for uses that do not comply with the rationales

commanding its design. with the lack of sensitivity to the general use value of the city, 'celebration' vanishes from everyday life and is referred to specialized reserves, such as amusement parks, holiday resorts, and the like.

The Right to the City

To Lefebvre, city and urbanity are inseparable. Whereas the city constitutes a practical-material and architectural reality, urbanity is a social reality of relations which are conceived, constructed, and reconstructed through thinking. Urbanity – urban life and urban society – is inseparable from the urban morphology. Thus, the predicament of the city, in Lefebvre's view, is its division and the resulting lapse of urbanity.

The city and urbanity must be conceptualized holistically in order to deal with this predicament. The urban sciences (the social sciences) however, are themselves divided into their respective fields of specialization. Historians, economists, geographers, and sociologists may have a factual knowledge about the city, but it consists of dispersed facts. Conversely, philosophy seems to be the only field which seeks a holistic understanding, however, it does not build on facts.

Planning theory seems to combine knowledge and holistic thinking, but it consults philosophy in a rather selective manner, and it therefore takes on a highly ideological character. This is true for visions of the ideal society as well as for the good city, regardless of whether they are founded on interpretations of the greek city, as with Mumford, or the urban dweller, dwelling with nature, as with Le Corbusier (ibid.).

Urban planning has been practiced as a tool for dealing with partial problems such as the provision of housing and infrastructure in connection with the industrial growth, thereby masking the real problems of the city. As such, urban planning has served as an ideological tool for the shaping of the city, as a device for the organization of production and the consumption of goods. As a result, its significance as an artwork, as a venue for pleasure and a domain for use value, has vanished.

Lefebvre speaks for the reinvention of urbanity and the reconquering of 'the right to the city' as a space for use value and play – a space for 'celebration'. The right to the city is not a return to the traditional city, but must be formulated as a renewed right to urban life. This implies that the 'urban', the meeting place, priority of use value, must find its morphological basis and its practical-material realization (ibid.).

This twofold transformation, of the city and urbanity, has its point of departure in the everyday life of ordinary people. Therefore, it cannot be founded on a new 'grand' theory of urban planning. Lefebvre argues in favor of planning for the transient, or temporary, city rather than the eternal city. This new city must be defined in a joint effort between the sciences of the city, philosophy, and art. Its realization however, relies on the active participation of ordinary people, as it springs from their everyday life.

Summary

Although Sennett and Lefebvre take very different points of departure in their theorization of the city, they agree to point to the segregation of the city as problematic.

While Sennett sees segregation as resulting from the attempt to avoid the psychological consequences of an otherwise chaotic and incomprehensible world, Lefebvre sees it as the inevitable cause of fragmentary thinking about the city, fostered by the rationality of industrialism.

In their mutual attention towards the individual and everyday life, they are both highly critical of traditional, rational-comprehensive planning, and consider public participation in planning both to be necessary and desirable. It is therefore natural that both of them are in favor of an *ad hoc* approach to planning.

But as Smith (1980) points out, it is difficult to see what 'unzoning' at the level of planning, in the case of Sennett, can do in terms of a substantial spatial mix of uses. Smith stresses the fact that it is generally easy to obtain exemptions from planning regulations, something which has not led to any noteworthy mix of use. Sennett does not seem to be aware that spatial separation of uses is indeed a prerequisite for functionality of the city as a rational device for production. This does not escape Lefebvre's attention, although it does not promote his enterprise, as they both share the same ambition. The conclusion for Lefebvre is bound to be all the more radical, as he is essentially challenging capitalist society on its fundamental organization in space.

CONCLUSION

Not surprisingly, the different 20th century theorizations of the city discussed in this chapter display large differences in the conceptualization of the city and the urban, as well as the relation between space and the social. The complexity of these concepts allows for countless approaches each of which, as Lefebvre notices, will inevitably lead to different understandings, and thus to different calls for action.

However, there seems to be a shared understanding that the modern city is fundamentally different from the pre-modern city, whether this is attributed to the qualities of the city and urbanism in themselves, or of the economic system in general. This may prompt some reflection in relation to those normative urban design theories which, in one way or another, take their point of departure in pre-modern or utopian urban models.

Apart from the fact that the different theorizations of the city adopt different approaches and thus have different foci of attention, they are also carried by different positions on the city and its problems, both in their analyses and conclusions. Wirth and Sennett for instance, agree to identify modern urban life as chaotic and incomprehensible, but whereas Wirth aims at establishing calmness and order through segregation, Sennett sees segregation as destructive to urbanity, and quite conversely, he seeks to confront the inevitability of chaos through the ostensibly civilizing effect of 'unzoning'.

Whereas the Marxists (including Lefebvre) stress the importance of the capitalist system as decisive to the production of space, neither Wirth nor Sennett pay any special attention to this. And while Lefebvre is highly reflective of the conditions for urbanity and everyday life under capitalism, Castells and Harvey are more occupied with the structural conditions for the distribution of economic and material wealth.

The awareness of the individual and everyday life shared by Sennett and Lefebvre therefore slips of their hands.

Because of Wirth's lack of attention to capitalism as conditional to the city and the urban, his model for action is merely regulatory within the existing economic system. In contrast, the Marxists' critique – and Sennett's indirect critique – of the economic system is central to their models for action, as they require, or foresee, more or less radical change, even of the economic system.

At the time of the adoption of the local plan for the Skejbygård area in early 1991, spirits were high at the Aarhus City Planning Department. For the first time, a local plan had been prepared which not only had a high architecture and urban design profile, but also incorporated urban ecology and crime prevention measures. Urban ecology and crime prevention were hot topics in planning at the time, but nowhere else had they been so consistently integrated into a local plan, as they were at Skejbygård.

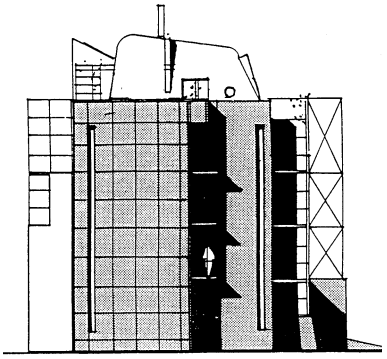
SKEJBYGÅRD AND SEDEN SYD: THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS 6

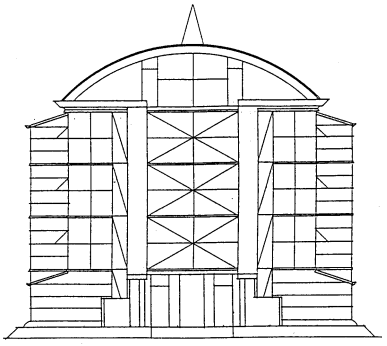
But the planners did not lean back as the local plan was adopted. They wanted to go further than that. Together with the consulting architect who had made the deconstructionist urban design, a program was developed to invite established and promising architects to contribute to the realization of the plan. Inspired by the IBA International Building Exhibition which had been held in Berlin in the 1980s and the 1988 building and housing exhibition at Blangstedgård in Odense, a selection of Danish architects were therefore given the opportunity to make building designs for the individual plots in the Skejbygård area.

The concept of the program was, on the one hand, that the City (who owned all the land in the Skejbygård area) should grant the architects the right to build. On the other hand, the architects should make draft proposals for their plots. On the basis of the draft proposals, the architects then had to find developers for the plots which they had been commissioned. The program was set up for a two year period. If the architects were not able to find developers by that time, everything should go back to normal, and the plots would be put for sale for any developer, who would then be free to pick his own architect.

Inspired by the high profile urban design, the architects enthusiastically started to make their draft proposals. Some made deconstructionist designs, others put emphasis on the concept of urban ecology, and yet others developed the building types which were prescribed for their plots in their own formal language. And everybody did an effort to make distinct designs. But not only the individual proposals were high quality design. Seen as a whole, they also promised the plurality and variation within the area which was so strongly intended in the local plan (fig. 6.1-3).

Shortly after the adoption of the local plan, a catalogue comprising some of the draft proposals for an intended first development zone, was proposed, in order to





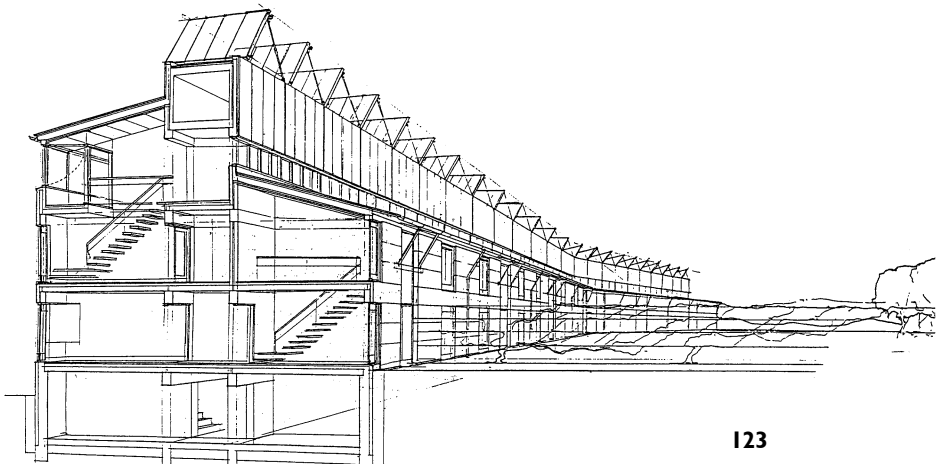


Figure 6.1-3
Draft proposals for developments in the first development zone of the Skejbygård area.

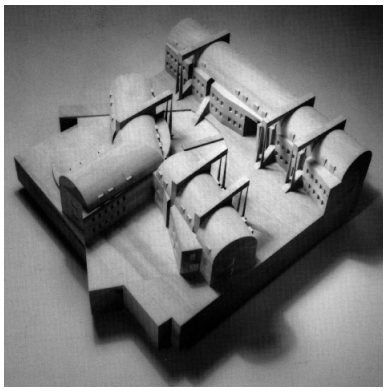


Figure 6.4
Deconstructionist proposal for a development in the Skejbygård area

convince developers to build in the area (Hansen & Knudsen, 1991). But that was not the only publicity which was made about the Skejbygård area and the draft proposals. The Skejbygård plan resounded in the Danish architectural press (fig. 6.4) and it was awarded the annual prize of the Danish Town Planning Institute for 'encouraging innovation' (Århus Stiftstidende, 1991) the same year it was adopted. This was in itself quite extraordinary, as this prize is normally awarded for the results of planning and not for plans which have not yet been realized.

All in all, the Skejbygård Plan looked like a success. The planners had managed to pull the ambitious plan through the political system. Furthermore, they had persuaded the administrative system to accept the program with the architects, which to some extent, gave them the opportunity to promote architecture and planning the way it was done with the building exhibitions in Berlin and Odense. And on top of that, their efforts were reflected through the interest and acknowledgment of the professional world. A promising future seemed to await the Skejbygård area.

And then nothing happened. The recession within the building sector which had so advantageously allowed for the long preparation time of the plan (see chapter 2) now suddenly became a disadvantage. And the recession lingered on. For the first couple of years after the adoption of the local plan, nothing happened at all. No developers were willing to build – in the Skejbygård area as little as anywhere else in Århus.

But was it really a general problem, or did it have something to do with the special restrictions which the Skejbygård Plan featured? Could it be that the urban design prescriptions, the urban ecology and crime prevention measures, as well as the requirement to collaborate with the commissioned architects, made it less attractive to developers to build in the Skejbygård area than elsewhere?

Whether this was the case or not, murmur began among the local politicians and parts of the City administration: "Some started to question whether we had been to restrictive in our demands […], and whether that meant that a re-evaluation was appropriate; that the demands in terms of ideals should be reduced all together", one City planner recalls. "I think that almost two and a half to three years went by, where in reality nothing happened, other than a lot of turbulence about having the local plan revised, making it less restrictive, and this and that."

After the euphoria which characterized the making the plan, the situation was now changed completely. As the City planner concludes, "it was the worst phase of the whole process; having been part of developing something, and then to see it start crumbling. That was unpleasant".

Early Developments: Abandoning the Plan

When development finally began, consistency with the site layouts prescribed in the local plan was hard to spot. The first developments took place in the northeastern part of the Skejbygård area. In the local plan, this part of the area was laid out as a mixture of tightly interwoven high density/low rise and detached housing. But no detached housing was built. On the contrary, in an area exclusively for detached housing, a high density/low rise, subsidized housing scheme was developed. And next to it, another scheme was developed, consisting of five parallel blocks in an area

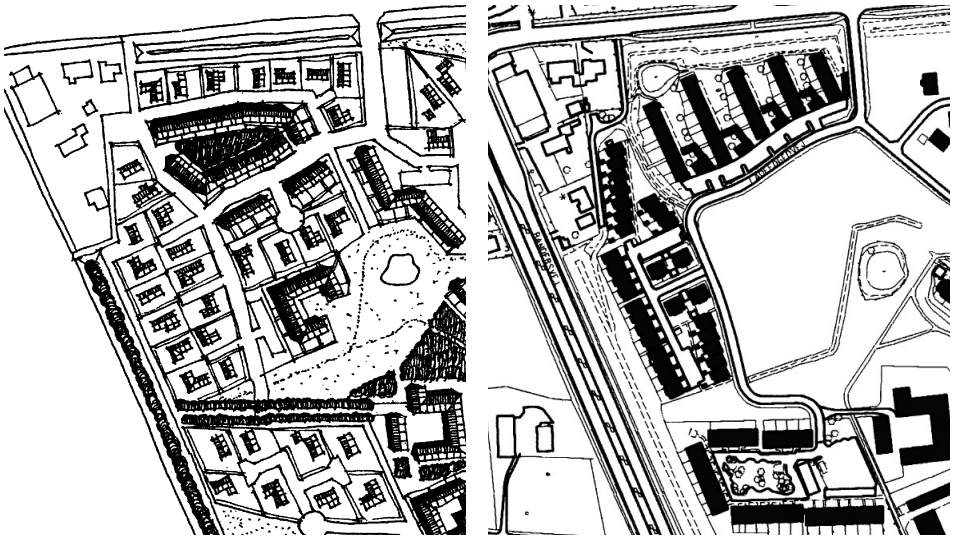


Figure 6.5-6
Masterplan (left) and the built reality (right).
Scale: 1:10.000

where the local plan prescribed a mixture of detached housing and blocks with an irregular layout (fig. 6.5-6).

"It was a big problem to get anybody to build out there. […] So [the City Planning Office] was willing to make whatever exemptions to get some development", the consulting architect who had made the overall urban design, recalls. Despite the lack of consistency with the site layout of the local plan, the City planners were therefore relieved that things were finally starting to develop.

The development with the five parallel blocks (fig. 6.7) was designed by an architectural office with high esteem, particularly in the field of housing. And as this development was one which the City Planning Office "very much wanted to have brought in", as one City planner puts it, the city planners therefore started to argue against their own plan, and to make the relevant offices within the city administration support the realization of the project.

FIgure 6.7
Street front of development with five parallel blocks

And maybe the city planners and the consulting architect were also having doubts about the reason of standing firmly on compliance with the site layout. On the other side of the table at least, that seemed to be the impression. "Honestly speaking they didn't seem to take it very seriously. And it wasn't a problem for [the consulting architect] to accept the alternative solution", says the architect who was in charge of the project.

The architect further elaborates his view of the site layout of the local plan: "You may say that such a site layout is a quite arbitrary set of rules. You may well call it desktop planning; someone is fabricating something, but in reality it's just a kind of framework, right; a loose outline." Despite that the local plan meticulously prescribes the detailed site layout for each individual plot, this was not seen as anything but a guidance, which might or might not be followed.

And the architect simply wanted to do something else. As the plot is on a slope, he chose a layout which the office had successfully applied to other developments on similar sites: "As we came along, we wanted to build something quite different; a row of blocks across the slope. I can't say that there was any particular reason for doing so, other than that it was a concept which we worked with at the time." The City Planning Office favored the project and accepted the alternative site layout.

Urban ecology and crime prevention: Not Much to it

Although the City Planning Office loosened the grip of the site layout, it still wanted to maintain the urban ecology and crime prevention measures. The architects did not have difficulty satisfying these aspects, although they did not make much of them. What the urban ecology measures are concerned, it mainly seemed a matter of knowing how to express oneself. The architect does not think that what was done is really worth mentioning. He comments on the urban ecology measures of the project with a giggle: "I don't recall what story we gave them. But there were some ecological measures…, we made a water retention pond." The modest requirements which were put forth were fulfilled, "but there was nothing beyond the ordinary".

Neither the crime prevention measures was something which the architect dealt with as such. "We didn't take account of that", he says, but as the layout of the development did not conflict with the principles of crime prevention, he continues that "it was easy to write that we did take account of it, because [the development] works quite well in terms of crime prevention".

On this issue he seems to share the view of the consulting architect who made the urban design, who did not take interest in the issue either (see chapter 2). "I don't think very many architects do", the architect concludes, reducing the issue to a question of architectural quality: "If the development is well made spatially, then it will also work in terms of crime prevention".

While the first developments in the Skejbygård area thus did not comply with the site layouts of the local plan, the other elements of the plan were fulfilled. But what the urban ecology measures are concerned, they were not very ambitious in the first place. The guide to urban ecology in the Skejbygård area which was issued in connection with the local plan, stated both minimum *requirements* which had to

be followed, and *recommendations* which were intended as a source of inspiration for developers and architects (Århus Kommune, 1993). But while the requirements were not difficult to meet and did not imply considerable additional building costs, more radical measures were all just recommended.

The distinction between prescribing some easy-to-implement, low cost measures, and only recommending the more challenging and costly measures, was a deliberate political decision. An engineer who worked as a consultant on the preparation of the guide to urban ecology, was not impressed about the City's level of ambition: "The demands, in our opinion, were not difficult to fulfill and they were not expensive. That's why the City made them demands." In other words, the City Planning Office's ambition to make the Skejbygård area a forerunner of urban ecology – which was also how it was promoted – in practice only enjoyed moderate support at the political level. Thus, all the City Planning Office could do to have more radical urban ecology measures introduced in the area, was to hope that the developers would voluntarily implement them.

But there were also practical obstacles to the realization of urban ecology measures. A geotechnical investigation which was made a year *after* the local plan was adopted, concluded that the ground conditions in the area were "not suited for conventional soakaway drains" (quoted in Arnfred, 1993). The consequence of this (late) disclosure was, that a key requirement, the construction of fascines for local recycling of rainwater, would have only a limited effect, unless supplemented with the construction of water retention basins.

Political and Administrative Resistance

When rainwater is recycled locally, it does not have to be drained off through the sewage system. The City Planning Office therefore wanted to have the waste water fees – which must be paid for all new developments – reduced, if local rain water recycling systems were introduced, in order to promote this urban ecology measure.

However, a main sewer for the area, designed to cater also for rain water drainage had already been built. Furthermore, the waste water fee was calculated on the basis of full payment for all new developments. The City Water Works therefore feared that their budgets would no longer balance, if some developments were granted a reduction of the fee. And as all the City works have separate budgets which must balance individually, they could not count on compensations for their losses.

The City Engineer's Office which is responsible for the City Water Works, therefore concluded, on the one hand, that it had "no objections to local rainwater recycling within the local plan area" (Stadsarkitektens Kontor, s.d.). On the other hand, however, it assured the City Water Works that "the introduction of urban ecology in the Skejby experiment […] will not have financial consequences for the City Water Works" (Stadsingeniørens Kontor, 1990).

As a result, developers were free to implement local rainwater recycling systems. But they still had to pay for rainwater drainage through the sewage system. And as one City planner formulates it, "you can hardly convince anybody to do so, unless they are great idealists". Despite the contradictory interests of other parts of the City

administration, the City Planning Office nevertheless maintained its ambitions, even though it had its doubts about them. As the City planner continues, "we regarded it to be quite unrealistic right from the start". In other words, as one of the actors involved in the development of the Skejbygård area ironically comments, "as a planner, all you can do is to hope".

Planning Practice Versus the Plan

Also the consulting architect who had made the overall urban design of the Skejbygård Plan, was commissioned to do a proposal for one of the plots. His plot was located in the southern part of the area where the site plan prescribed two tower blocks. The site was at the highest point of the area, and the tower blocks were intended to work as a landmark for the entire Skejbygård area. In addition, they were flanking an axial pathway, leading from a nearby shopping center to the planned park in the center of the Skejbygård area, so that they would mark the entrance point to the area, coming from the shopping center (fig. 6.8).

Figure 6.8
Arial perspective (detail) of the Skejbygård area, showing the axial pathway to the park and the two landmark tower blocks

This particular site therefore formed a crucial element of the urban design. Commissioning it to the same architect who had made the urban design, therefore looked promising for a successful result. The architect managed to find a developer, and subject to his own urban design, he faithfully made a design for the two tower blocks (fig. 6.9). This design however, proved much too expensive for the developer to build. The developer was a student housing association. And as all other developers working with subsidized housing, it had a limited budget to work on. The architect subsequently made several alterations to the project, but the costs were still too high. "It was constantly a question of money; we simply had to cut down like crazy", the architect explains.

Given the small footprint of the tower-shaped blocks, the elevators constituted, a very costly component, as they only served a limited floor area at each floor. And ultimately, it became clear that the only way to meet the budget would be to remove

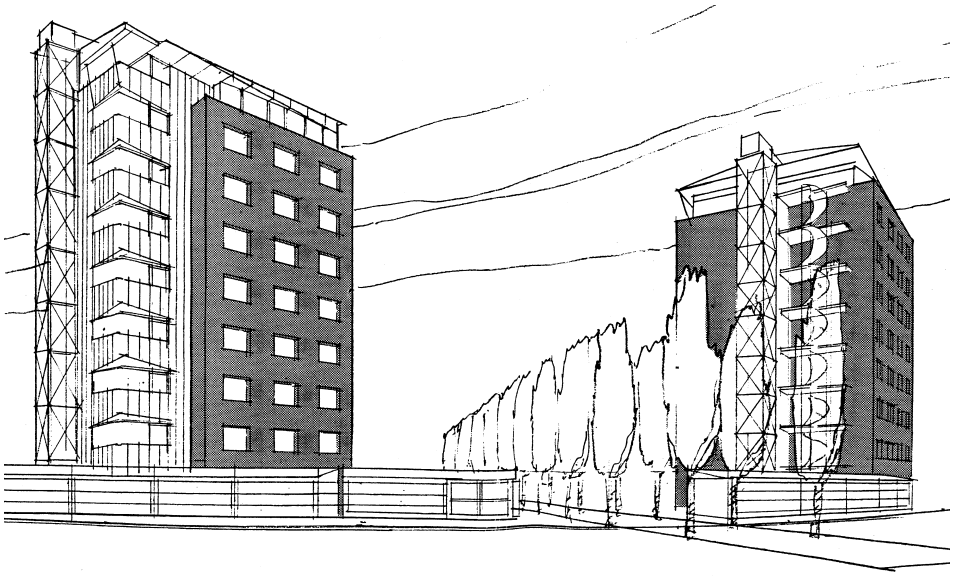


Figure 6.9
Tower block development. Initial proposal

one of them. And the consequence of this solution was clear: The two towers had to be combined into one.

And all of a sudden, two important elements of the urban design collapsed. Instead of two slender towers, there would now be one solid block. As the only building with more than three floors in the area, it would still retain its landmark effect, although certainly not the way it was intended. But maybe even more decisively however, the pathway to the park would now be blocked, and the motif of the entrance gate would vanish.

A project with such drastic revisions clearly required an exemption from the local plan. And to obtain that, arguments had to be chosen carefully. In his application for exemptions, the architect regrets that his project cannot be carried out without 'certain adjustments' (Hansen, 1993) and contends that "the [revised] project is unchanged in relation to *the intentions of the plan*" (ibid., emphasis in original). Furthermore, he argues that "the motif of the entrance gate remains intact" and that "the Skejby Plan has from the beginning been conceptualized and managed as flexible" (ibid.).

That the concept and the intentions of the Skejbygård Plan would not be violated through the suggested deviations from the prescribed site layout is difficult to argue against. The plan was made by architect himself, and a concept – written or drawn – beyond the overall building layout had never been clearly formulated. That the motif of the entrance gate would be maintained, nonetheless seems a bit far fetched. Structurally there would still be two buildings, but visually they would appear as one, through the shared elevator and stairwell, linking them together.

That the Skejbygård Plan had been managed flexibly, however, was a matter of fact. And in order to stress his point, the architect prepared a diagram comparing the site layouts of previous developments with the original plan (fig. 6.10). And to a greater or lesser extent, all developments featured deviations from the prescribed site layout. In other words, the management of the plan so far, now became an argument for further deviations.

Even though the author of the urban design was thus "first in line to loosen the

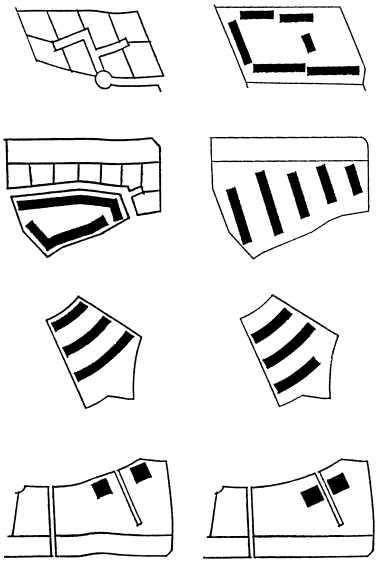


Figure 6.10
Plan correction diagram (adapted)

Figure 6.11
Tower block development, seen from the nearby shopping center

ideals", as one City planner puts it, the exemptions were granted also this time, and the revised project was built. In order to maintain at least some of the original idea, the City Planning Office required that the passage between the two buildings at the bottom of the stairwell would legally remain a public pathway. But as the director of the housing association who owns the development comments, not many people are likely to use the passage as a public path "because it looks rather private". Nonetheless, as the director states, the housing association still has to make it clear to the tenants that there is actually a public path passing under the stairs of the building.

Despite all the changes and the absurdity of a public path passing under the stairs of the building, the architect maintains satisfaction with the outcome. To him, there are still two buildings: "They are just squeezed together so that they might appear to be one". And referring to his ambition to generate identity through irrationality and planning collapses (see chapter 2), he makes a virtue of necessity: "We would have liked to have the axis through. But we couldn't do that, so it was blocked. But that's just yet another irrationality, which we found interesting as such".

Conflicting Rationales: A Gordian Knot

In 1999, the City of Aarhus was invited to co-host a competition for environmentally compatible housing, along with a number of other Danish towns. A plot in another town was selected as the site for the design proposals, and the idea was that the winning proposals should subsequently be adapted for plots in Aarhus and the remaining host towns. The City of Aarhus chose a vacant plot in the Skejbygård area for the purpose because of the area's urban ecology profile.

One of the main features of the proposal that was selected for the plot in Skejbygård was the use of passive solar heating. Building blocks therefore had to have an east-west alignment in order to obtain maximum sun exposure. This conflicted with the site layout for the plot, which prescribed an angled building with several setbacks (center of fig. 6.12). This however, was not the only conflict, in what was to

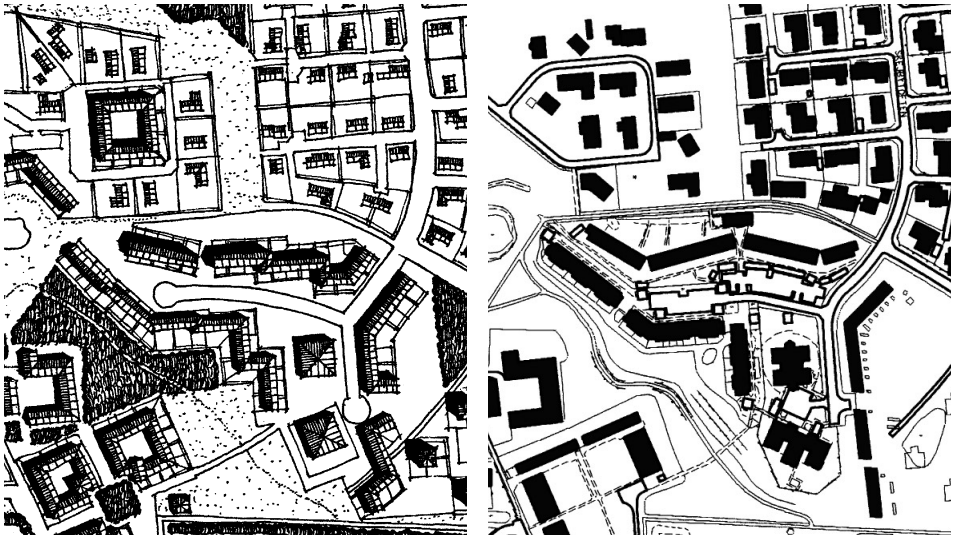


Figure 6.12-13
Masterplan (left) and the built reality (right).
Scale: 1:10.000

Figure 6.14
Environmentally compatible housing development

become a very tedious process of adapting the project to the site.

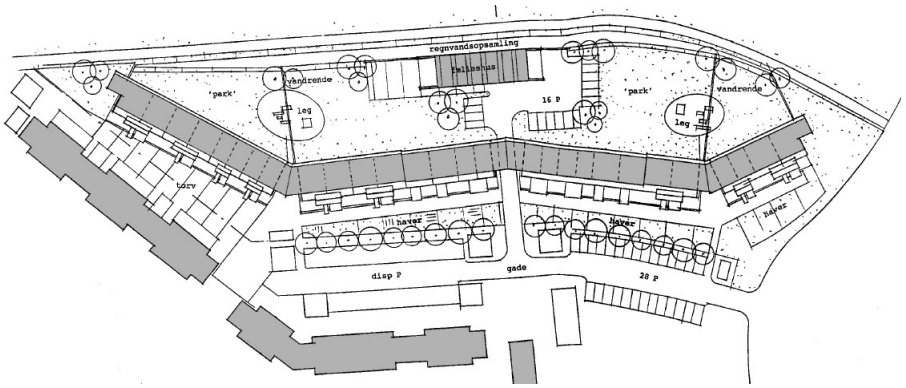
Vis á vis the plot, another housing development had been built some years earlier in compliance with the prescribed site layout. But because of the shape of the plot, it had been difficult to lay out the buildings, while at the same time catering for the required amount of parking. Therefore, the plot boundary had been altered, adding a part of the neighboring plot, and the access street between the plots had been shortened off. While these changes alleviated the problems of the first plot, the second plot was left with less street frontage and a large area to the west which was poorly accessible.

One of the basic principles of planning by the so-called large lots (although, in the Skejbygård area they were in fact not very large), is that parking has to be catered for individually on each lot. From a city household point of view, this is favorable as it makes infrastructure development less costly and more flexible. Each developer is free to organize parking for his own needs as he likes within the plot boundary, as long as planning regulations are observed. In the case of the environmentally compatible housing project, this was almost impossible, as the concept of passive solar heating, the requested site layout, the geometry of the plot, and the required space for parking were mutually incompatible.

But even before these problems became apparent, the architect had to make a fundamental alteration to his prize winning design. As the price of land in the Skejbygård area is calculated on the basis of the size of the plot and the allowed building density, the building capacity of the plot must be fully utilized to make development feasible. As the plot is relatively wide for the prescribed one row of buildings, development had to be three storeys high to reach the necessary floor area. The architect's winning prize design, however, was a two storey terraced housing type. And as neither the shape of the plot, nor the prescribed site layout allowed for the layout of the required floor area with two storey buildings, the architect had to develop a new three storey apartment block type.

Although the developer acknowledged the architectural quality of the new design,

Figure 6.15
Proposal for site layout for environmentally compatible housing (adapted).
Scale: 1:2000



he was not happy about the change of housing type, which he felt was forced upon him by the City Planning Office: "It was a requirement from the City to have apartment blocks. […] We yielded to that, and the architects had to as well. But we weren't happy about it."

After the new three storey building type had been developed, the architect made a site plan for the development. The layout was clear and simple: Parking spaces in alignment of the existing parking spaces of the neighboring development, a long, slightly bending building, and a large open area with a facility building to the north (fig. 6.15). As the space between the new and suggested buildings was quite narrow to the west ('squeezed together' as intended in the urban design concept), a paved entrance area, common to both developments was suggested, as the best way to provide access to both developments in this narrow space.

Apart from presenting a functional solution, this site plan also reflected consideration for the spatial relationship between the two developments. But even though this may be regarded a virtue of the proposal, it also became the problem about it. The City Planning Office accepted the building layout as an adaptation of the prescribed building layout. But as the site plan suggested alterations for the neighboring plot and the access street common to both developments, it required the consent of the neighbors.

The City Planning Office therefore made a hearing among the neighbors, explaining the project and the implications of it. But the tenants of the neighboring development were strongly against the proposal. They feared that a common entrance to the west would make it tempting for the tenants of the new development to use their parking spaces. They also feared that parking along the common access street would lead to inconveniences for them. Finally, they opposed to having a three storey building close to the western part of their development, as it was suggested.

The architect therefore had to change the site layout. Because of the limited street frontage and the geometry of the plot, this was not an easy task. And the rejection of having a three storey building to the west made it even more complicated, as extra floor space now had to be catered for elsewhere on the plot. As the developer describes the situation, "it was a hell of a trouble. […] It was a close call, because we almost couldn't fit in the necessary amount of floor area."

And the City Planning Office was hard to satisfy. The architect made several

alternative proposals, but the City Planning Office continuously put a finger on something. And the stress level went up: "We were quite heated over the problems we had. […] The architect was bursting with anger more than once because of this", the developer recalls.

Finally a solution was reached, by which all the different elements fitted in, and where the buildings were roughly in the position of the required site layout. This was only possible however, because the number of units in the development had now been reduced. And although the site layout was brought to function, it was not quite what the architect had dreamt of: "I don't feel that the development is a very personal creation. We just had to handle a lot of input which we couldn't really impact."

The planning goal of 'squeezing' the buildings of the different developments together may have been fulfilled in this case. But it has been so at the expense of the space between the buildings, which has become very cluttered and uncoordinated. The spatial clutter between the developments also contrast the relatively vast and unused space to the north of the buildings. This space, which is the result of the prescribed site layout, leaves the impression of a backside. And as the architect concludes with some annoyance: "I have my doubts about the [space at the] north side […] because it is a kind of 'space left over after planning'. That's how it is."

Change of Scale, Maintenance of Structure

The wish to generate a dense spatial relationship between different developments by means of small plots, is most clearly expressed at three plots to the west of the park. Here, the local plan features three small, square-shaped plots with identical building types, in the form of miniature urban blocks (fig. 6.16). The three plots were originally commissioned to three different architects, but shortly after the adoption of the Skejbygård plan, the student housing corporation who also built the tower development, wanted to develop all three plots into one student housing development.

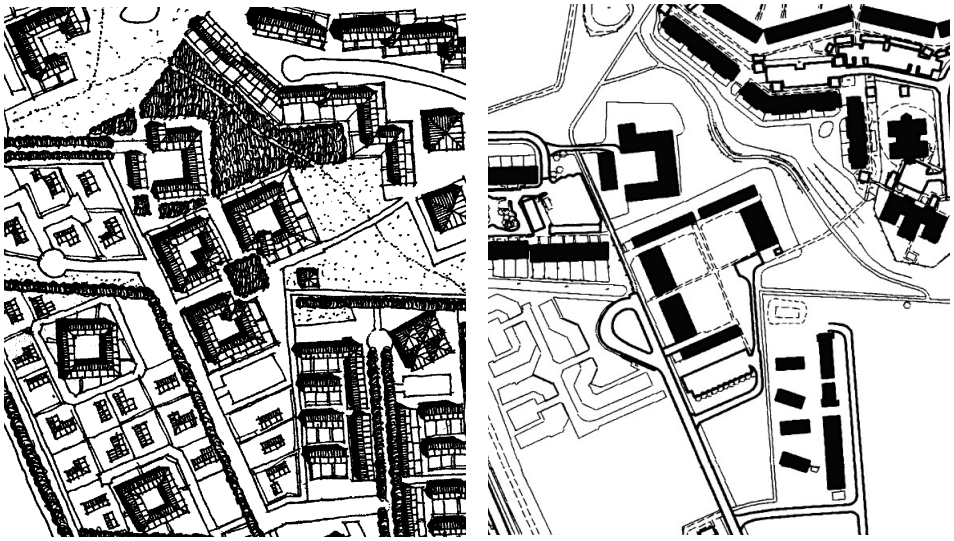


Figure 6.16-17
Masterplan (left) and the built reality (right).
Scale: 1:10.000

It was agreed that the three architects should make a joint project, and some initial designs were made. But much to the displeasure of the City Planning Office, the city did not want to develop all the necessary infrastructure in the area, as development was slack at this early stage. As one city planner vexedly explains: "[Only] a small part of the northern part [of the area] was developed with infrastructure. [The City] did not want to develop more, until it was clear how the land sales went. It started to bite its own tail. Things couldn't get started, and it became somewhat of a tactical deadlock."

As the three plots lay in the fourth development zone, no street was built and the plots, therefore, could not be accessed. And as a consequence, the project had to be put off.

Several years later, the infrastructure was finally developed, and the project was revitalized. As the manager of the student housing corporation had meanwhile been working with the author of the overall urban design, who also designed the tower development, she had become well acquainted with the ideas of the urban design, and the program of commissioning architects for the individual plots. At the same time she was interested in having good architectural design. Although the two year commission period was long over, she therefore still wanted to work with the architects who had originally been commissioned: "… that's why we accepted to work with those [architects] who had been selected – because we thought they would be visionary."

Given the span of years which had passed, the architects were surprised to be asked to take up the project again: "We had thrown away all the mail and forgotten everything about Skejby", one of the architects recalls. Another of the architectural firms had meanwhile become quite successful, and was no longer interested in this relatively small project in the Skejbygård area. Nonetheless, the two remaining architects agreed take up the project again.

The first issue which had to be dealt with, was how the prescribed site layout of the local plan should be interpreted. The small block type was not suited for student housing with small units for 1-2 persons. In addition, as the plots were going to be one development instead of three, the character of the open spaces within the development shifted from public or semipublic to private or at least semiprivate.

The architects proposed a site layout with buildings along the outer perimeters of the original blocks and a large open space in the center. Their arguments for this layout were partly aesthetic and partly social. On the one hand, they wished to emphasize the natural slope of the area by "… creating distinct spatial edges along the beautiful squares which make up the large lots", in order to "contrast the organically shaped landscape" (C.F. Møllers Tegnestue, 1996). On the other hand, the architects wanted "… a more open layout than [that of] the enclosed courtyard motif [of the prescribed site layout], in order to accommodate the idea of a large common space which, however, is broken down into appropriate individual [spaces]" (ibid.).

The City Planning Office accepted the alternative layout, as the prescribed site layout was unsuited for the proposed type of housing. In addition, it was difficult to argue for the prescribed miniature urban block type. After all, its only justification was, that it represented a constituent of the 'catalogue of suburbanism' (see chapter 2). And the reasoning seemed to be, that one type was as good as any, as long as some

spatial resemblance with the original building morphology was maintained.

Concerning the character of the open space in the center however, the City Planning Office was not willing to let it become a space entirely for the residents of the future student housing development. The local plan features a public pathway passing between the original large lots, connecting the park and the eastern part of the Skejbygård area to the western part of the area. And as a bus line had meanwhile been implemented to the west of the development, the City Planning Office wanted to maintain the pathway through the development, in order to have a direct connection to a nearby bus stop.

Not surprisingly, this became a matter of some dispute between the developer and the City Planning Office. As one City planner explains, "they were really not keen on having a public footpath going through [the development] and wanted it to be either in the front or in the back. But we ended up maintaining that there had to be a public footpath from the park across to the bus stop, and further on."

As in the case of the tower development, the (same) developer had to accept the public path passing through the development. But although the developer is unhappy about it for pecuniary reasons, as it is the responsibility of the housing corporation to maintain the path which is part of their property, her major concern, ironically, is one of crime prevention: "I would have preferred to be without it […] because in terms of security, people know one another within the development and react if someone else comes along."

High Architectural ambitions and Low Budgets

The student housing development was one of the few projects that were actually made by the architects who had originally been commissioned. The architects who had been selected for the program were mostly young and promising, but with little practice experience. The idea of the program was to give these "second tier architects who were eager to show what they could do", an opportunity to build, as the author of the urban design scheme formulates it.

And the architects put a lot of effort into the work. "Models were made – big models of all the rooms – and an incredible amount of energy was spent in the office, not least because it was our first [building] assignment; we wanted to show how to turn this one. […] So we happily wore ourselves down on that [project]", one of the architects concedes.

The architects' high level of ambition was disproportionate to the scope of the project, however. As most other developments in the Skejbygård area, the student housing project was subsidized housing. This implies a modest budget which, in turn, requires great skill and experience in order to implement anything beyond the ordinary. But as it was one of the architects' first building assignment, to him it was "… a major assignment which we were not geared to do at all", as he admits. Furthermore, the assignment was shared between two architects. Thus, the development of the student housing scheme, to a large extent, became two projects in one. The architects made individual building designs for each their half of the scheme, adding further strain to an already tight budget.

Figure 6.18
Student housing development

It therefore seemed almost inevitable that, as in the case of the tower development, the proposed design became too expensive to build. A lengthy process of redesigning began, in order to cut the building costs, and soon the time schedule for the project started to collapse. But still it was impossible to reach the budget without critically compromising the design: "With the last, say, 7-8 % of the cuts, the entire design went out the window", one of the architects contends.

Ultimately, the management of the project was handed over to a building contractor, who could manage to meet both the deadline and the budget for the development. But the price was, that the contractor was given extensive influence on the design. What had started out as an ambition of having a visionary design made by visionary architects, therefore ended up as a design compromise, largely influenced by the financial and technical rationales of the building contractor.

The Park: A Missing Link

The 'organically shaped landscape' which the 'distinct spatial edges' of the student housing scheme was intended to contrast, was that of the park. Stretching diagonally from the northwest to the southeast corner of the Skejbygård area, the park forms an important element of the Skejbygård Plan. Although 'carved out' in the deconstructionist fashion, with no distinct boundaries toward the adjacent areas, it was planned as binding element, connecting the different parts of the area through a network of pathways. As the only major public space within the area, it was intended as an important constituent of the area's identity.

At the time of writing however, the park has not yet been implemented. As part of the program of the commissioned architects, two landscape architects made a landscape design for the park, considering aspects of both the deconstructionist approach of the overall urban design, urban ecology, and usability for the residents (Landskab og rum A/S & Gruppen for by- og landskabsplanlægning Aps., 1995).

The design of the park was initiated by the City, but despite that the park is a

Figure 6.19
The area of the planned park, seen towards the tower block development

public space, the City will not be the owner of it. Technically, the property of the park is handed over to a landowners' association which will be responsible for the implementation and subsequent maintenance of the park. In this way public green space is provided without burdening the City budgets.

It is a requirement that a landowners' association be established, and membership is compulsory for all housing landowners within the area. But it is the responsibility of the City to initiate the establishment of the landowners' association. But, still at the time of writing, the City has so far failed to do so. As a consequence of this neglect – and much to the annoyance of the landowners and residents of the Skejbygård area – the park has still not been developed.

Everyone seems puzzled as to why the park is still missing. "The area is not completed until the park is made; they've got to get their act together", one developer says with some annoyance. Another developer takes an ironical stance: "Well, we hope that it *does* get built at some point […] We look forward to that. We certainly do. […] Because we've been up there for quite some years now, and every now and again we take a glance [of the area] and ask [ourselves] what has become of it." And this regret is shared among the City planners too: "I do miss the park. I think it should have been there right from the beginning", one of the City planners who was involved in the making of the local plan complains.

The fact that the park has not been implemented has at least two implications, relevant to the planning goals for the Skejbygård area. First, the general attraction of the area is affected, as the central part appears as a wasteland. This means little to semiprivate investors such as social housing companies who generally do not have problems finding tenants. The much desired private investors however, are generally selective as to where they want to build. As one developer puts it, areas must have certain attractive features in order to appeal to private developers: "… and this one doesn't; it's a vast open field, and the planned park […] has not been developed yet. So, it's an area like any other."

Second, having an undeveloped area in the center of the development has

implications for crime prevention, as vacant and undeveloped areas should generally be avoided within the envelope of development. Inevitably, many lots are likely to remain undeveloped for some time during the process of development. But as crime prevention was an explicit planning goal, it is counterproductive that the central part of the area still remains undeveloped after more than a decade.

THE SEDEN SYD PLAN

Like i Aarhus, enthusiasm prevailed at the Odense City Planning Office, at the time when the Seden Syd Plan was adopted. And likewise, expectations were high for the development of the Seden Syd area. Also here, active interest in the new area was taken beyond the City Planning Office. The local newspaper wrote about 'The English Garden City' to be (Fyens Stiftstidende, 1986), and described how this new area was going to be not only well equipped with public green space, but also a safe place for children, with its planned network of traffic safe bicycle paths.

But contrary to the case of the Skejbygård area, optimism was followed by concrete action. At an early meeting among architects and traffic planners within the city administration, it was reported that beyond the housing scheme which had been initiated prior to the adoption of the Seden Syd Plan (see chapter 2), most of the large lots for low rise/high density housing in the first development zone had already been sold. It was therefore mentioned that development in the second development zone ought to be commenced soon (Odense magistrat, 2. Afdeling, 1988).

Apart from large lots for low-rise/high-density housing, the first development zone also included an area with a considerable number of lots for detached housing – the core of the so-called English Garden City (see chapter 2). It was no coincidence, however, that most of the lots which had been sold were large lots. Also Odense was marked by the recession, which meant that only few people could afford single family houses. Although this circumstance had been accommodated by making the detached housing lots quite small, sales were still rather slack.

The large lots were conveniently located along the main access street of the first development zone, making it easy to start development. Planners and developers alike were already beginning to envisage the contours of the new development, and site plans for developments on the large lots were soon handed in for approval at the City Planning Office.

Although the masterplan (see fig. 2.13) was intended merely as a 'quick draft, suitable as the basis for discussion', as the author of the plan puts it, it soon became the absolute scale against which all the individual site plans were measured. In practice there was little room for negotiation, however, as the individual site plans were meticulously judged by their compliance with the masterplan. As a planning instrument it therefore proved to be literally the final word, rather than a basis for discussion.

Notwithstanding the architectural ideals of the masterplan, its primary function is to regulate the architectural image of the area. And it soon turned out, that the major concern of the City Planning Office with regard to the management of the early stages of development in the Seden Syd area, was above all an aesthetic one.

In several ways, time was on the City Planning Office's side in terms of this concern. The local plan for Seden Syd was adopted the same year as the Blangstedgård Housing Exhibition was held, and the attention towards high quality architecture was high, not only at the City Planning Office, but also among the local housing companies and architects. Furthermore, all the land in the Seden Syd area was owned by the city, allowing it a high degree of control of development. Finally, most of the housing developments at the time were subsidized housing. And as all subsidized housing was regulated by the City Subsidized Housing Office, the City was able to exercise a high degree of control of development.

Subsidized housing in Denmark at that time was regulated through a state quota system which was administered by the municipalities. In Odense, the policy on subsidized housing was, that it should all be built on public land. In practice, all building quotas for subsidized housing therefore had an 'area tag' which meant that developers were restricted to build on specific lots allocated by the City. The City Planning Office therefore had extensive power to set the terms for approval for development projects.

The City Planning Office intended to make the most of these fortunate circumstances. And at the City Planning Office, urban design was high on the agenda. The ambition was to make the Seden Syd area stand out, in terms of urban design. And the author of the plan who also managed the realization of it, took it on as a personal ambition. It was his "big thing", a developer of one of the early developments in the area recalls. "That area was going to be really something, compare to so many other [development areas]".

Early Developments: Aesthetics First

The strong emphasis on urban design was particularly apparent in the early phase of development. In fact it seems to have overshadowed most other planning issues. And because the masterplan – although characterized as a quick draft – expressed the only considerations about urban design for the area, its role as a guiding tool for urban design grew beyond what is normally the case for a masterplan, or illustration map, of a local plan. When development projects were handed in for approval at the City Planning Office, the determining factor was their degree of compliance with this plan, even if other aspects of the projects were in conflict with the local plan.

The first handful of housing projects which were initiated in the area were all subsidized housing in some form. Apart from the large social housing scheme, Poppelhaven, which was initiated prior to the formal adoption of the local plan, the first development project was a co-ownership housing scheme which was developed in an area designated for detached housing. The individual lots fronting the street were combined into one large lot, but the building layout of the masterplan, which features individual houses with pitched roofs and gables facing the street, was retained nonetheless (see figure 6.20).

By demand of the City Planning Office, the shape of the buildings and their distribution was kept in compliance with the masterplan, even though it fit poorly with the new type of housing which was now being planned. Rather than two-level

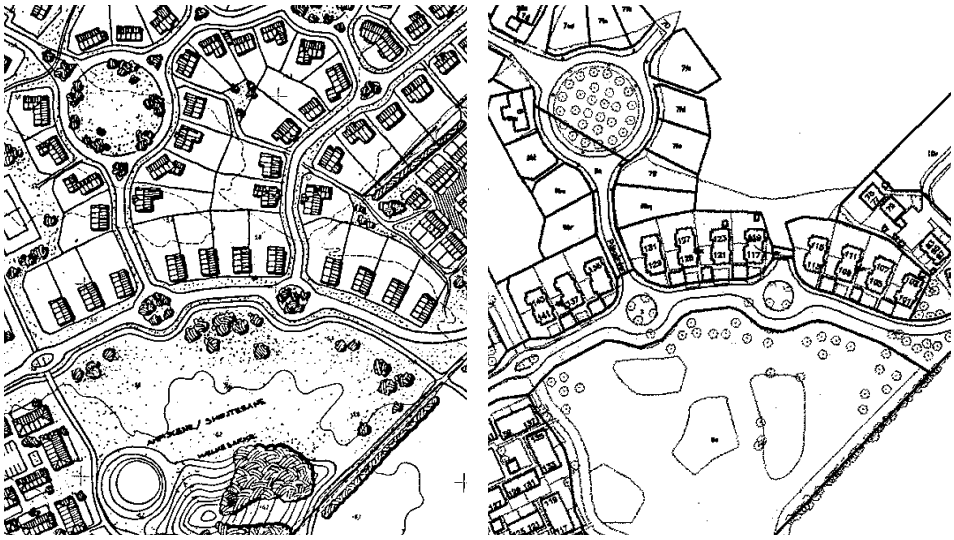


Figure 6.20-21
Masterplan (left) and the built reality (right).
Scale: 1:10.000

dwellings, the developer wished to build dwellings with only one level, as this was the most marketable housing type at the time.

The City Planning Office's demand to build houses with pitched roofs, in combination with the prescribed building density, meant that a compromise had to be reached, in order to have the number of ground-level dwellings which the developer wanted. As the architect explains, the outcome of this compromise was quite peculiar: "The [part of the] buildings closest to the street has two levels. [But] in recognition of the fact that nobody wanted two-storey dwellings, we just let the roof continue out over the rear part of the buildings, and […] built empty attics". What appears to be two level single family houses – as it was foreseen in the local plan – in reality became double and triple houses with empty attics to the rear (Figure 6.22).

The architect who designed the scheme had a clear feeling of what his chances were, in terms of impacting the site layout. Referring to the City's policy of tagging a

Figure 6.22
Early co-ownership housing development. Building shapes and layout with pitched roofs and gables facing the street was required by the City Planning Office.
(Compare figure 2.15)

specific site to the subsidized housing quotas, he contends that "the package comprised the site layout more or less. […] We didn't bother much to question the [design ideals of the city planner]. So we more or less followed the design prescriptions of the masterplan". And, stressing what concerned the City Planning Office the most, he continues that "it was mostly a question of whether the building morphology suited [the masterplan]".

Although the architect did not make much fuss about the restrictions, the fact that the site – according to the local plan – was designated for detached houses and the implications that this had for the layout, was somewhat of a straitjacket to the developer. "[The developer] moaned and groaned over the restrictions put forward by the City planners", the architect recalls. And he offers an explanation as to why the City Planning Office stood so hard on their requirements: "They wished to have an 'urban' development. And 'urban' is typically [conceived as] two-storey development."

The developer did not give in to arguments about 'urban' development, however. "He made complaints to [the City planner]. And it didn't end with that. [The developer] got mad and contacted politicians and people higher up in the city hierarchy, to ask for permission to do things differently", the architect recalls. But even so, the City Planning Office had the power to put through its demands, and therefore, the co-ownership housing scheme was built in the guise of single family houses.

The Gate to Nowhere

By the next housing development down the street, a similar scenario unfolded. The developer did not want to have a multiple storey development, but despite the fact that the local plan prescribed two storeys as a *maximum* requirement for both this development and the gable houses, it was now being interpreted by the City Planning Office as a *minimum* requirement. And also this developer gave in to the dictates of the City Planning Office, although hesitantly: "It was rather a question of adapting to the architectural wishes of the City [Planning Office] in order to obtain approval for

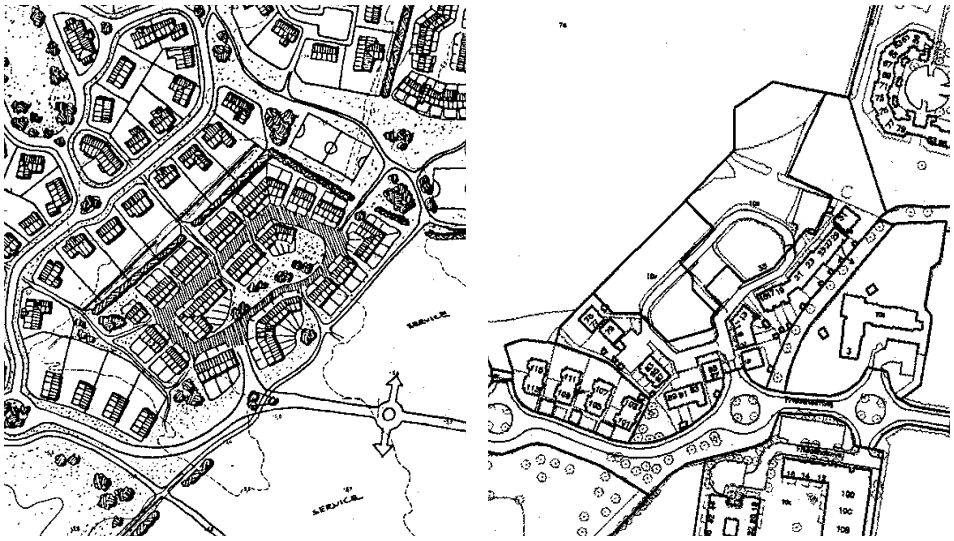


Figure 6.23-24
Masterplan (left) and the built reality (right).
Scale: 1:5.000

Figure 6.25
Development with iron entrance gate

the project, than to design to address [whishes of] potential buyers".

And it was indeed hard to find buyers for co-ownership housing at the time. In order to attract costumers, the developers arranged shows on the site: "The developers were out there on all weekends fighting over one another's costumers. It was like a goat market!", one architect recalls.

But this developer was lucky. He managed to find enough buyers, and his development was built. The development only takes up the front half of the large lot where it sits, however. The rear half of the large lot was allotted to another developer, who did not manage to find enough buyers and therefore had to give up his project. As the front development must be passed in order to access the rear part of the large lot, no other developer has since found it attractive to build on the remaining part of the large lot. At the time of writing, this part remains undeveloped, and the development therefore leaves the impression of being unfinished.

As a special feature, the developer of the front part of the large lot was requested to make a huge iron entrance gate to the development. This feature was not prescribed in the local plan, but nonetheless, it was put forward as a demand by the City Planning Office. And the demand was not negotiable. As the designer and developer of the housing scheme puts it, "that was a clear cut demand. It's as simple as that". But given the fact that the rear half of the large lot was never developed, the gate leaves an odd impression; it seems to mark the entrance to nowhere, as behind it there is an open field (figure 6.25).

Inconsistent Demands

Despite the controversy surrounding the process of developing these two projects, the development of other, concurrent projects took place with much less friction. The large social housing project, Poppelhaven, which was developed in parallel to the preparation of the local plan – and the design of which expressly departed from the overall vision of the local plan (see chapter 2) – was approved smoothly and

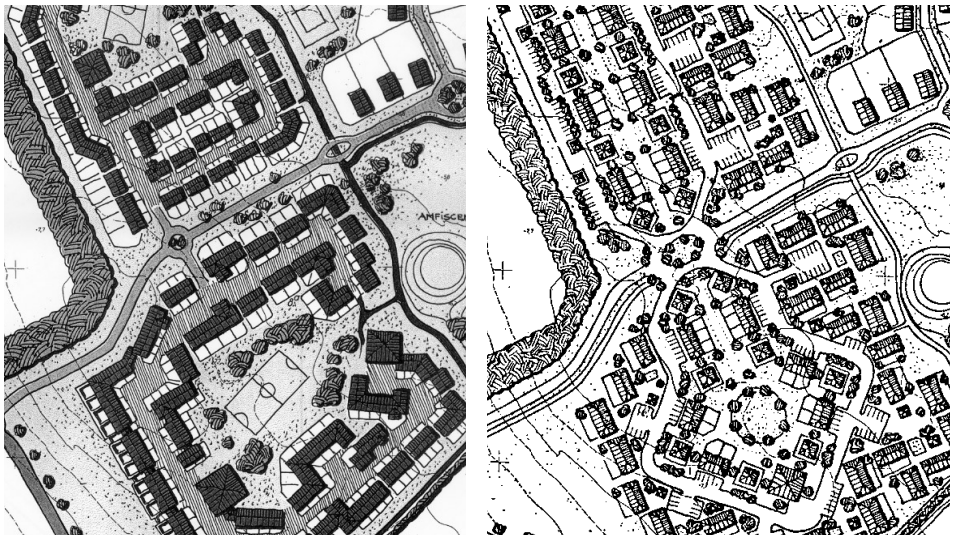


Figure 6.26-27
Masterplans from the original local plan proposal (left) and the adopted version of the local plan (right). Scale: 1:5.000

without objections.

Apart from a site layout which was radically different form that of the masterplan of the local plan proposal, the project included a number of buildings that exceeded the prescribed building heights of the proposed local plan. Building heights were regulated in order to have higher (and denser) development in the central part of the Seden Syd area and lower (and sparser) development towards the edges of the area. But this basic principle was unhesitatingly abandoned. As the development was located on the edge of the area, it should have been low and sparse. But although the project featured higher densities and building heights than most other projects in Seden Syd, an exemption for the building height regulation was granted 'in a matter of weeks', as the architect puts it.

As the development was initiated prior to the adoption of the local plan, the local plan proposal was revised to reflect not only the new building heights, but also

Figure 6.28
'Poppelhaven' development

the radically different layout (figure 6.26-27). In this reverse way, the project now technically complied with the local plan. But the basic principles of the urban design of the original local plan proposal no longer applied.

At this time, only one large lot was still available in the first development zone. And regardless that neither this last housing project complied with the literal prescriptions of the local plan, things went as smooth as in this case of 'Poppelhaven'. The site layout of this project for rental apartments had a formal resemblance with the site layout of the masterplan. But for this particular large lot however, the local plan features surprisingly minute regulations for the design of facades, garden walls and more, none of which the project complied with.

These regulations may be interpreted as mere personal whim on behalf of the author of the plan, and as such, be given little attention. Given the extent to which literal consistency – as well as personal whim – seems to have guided the management of the local plan in the cases already described, it would be likely to assume however, that the same approach would be adopted in this case.

But the project's inconsistency with the local plan on these points was never an issue. Although the consulting engineer who managed the project on behalf of the developer, acknowledges that "taking the literal sense of the [local plan], those prescriptions have not been followed", he has no doubt that they should not be taken very seriously: "This is the planners' illustration of how it *might* be. But it is in no circumstance a requirement. […] It is simply the planning officer's loose thoughts."

Formally, the City Planning Office may interpret its own local plan flexibly, as long as the stated purpose of the local plan is not violated. It may cause wonder however, why the City Planning Office chose to interpret the local plan quite literally in some cases and even chose to make requirements beyond the prescriptions of the plan (as in the case with the iron gate), while in this case – in which the local plan is particularly specific about architectural design – deviations from the local plan were accepted as a matter of course.

Planning Without a Plan

It did not take long before all large lots in the first development zone of Seden Syd were developed. This did not mean that the zone was fully developed, however. The northern part of the zone was designated for detached housing, and in this part, hardly any houses were built. But as the City Planning Office was still receiving more projects for social housing and co-ownership housing, there was a demand for more large lots beyond the capacity of the first development zone.

Although there was still vacant land in the first development zone, the second development zone was therefore opened for development. However, the local plan only covered the first development zone in detail. According to the plan, a supplementary local plan including a masterplan for the subsequent development zones had to be prepared, before development could begin.

Nonetheless, the City administration somehow forgot to prepare a new local plan. However, the lack of the prescribed local plan did not worry the City Real Estate Office, who manages the sale of public land. This office therefore proceeded the sale of large

lots in the second development zone, as no more large lots were available in the first. Confronted with the fact of the missing supplementary local plan, an officer from the City Real Estate Office simply contends that "it is a matter of interpretation. […] And here it was not interpreted as a requirement to have a [supplementary] local plan".

The City Real Estate Office manages land sales on the basis of plot division plans, indicating the size, shape and location of plots. Hence, a plot division plan was made for the second development zone of Seden Syd (Figure 6.29). Due to the lack of a supplementary local plan, this document therefore became the most important planning document for the development of the second development zone, and the only guide to its urban design. In practice this meant no urban design guidelines at all.

The first development project in the second development zone which was approved by the City Planning Office, was a project for social housing in the northern part of the zone. Out of discontent with the proposed site layout of the project, a neighbor filed a complaint to the City Planning Office. As the neighbor learned that the required supplementary local plan was missing, he also filed a complaint to the National Forest and Nature Agency.

The verdict of this agency was clear: By approving the project, the Odense City Planning Office had violated its own planning regulations. The City Planning Office had followed the interpretation made by the Real Estate Office. But the interpretation had proved wrong.

The lack of a supplementary local plan applied to the entire second development zone. But in order to accommodate the immediate needs of the developer, only a so-called project local plan, covering the specific the area of the project, was prepared. Although further development projects were soon to come, the City Planning Office reasoned, that the incidence of the discontent neighbor was a one-off affair. And development continued in the second development zone for several years, without the required supplementary local plan.

Figure 6.29
Plot division plan for the second development zone
Not to scale

A Mysterious Sketch

The City Planning Office did prepare another plan though. A sketch similar to the masterplan for the first development zone was made, suggesting building layouts for the second development zone (figure 6.30). In a fashion similar to that of the masterplan, it features a variety of different layouts, some organic, some more formal, distributed across the area, in a seemingly random manner. In this sketch, a line – or axis – running diagonally through the area is discernible. But apart from that, no overall idea seems to guide its design.

This sketch did not have the status of an official planning document. Nonetheless, it was distributed to developers, who were asked to take it into account when designing the site layouts of individual large lots. Contrary to the masterplan for the first development zone however, this sketch did not play a very strong role by the City Planning Office's judgment of incoming projects. And what exactly its role was, remained a mystery to the architects operating in the area.

One of the early developments in the second development zone was approved

Figure 6.30
Sketch suggesting site layouts for the large lots (outlined) of the second development zone. An axis running diagonally from the northwest to the southeast is vaugely discernable. Not to scale

on the basis of a building layout which, in the words of the architect was "a complete deviation" from the City Planning Office's sketch. And, as the architect continues, the approval was obtained without objections from the City Planning Office: "As they had seen our proposal and heard the arguments for doing as we wished to do, they thought it was all right. […] I don't recall any serious discussion about it. We were allowed to carry it through in the form that we wished to."

The architect does not make much of the City Planning Office's sketch which, as he argues, did not consider the detailed aspects of site planning. For instance, it featured an excessive amount of street space which would have been costly to develop, while causing a poor layout of green spaces. Given the fact that the sketch hardly played any role in the layout of any of the subsequent developments, the architect therefore had difficulty understanding why the City Planning Office had bothered to prepare the sketch at all: "We must say that we don't really understand why they did that effort. A far as I can see, only very few [developments] have followed the City's proposals".

In reflection of the priorities of the City Planning Office and the spending of public money, he adds: "We think that it is a pity that they spend so much effort on things like that. We may take it easy of course, but in terms of the City finances spent, it's annoying that so much effort is wasted on things that, at the point when the wishes and intentions of the developers are introduced, prove not to be of any use".

The Way the System Works

Little by little, more developments were built, none of which were laid out in any apparent accordance with the City Planning Office's sketch. What is more striking however, is that the developments did not follow a consecutive pattern of development. The individual developments were scattered across the area, leaving tracts of undeveloped land between them. On one instance, a development was even set back from the access street, leaving it oddly withdrawn in the middle of the fields (figure 6.31, lower left).

To the visitor therefore, the image of Seden Syd more and more became one of scattered developments in the middle of the fields, rather than one of a new and growing neighborhood. In the second development zone – as in the first – the streets were laid out with roundabouts at short intervals. Apart from being a traffic safety measure to slow down traffic, the roundabouts also function as access points to the individual developments. But due to the discontinuous development, many of the roundabouts appear oddly out of place, and emphasize the impression of an unfinished development. The lack of overall urban design principles further adds to this picture, as the layouts of existing developments are completely uncoordinated.

In the first development zone, the undeveloped tracts of land were caused by slack sales of detached housing lots. In the second development zone, the scattered and seemingly random pattern of development has a different cause. As there was no local plan for the second development zone, there was also no specification of housing types for the different parts of the area. And all the new developments in the area were forms of high-density/low-rise development. The specific location of the individual developments, therefore, was not a question of type.

Figure 6.31
Arial view of the Seden Syd area

A likely reason for the extreme scattering of development would be, that it was the result of individual developer preferences, as to where they wanted to build. But that was not the case. All developers express in one voice, that the choice of plot was not theirs, but the City's. Some developers were offered a choice of two or three plots, but none of them were able to freely pick a plot of their own choice. Then why did the area develop in such a dispersed fashion? The answer – as simple as it can be – is, that it was the result of the way the system works. Tthe system in this case, being the City administration.

As soon as local plans are adopted, development management moves from the City Planning Office to the City Real Estate Office. For a moment, development thereby ceases to be a planning issue and becomes an issue of land sales. And not until developers hand in their proposals to the City Planning Office for approval, does it become a planning issue again. The City Real Estate Office has no particular interest in planning issues, nor is its staff trained to deal with planning. Its primary interest is to sell land. And in order to solve this task, they work with the plot division plan as their most important tool.

The plot division plan is prepared by the City Planning Office which, on the other hand, has no interest in land sales, nor is its staff trained to deal with land sales. So, in preparing the plot division plan, they subdivide the area to suit the intentions of the urban design. In the case of the second development zone of the Seden Syd area, these intentions – for better and for worse – was manifested in the urban design sketch, which was prepared without regard to the plot types and sizes in demand. The City Real Estate Office, in turn, is bound by the plot division plan, and whatever plot types and sizes it offers.

So, when a building opportunity comes up and a suitable plot has to be picked for the developer, the Real Estate simply chooses a plot which matches the size of the project in question. And as suitable plots may be located anywhere in the area, they are offered without regard to the spatial coherence of the overall development. The scattered distribution of development is therefore not the result of external forces such as the market, or developers who are powerful enough to bend the plan. It is simply the result of the way the process is handled among different City offices, and therefore completely internal to the City administration.

Giving Up Urban Design

After several years of development in the second development zone of the Seden Syd area, the supplementary local plan had still not been adopted. The only documents guiding the development of the zone was the plot division plan which was the primary tool of the City Real Estate Office, and the sketch with suggested building layouts which no-one adhered to. And in practice, development had been scattered all over the area without any coherence, neither spatially, nor in terms of urban design.

At some point, the City Planning Office finally concluded that the situation was no longer feasible, and the preparation of a local plan was set in motion. In terms of urban design, the new local plan was more or less a formalized version of the sketch, with the exception that the masterplan was altered to reflect the reality of already

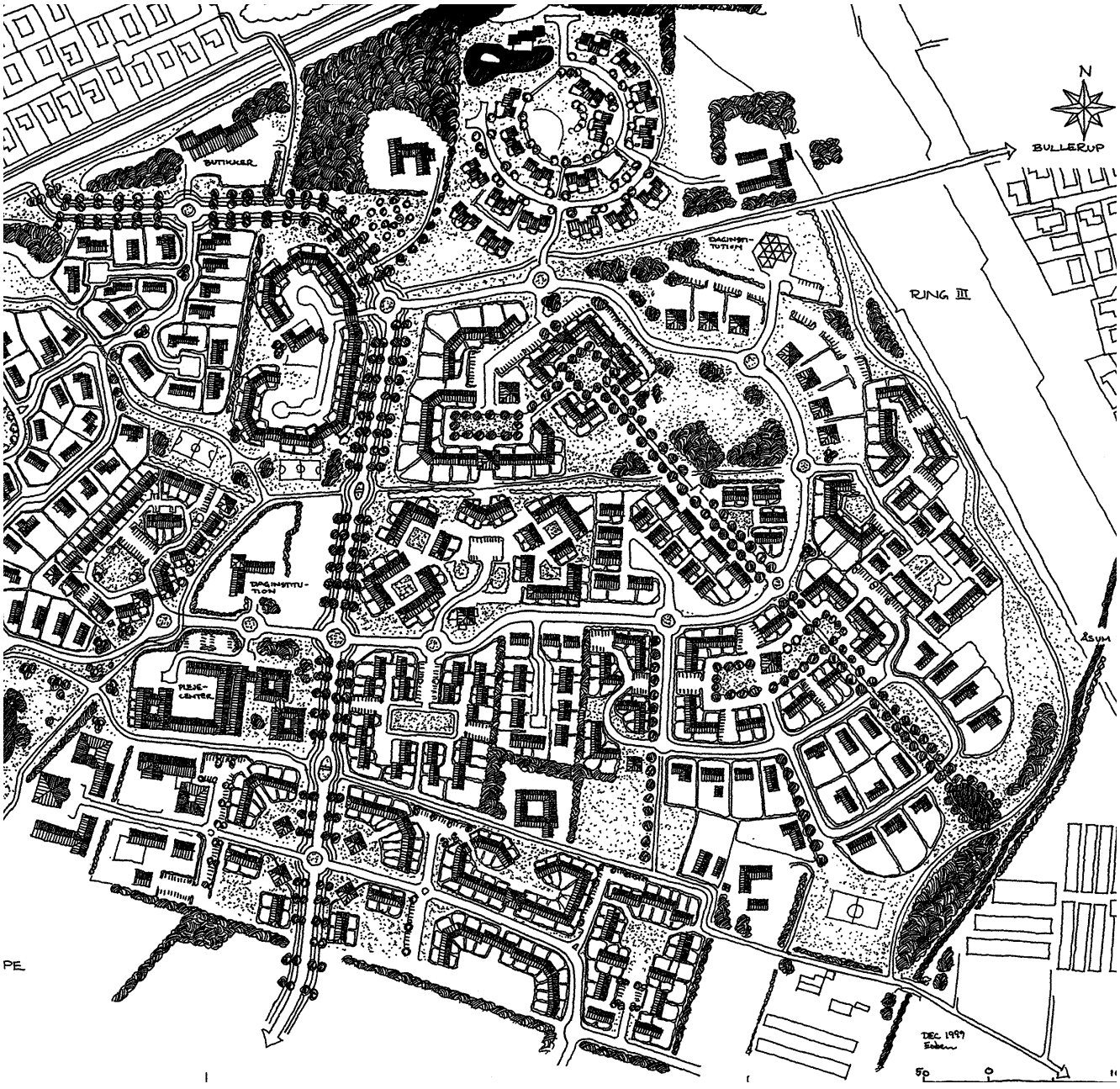


Figure 6.32
Masterplan for the second development zone of the Seden Syd area.
Scale 1:5000

existing developments. And also, the axis which had been discernible in the sketch had now become more distinct (fig. 6.32).

Maybe out of resignation to the fact that the planners had so far had little success in controlling the urban design of the second development zone, the new local plan expressly states that the masterplan is indeed only guiding:

[…] the plan comprises a draft proposal for the layout of individual large lots […]. The draft is a guide only, but nonetheless indicates the City of Odense's intentions for the area.

– Odense Kommune, 1997

Given the strict regulatory way in which the masterplan was used by the development of the first development zone, this formulation may also be taken as a reminder to the City Planning Office itself.

Even though aspirations to control the overall urban design of the second development zone were thus generally abandoned, one element of the plan now gained the planners' attention all the more. Thus, the axis now seemed to incorporate all the design aspirations of the City Planning Office:

The local plan defines an axis through the area […]. The axis is defined with the purpose of making orientation easier in an otherwise very varied residential area, as well as to link the individual developments architecturally. The axis is an important part of the plan and must be respected.

– Odense Kommune, 1997

A certain desperation seems to lie between the lines of this formulation: The area had indeed become varied, and the introduction of the axis looks like a final attempt to create at least some order in the built-up chaos of the area. But still the City Planning Office seemed nervous that even this modest attempt to regulate the urban design would fail. Otherwise it seems unnecessary to state the obvious; that what is prescribed in the plan must be respected.

Moving the Neighborhood Center

Although the missing local plan was obviously needed, it was long under way. The proposal was put on public approbation in 1997, but it was not until 2000 that a revised version of it was finally adopted. The main reason for that was related to one of the central ideas of the original local plan; the formation of a neighborhood center in the central part of Seden Syd.

In the image of the English Garden City, Seden Syd was originally planned to have a neighborhood center in the middle, with shops, services and small businesses. As hinted in the masterplan, it should preferably be in the shape of a traditional town square (fig. 2.13). The idea was, that it should be a place of liveliness throughout the day and evening:

Figure 6.33
The area of the planned neighborhood center

In order to avoid that the service areas are deserted when shops and institutions are closed, a certain amount of housing must be located within the service areas.

– Odense Kommune, 1988, p. 12

But the neighborhood center never developed. When fully developed, the neighborhood center would be at the geographical center of Seden Syd. Due to the way Seden Syd was subdivided into three development zones, it would nonetheless remain on the edge of the development – facing the fields – until development would eventually begin in the third development zone.

And even when fully developed, the area of Seden Syd was unlikely to be able to support a neighborhood center of the kind that was envisaged in the local plan. The City Planning Office just did not know. At the time when the first local plan was developed, no feasibility studies were made to investigate the question. Not until several years later, as the second local plan was on public approbation, a consultant was engaged to do a study. And the consultant's judgment was unequivocal. If any local shopping was ever to emerge within the area, it had to be located at the primary street along the northern edge of Seden Syd, in order to gain from the 'street effect' of car drivers stopping by.

However, the City Planning Office preferred to keep the service area in the center of Seden Syd, as in the first local plan. This location was therefore maintained in the second local plan proposal. But during the approbation period, several complaints were filed, addressing this issue. And it was as a result of these many complaints that it was decided to have the study done. As a consequence of the conclusions of the study, the local plan proposal was then finally revised. And thus, in the adopted version of the local plan, the service area was moved to a location adjacent to the primary street. This process took three years.

Few other than the City Planning Office believed that a centrally located neighborhood center had ever been feasible in the first place. Although one City

planner claims that "a new situation existed for the retail trade in relation to 1988 [when the first local plan was adopted]" and another planner contends that "it had proved impossible" to locate shops internally in the area, several of the professionals, active in the development process of Seden Syd, are more blunt in their comments on the issue. One architect finds the vision of the neighborhood center 'very ambitious' and judges it to have 'no earthly chance of existence', while another architect does not hesitate to call it 'downright naïve'.

For yet another architect, the City Planning Office's vision of the neighborhood center had more decisive impact on his design. He was commissioned to design a home for the elderly, intended to be one of the institutions at the neighborhood center. A participatory design process was conducted, and the elderly were very interested in the idea that the home would become an integrated part of a neighborhood center with shopping, and took an active interest in the layout of the home:

There were many considerations about the location of the home in relation to the shopping center. […] It was anticipated that there was going to be a dentist's office and a doctor's office and maybe a lawyer's office which could serve the neighborhood. It all sounds nice and wonderful and the elderly thought so too; […] then they wouldn't have to travel into town.

Apparently everyone was carried away by the prospects of the neighborhood center, but the architect has a hint of remorse in his voice as he sums up the outcome of the joint efforts to lay out the home:

At one end of the home there is a cafeteria and a restaurant – with a view to the fields. And this function might well have faced a square in connection with a [neighborhood] center, so that there would have been some street life. […] But it never came.

In his evaluation of the chances that the neighborhood center could have become a reality, the architect judges that the City Planning Office's approach was based more on vision than on analysis:

They hoped it; as planner you are content with hoping […]. But reality has proved differently. It foundered on lack of realism. You may say that the planning intentions have wrecked." And in reflection of the full array of uses which the city planners had foreseen at the neighborhood center, he adds: "It was anticipated that there would be small businesses too. But that's illusory, you know.

Giving Up the Last Stronghold

While several housing schemes were developed in Seden Syd, only a handful of private houses were built within the first ten years of development. In the first years of development, a recession put a general curb on the private housing market. But when the economy improved in the mid-1990s, and more private houses started to get built elsewhere, still hardly any private houses were built in Seden Syd.

The area for detached housing was the most carefully planned part of Seden Syd. Here, the visual and spatial ideals of the English Garden City which the Seden Syd plan

was based on, was most clearly expressed. The Unwinian layout with houses fronting the streets and little greens, was clearly recognizable in the perspective drawings of the local plan (see fig. 2.16), which also features a special plan with precise indications of the placement of buildings on the individual lots and build-to lines (fig. 6.34).

In order to control the image of the area, the local plan also has special regulations for building types. Roofs must have a minimum pitch of 30° and most of the houses must have a roof level. The layout of the area is carefully designed with winding streets and irregular plots, to avoid the monotony of traditional subdivisions. In addition, the plots are smaller than average (350-600 sqm.), making the area more dense, all together. In combination with the foreseen houses with roof levels and pitched roofs, the area would thus become more distinct – more urban – than the average sprawl of detached housing.

But however appealing this image was to the City Planning Office, the area had little appeal to potential buyers. Confronted with the choice of the plots in Seden Syd and traditional plots elsewhere in the city which could readily be developed with standard houses, most buyers turned down the Seden Syd cocktail of strict regulations and irregular and small plots. The City Real Estate Office therefore had a hard time

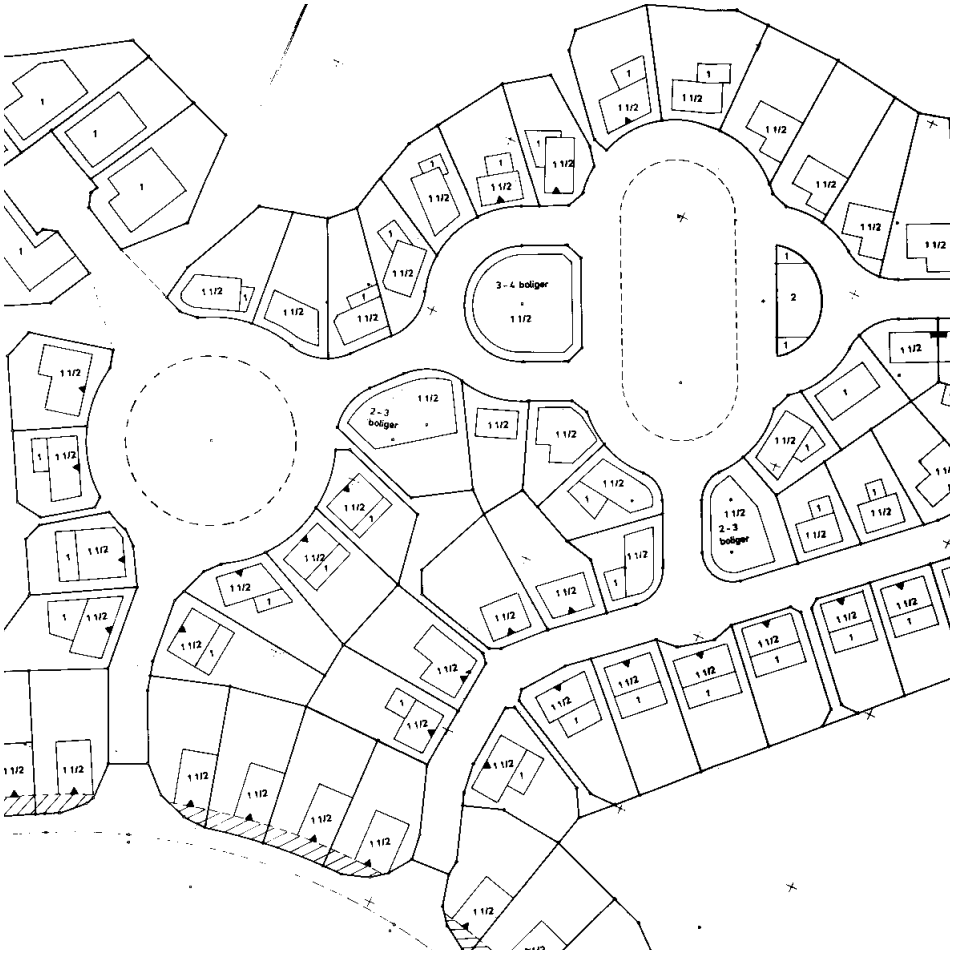


Figure 6.34
Plan indicating build-to lines and floor numbers for the area for detached housing in the first development zone of the Seden Syd area (detail)
Scale 1:2000

Figure 6.35
Actual development of the so-called English Garden City in Seden Syd: Standard houses around a circular green with apple trees

selling off the plots.

In practice, the restrictions made it impossible to develop the plots for detached housing in Seden Syd with standard houses, which typically have no roof level and a roof pitch of less than 30°. But this was no lapse on behalf of the City Planning Office. The very idea of the Seden Syd plan was to make the new neighborhood stand out from typical suburbia. Besides, architects and planners generally despise of standard house developments, which they find antithetical to architecture and urbanism (see Toft, 2001). Or as one developer puts it: "They hate standard housing areas from the bottom of their hearts."

Nevertheless, not least for financial reasons, most people prefer standard houses to individually designed houses. Therefore, the Unwinian garden city which the planners had envisaged in Seden Syd never developed. And although the slack plot sales were not very amusing to the City Real Estate Office, the officer has difficulty hiding his smile, as he sums up the situation: "The idea was to build 'special houses', but that is not possible. Nobody wants to do that. And then we can't sell it."

In the face of reality, the 'English Garden City' was remodeled. The parcels were reorganized an enlarged to suit standard housing, and the strict regulations were lifted. Soon after, development began. Standard houses sprouted everywhere, and little by little, the area transformed into a typical subdivision. The planners' last stronghold – the most carefully planned part of Seden Syd – had been surrendered. The dream of the English Garden City was gone, and in its place had come what the planners hated the most: The epitome of suburbia. And all that was left of the dream, was a little circular green with apple trees.

EVALUATION

Once an urban design scheme such as the ones of the Skejbygård and Seden Syd areas is adopted in the form of a local plan, it enters a new realm in three ways. First, the content of the plan transcends from being a matter of professional, architectural

and planning concern, and becomes a legal document. Architectural and planning aspects such as urban form, spatial qualities and functional relations translate into what developers are allowed to do, and what not. This implies a change of language, from the predominantly visual language of design, to the written language of law. It therefore also implies a change of mode of thinking.

Second, its institutional setting changes, as it moves from the realm of design and planning into the realm of administration. Apart from the City Planning Office, other City offices with different rationales now take part in the management of the plan. This involves professionals other than architects and planners, with different views and understandings of the task at hand.

Finally, it enters a whole new arena, including all the different actors of the urban development process. Apart from the various City offices, this arena includes public and private developers, architects and contractors, as well as local residents, each of whom have yet their own views, rationales and understandings.

As it is evident in the cases of the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans, the process of realization may be as influential on the final result – on the built reality – as the vision of the urban design scheme itself. Many different parameters, and especially the way these parameters are handled, determine the actual course of development. Some parameters are internal to the design and planning profession themselves and the self-understanding of architects and planners. Others relate to the internal workings of the city administration, while yet others emerge from the interaction between external actors and different parts of the City administration.

The Image is the Plan

When judged by their founding visions, the Skejbygård and Seden Syd Plans are as different as can be. The former, in its deconstructionist rejection of conventional views of urban design, is just about everything which the latter, in its retreat to traditional virtues of city building, is not. But in terms of their approach to urban design, and

Figure 6.36
Development with curved apartment blocks in the Skejbygård area: Strict adherence to the masterplan

the aspects of urban design which they favor, the similarities are far more striking than the differences.

Both plans took their point of departure in the wish to make a difference. Rather than the featureless urban landscape resulting from conventional planning, the ambition of both plans was to create distinct urban environments of high architectural quality. In opposition the 'un-urban' landscape of ordinary suburbs, the effort became to create more 'urban' environments. Architecture and building morphology therefore became the primary focus in both cases.

The exact correspondence of the built environment to the urban design scheme became an important criteria for success in both cases, and the means to control it was the masterplan. Contrary to common practice by the administration of local plans, the illustration map thus became the most important tool by the evaluation of incoming projects.

The masterplans of the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans are discrete products of their authors' imagination. As such, each of them becomes a fait accompli: They are not subject to discussion, and alternative solutions are not an option. As the principles of design are not made explicit, it is impossible to judge whether alternative solutions would possibly comply with the intentions of the plan. The image *is* the plan.

This 'black box' approach leaves everybody else in the dark. As one of the architects working in the Skejbygård area puts it: "It's alienating because you can't follow the mindset of the architect. You don't understand why exactly, development is high in one place and low in another. […] So you become annoyed that you can't follow the principles of the design."

As the plans take their point of departure in architectural and aesthetic rationales, while not paying much attention to other rationales, this represents a problem as soon as rationality conflicts emerge. As the architect continues, with regard to the Skejbygård Plan:

When you superimpose those layers, it generates a lot of unreasonable situations.

Figure 6.37
Social housing development in the second development zone in the Seden Syd area: Architecture control?

And then, when you look at it… can you move this or that to make it reasonable, or is it the rules of the game that things must be left in conflict? But somebody has [composed] the layers and decided where they should be and how, and what layers are determinant and what scales should be introduced and superimposed. And then, if it isn't nice when you look at it, can you move things around or what? We were never able to figure that out.

In the case of the Seden Syd Plan, the extreme focus on architecture practically overshadowed other planning issues completely. As design criteria were formulated at the discretion of the planning officer who managed the plan, this often led to extreme situations: "It seems a little tough to me, that just because you build sixteen housing units, someone has to judge whether the windows should have bars or not. It can't be reasonable that the planning authorities should decide that, unless it's crucial to the preservation or creation of a certain urban environment", as one of the architects working in the Seden Syd area puts it.

While considering the full implications of this approach, the architect continues:

The important basis for planning is to define a framework which is tight enough to ensure some overall strategies, without imposing too many restrictions. It is not the planners who should design all the houses; then they might as well do it all the way.

What the architect asks for, in essence, is a plan rather than mere architecture control.

When planning planning becomes a question of measuring individual designs against the fixed image of a masterplan, or even against the aesthetic preferences of the planning officer, it renders unreasonable to the actors involved in the development process. And when the rationales of the plan are narrowly defined, e.g. on the basis of architecture and aesthetics, as in the cases of the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans, its undisclosed nature becomes even more problematic.

Realism

The authoritative approach which planning by discretionary masterplans implies, requires a high degree of power on behalf of the planning authority. But in capitalist democracies, planning authorities are unlikely to hold such power. On the one hand, planning is subject to democratic control. Thus, planning initiatives must enjoy political support in order to be viable. Second, planning must consider the financial reality of the market. Otherwise, nothing will get built. In the case of the Skejbygård and the Seden Syd plans, the content of the plans did not correspond to the political and economic reality of their settings.

In the case of the Seden Syd Plan, the vision of the 'English Garden City' is probably the most striking example of lack of realism. The vision relied on the development of houses which were not in demand. Those 'special houses', in the words of the Real Estate officer, that were envisaged, did not correspond to the wishes of potential home owners. And without them, the ideal collapsed. The vision of the neighborhood center

Figure 6.38
Detached houses (left) and co-ownership housing (right) in the Skejbygård area: A clear division of the housing types

suffered from a similar lack of realism, as market conditions did not allow for the foreseen services to develop at the location, and to the extent, that it was planned.

The Skejbygård Plan also had its share of unrealistic components. In Seden Syd, the planners seem to have stuck with their vision far beyond the reasonable, despite the obvious lack of development. But in the case of the Skejbygård Plan, one planner acknowledged the deficiencies of the plan: "We have to admit that the local plan is incapable of ensuring some of the more radical site layouts. Some of them are simply not realistic."

One of the elements of the 'catalogue of suburbia' of the Skejbygård Plan was a fine-grain mix of high-density/low-rise housing and detached housing. While the high-density/low-rise units of this type were too small to appeal to developers of subsidized housing, potential owners of detached housing did not want to mix in so closely with social housing.

This particular type never developed, although several attempts were made by the commissioned architects. And finally it was given up. As one City planner explains, "[the architects] came to us on the verge of tears and said that it was undoable; you can't have high-rise/low-density development with detached housing around it. Then we had to revise [the plan] and say that this theme – in terms of the 'suburban motif' of the local plan – is not capable of implementation."

While this element was given up all together, also the remaining elements of the plan proved difficult to maintain in all details. The minute prescriptions of the local plan were simply to narrow to fit with the needs and demands of the individual developers. Thus, the City planner contends that "it is a matter of fact, that […] there have been deviations from the local plan with regard to building design, site layout, and so on, on almost all the large lots."

In the case of the Skejbygård Plan, some of the planners' ambitions lacked the necessary support at the political and administrative levels. Some of the urban ecology measures of the plan represented substantial costs to developers. The city council however, did not want to allow requirements that represented financial burdens to

developers. Therefore, only the more easy-to-implement urban ecology measures were formulated as demands, while the more expensive measures were formulated as recommendations.

On the other hand, there was no will within the city administration to endorse urban ecology measures through financial compensations, as exemplified by the unwillingness of the City Water Works to lift the waste water fee. The City Planning Office, therefore, had no power to ensure the implementation of the more substantial urban ecology measures. In reality, the highly publicized urban ecology profile of the Skejbygård Plan was therefore largely symbolic.

Also another important element of the Skejbygård Plan was lacking political support. Inspired by the Berlin IBA and the Blangstedgård building and housing exposition in Odense, the City Planning Office wanted to do something similar. But the City Planning Office knew that they would not be able to gain political support for something like that, and the concept of the commissioned architects was developed in lieu of a building expo. The idea was, that this way of mimicking a building expo would raise the developers' consciousness towards architecture, and thus lead to more interesting developments than by normal procedures.

Apart from the fact that the economic recession within the building sector restrained most of the commissioned architects from finding a developer, those who did, put a lot of effort into making outstanding architectural designs. But the economic capacity of the developers did not reflect the ambitions of the architects.

Almost all developers in the Skejbygård area were social housing companies, building subsidized housing. And even though developers were generally positive towards the idea of focussing on architecture, it proved very difficult to realize the architects' designs within the economic boundaries of subsidized housing. In the case of the tower development, as well as the other student housing development, serious cuts had to be made, leading to substantial changes of the designs. Architectural ambition, in other words, did not match the economic reality.

Despite all good intentions – from planners, architects and developers alike – the

Figure 6.39
Discount supermarket at the primary street along the northern edge of the Seden Syd area: Reality's response to the neighborhood center

Figure 6.40
Co-ownership housing set off from the main access street in the Seden Syd area: A dense and 'urban' envionment?

concept did not work. Without the political and economic support which a full-scale building expo might have enjoyed, the commissioned architects had to operate on normal political and market conditions. And in the given context, there was little room for architectural measures beyond the ordinary.

Conflicting rationales and interests

The different offices within the City administration often have different rationales and interests, with regard to the development process. When these differences are not considered by the preparation of the local plans, they are likely to surface by the administration of the plans. And sometimes they appear to be mutually counterproductive. A consequence of such internal conflicts may be that the city administration as a whole, produces poorer planning. And from an outside perspective it may leave the impression that "the one hand doesn't know what the other is doing", as one of the developers working in the Skejbygård area formulates it.

The most explicit example of such internal conflicts in the case of both the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans, is that between the City Planning Office and the City Real Estate Office. Whereas the City Planning Office in both cases wanted plot sales to be guided by the intentions of the plan, the City Real Estate Office's primary interest was maximum profit. As one of the architects working in Seden Syd puts it, "the Real Estate Office is the 'businessman' of the city administration. Their interest is to sell land at the highest possible price. It's got to be quick and easy, and the want to do business. And it's no secret that the City Planning Office has a different attitude. They have no hurry."

In Seden Syd, the City Planning Office's ambition to generate an 'urban' environment translated into a principle by which denser development in the form of high-density/low-rise housing was located along the main access streets, leaving the areas further behind for detached housing. In socio-economic terms, this means that ownership housing is located behind rental housing.

Potential homeowners are generally hesitant towards having to go through areas of social housing to reach their homes. Such plots are therefore difficult to sell, and the result, as the City Real Estate officer explains, is that "people don't want to buy it. When they have to invest 1.8 million [DKK], then they don't want to be next neighbors to a social housing scheme. You may say that it is exaggerated. But that's irrelevant. To us, it's a matter of whether we can sell it or not. Good intentions about what is right is one thing. But if people don't want to buy, then it doesn't help much. That's the ongoing fight."

In determining the distribution of different types of housing in order to create an 'urban' environment, the City Planning Office based its decision on considerations about urban design. In doing so, they got into conflict with the City Real Estate Office's considerations, based on the marketability of plots. And because the City Planning Office did not allow the concerns of the City Real Estate Office to 'contaminate' what was considered the 'pure' urban design considerations of the plan, and vice versa, it became a fundamental conflict between the two offices. As the City Real Estate officer formulates it, "There is no doubt that it is always an area of conflict; the planning related issues – their intentions for the area, in relation to what we believe is feasible in reality – in economic terms."

In the case of the Skejbygård Plan, the controversy between the two offices related to the concept of the commissioned architects. As the concept implied that the architects should find developers on the basis of their draft proposals, normal procedures for plot sales were suspended. The Skejbygård Plan with all its different components, was a major undertaking, which required an unusual amount of coordination and cooperation across different City offices. But because of the limitations to the power of the City Real Estate Office caused by the concept of the commissioned architects, cooperation with this office was anything but smooth.

"The main problem here, was absolutely the City Engineer's Office and the City Real Estate Office [which is a subsection of the City Engineer's Office] in particular. They were not very interested in doing things in a different way," one City planner explains. "But", as she continues, "at the same time, they were in charge of approving the development of sites and of selling plots."

Some form of cooperation therefore had to be maintained, even though the controversy between the two offices soon developed into personal animosities between different members of the staff. The concept of the commissioned architects was used by the City Planning Office as a workaround for some elements of the plan, which the City Real Estate Office was reluctant towards. And this draw was not taken lightly by the City Real Estate Office: "I don't think that the City Real Estate Office has ever forgiven us [the City Planning Office] for that trick", as the City planner formulates it.

In the early 1990s, a national bill on tender legislation threatened to remove the legal basis for the concept of the commissioned architects, as public land would have to be sold at the highest bid. When the bill was passed, it generated malicious pleasure at the at the City Engineer's Office: "The first telephone call I got that day was from the City Engineer, saying 'ha, ha, now you can forget about all those architects'", the head of the City Planning Office recalls.

It is important that the different parties involved in the administration of plans reach a consensus about planning goals and measures. Otherwise, the administration will easily find itself in conflict, and the result is therefore likely to be poorer. Traditionally, the City Planning Office is responsible for making the plans, whereas several other offices are involved in the administration of the plans, once they are adopted. If, by the preparation of plans, the City Planning Office ignores views and rationales which are not 'pure' planning goals, or procedures which are not specifically targeted towards the plan, such a consensus will be difficult to reach.

When planning goals conflict with the rationales of other parts of the administration, the administration of plans develops into an internal fight, where the office holding the most power will win. And as planning does not have the same immediate impact on city finances as land sale or infrastructure development, the City Planning Office is likely to loose this power game.

Despite all good intentions for the development of urban areas, if the City Planning Office is unable to build consensus about its plans, it must prepare to engage in a power game which it is likely to loose. In the case of the Skejbygård Plan, the 'dreadful' City Engineer, as he was referred to by several of the parties involved in the preparation of the plan, may have acted unreasonably. But if internal conflicts within the City administration remain unresolved, not only the people involved in the process, but also the result of planning will suffer from it.

Lack of Insight and Interest

The ambition level of both the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans was high. For once, these two plans should show the world, that planning was capable of producing more interesting environments than the usual suburban sprawl of detached housing, which architects and planners hate so much. In Seden Syd, the ambition was to create an 'urban' neighborhood in the distinct image of the English Garden City, as an alternative to the oblivious 'surveyor's subdivisions'. And in Skejbygård, the newest ideas within

Figure 6.41
The natural features of the Seden Syd area: '...not what most people dream about.'

high architecture urban design were put to work, in an unprecedented attempt to generate new meaning through an artistic play with building volumes. Underlying the formal ideals of both plans were also strong functional intentions. In Seden Syd, special emphasis was put on traffic safety, and in Skejbygård, crime prevention and urban ecology were in focus.

But while the planners' attention was directed towards these 'pure' urban design and planning issues, the more mundane issues of urban development, such as to make the most of the building budget, or even care for the quality of use of individual developments, seemed to be repressed. Whether the urban design intentions of the plans corresponded to the wishes of developers, or whether the urban design and planning demands put forward in the plans were financially feasible, did not seem to worry the planners much. The attitude of the planners seemed to be, that such concerns would only 'contaminate' the 'pure' ideals of the plans, and eventually lead to mishaps of the kind that the plans had explicitly set out to avoid.

In the case of the Skejbygård Plan, the consulting architect's lack of interest in issues other than the building morphology was notorious. In the case of the Seden Syd plan, the similarly selective focus of the author of the plan was less explicit, yet equally decisive for the way the plan was managed. But the concerns of others did not go away, just because the planners did not want to think about them. To the other actors of the urban development process, such as architects and developers, the concerns of the planners therefore often seemed unreasonable, if not simply irrelevant. As one of the architects working in the Seden Syd area impatiently expresses it, "it would be nice, if once in a while they would take an interest in the outside world".

When one architect working in the Skejbygård area is 'alienated' by the overall urban design scheme, and another architect working in the Seden Syd area finds it 'tough' the way the City Planning Office interferes with his architectural design, the planning intentions are too far from the reality of these actors, and the challenges they face in terms of developing their building projects. And when the City Planning Office demands that a public pathway be led through the stairwell of a building, or requires one-level, multiple dwelling houses to be built in the guise of one-family houses with pitched roofs, planning demands reach the absurd.

The planners' indifference to other issues is particularly evident when it comes to financial concerns. Both in Skejbygård and Seden Syd it seemed that the planners' fascination with the areas and their own plans, prevented them from realizing that their fascination was not shared among developers and potential homeowners. As one of the architects working in the Seden Syd area argues, this might well be one of the reasons why detached housing was halting:

The landscape out there is not particularly attractive. There are no hills, there are no waters, there are no forests. There is not anything at all, really. It's actually just a plain field. […] It is an area without special characteristics, without a history… Speaking of real estate, where people have to pay a significant amount of money, that's not what most people dream about.

And in the Skejbygård area, where private investors were so much wanted by the planners, the problem seemed to be similar. With reference to the pension funds

which are among the largest private investors in housing of Denmark, one of the developers working in the Skejbygård area frames the situation like this: "For the pension funds, location is all that matters. And what they value is secludedness – that is, not to be surrounded by a whole lot of other developments – view, preferably of water, and proximity to forests and beaches." And these are all features which the Skejbygård area does not offer.

Obviously, little can be done about the natural features of the two areas. But apparently, the qualities of the urban design schemes of the two plans have not been enough to compensate for the lack of natural beauty, in terms of attracting development. As the conflict in the case of the Seden Syd Plan, between the concern for an 'urban' environment and homeowner preferences for the location of detached housing shows, they even worked counter to developer and homeowner wishes in some respects.

The aim for social integration which was one of the central planning goals of both the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans, presented a similar gap between interests. The wish to integrate different types of housing in order to obtain a social mix in residential areas, is one of the fundamental tenets of Danish urban planning. This intention was therefore not special to the two plans, as it expresses an important element of what is considered 'good planning' in Denmark.

In both plans, this intention was expressed through the fine-grain mixture of areas for detached housing and high-density/low-rise housing. In the Skejbygård Plan it was further expressed through the intended mix of subsidized and private housing. Yet, in both cases, this mix proved difficult to obtain in practice. While the social housing companies were generally positive towards building in the Skejbygård area, and forced by the quota system and the social housing policy of the City of Odense to build in the Seden Syd area, the very presence of social housing in the two areas was met with hesitation by private developers.

As the head of the Aarhus City Planning Office explains, "none of the architects whom we had given the task to find a private developer could find any. They refused to build. One [private developer] told me directly. 'We do not like to build near social housing'". In other words, the City Planning Office's wish for social integration, did not resound among private developers.

As previously discussed, the pattern was the same in Seden Syd. Referring to the general aim for social integration in Seden Syd and beyond, the Odense City Real Estate officer contends that "for a certain period of time the mix has been far too high; co-ownership housing on one corner, social housing, a couple of detached houses, etc. It doesn't work! […] It is not marketable".

It is a widely shared attitude among the actors of the development process in both the Skejbygård and Seden Syd areas, that the hesitation among private developers – individual and institutional alike – towards building near social housing is largely guided by prejudice. And certainly, compare to many other countries, both the physical and social standards are high in most social housing developments in Denmark.

Nonetheless, the choice of prospective homeowners is not necessarily guided by rational consideration alone. The feeling of being secluded from social housing "… is very important psychologically", as the Odense City Real Estate officer says. And

in times of slack development, the hypermix of the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans becomes especially vulnerable to such considerations. As the Odense City Real Estate officer continues, "if demand [for detached housing lots] is low, it is difficult to sell plots like these".

By nature, planning is a contested field of activity, and the divergences and conflicting interests innate to the urban development process, are its very justification. One of the important roles of planning is to draw a line as to what can be done an what not, in terms of urban development. And as the head of the Odense City Planning Office firmly asserts, some development projects may be so indigestible that "that's when we have to have ice in the stomach and simply say: That's too bad".

Yet, when plans conflict with the basic dynamics of the urban development process, while lacking the necessary means to change them, it simply becomes poor planning. Notwithstanding all good intentions, the goals of planning must be carefully weighed against the interests of whatever forces that dominate in the urban development process. Furthermore, planning goals must have at least some resonance with the actors of the urban development process. Otherwise, planning turns into wishful thinking.

In the cases of both the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans, planning goals were often valued by a different scale than the interests of developers. While the plans put emphasis on building morphology and the wish for and 'urban' environment, this meant little to the developers and their architects. And while social integration was a goal for planning, it was undesirable to private investors. Planning goals and developer interests were simply disparate. As one of the architects working in the Seden Syd area ironically proposes, "there is no guarantee that the market works the same way as planning".

And as another architect and developer working in the Seden Syd area suggests, the ideals of city planners are not necessarily shared among the general public. Referring to the former royal palace which is the seat of the Odense City Planning Office, his verdict has a hint of sarcasm to it:

City planners are nice people and all that. They sit cozy and comfortably under the roof [of the palace], and a large part of them have other housing preferences themselves [than people in general]. I know that I'm being a bit sarcastic, but nonetheless that's the truth. […] It's nice if you can make some interesting developments – no one would disagree with that. But [what the planners want] doesn't always match the wishes of the residents.

Conflicts internal to planning and urban design

Not only the distribution of power and responsibilities within different parts of the city administration, and the differences of goals and interests between planning authorities and the external actors of the urban development process, may determine the outcomes of planning. Also established planning practices and planning culture in general, may ultimately determine the capacity of planning, as a means of guiding urban development.

Figure 6.42
Space between the environmentally compatible housing development and the neighboring development in the Skejbygård area: "You can't work with it as a whole, despite the physical proximity."

A central feature common to both the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans, is the use of large lots. The concept of planning by large lots was originally developed to minimize the amount of technical infrastructure such as access roads, parking, and sewers, required to open up new land for development, while at the same time maximizing flexibility by the development of the individual lots.

While planning by large lots thus reduces the amount of public money required to initiate development by transferring some of the development costs to the individual developers, it also reduces the amount of public control of development. If flexibility is the goal, this is a favorable way to plan, as fixed infrastructures may predetermine development in disadvantageous ways. Yet, if the goal is to create a specific urban environment, as in the case of both the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans, planning by large lots is unfavorable, as it leaves detailed infrastructure development to the individual developers.

Thus, aiming for a specific urban environment while planning by large lots represents a dilemma. One of the architects working in the Skejbygård area therefore touches upon a fundamental problem, in his critique of the concept of large lots:

The main principle of this plan is that of the large lot. And that is a world of it's own. You can't plan anything in relation to the other large lots. […] You can't work with it as a whole, despite the physical proximity. That is my critique of a plan like this; the result is often bizarre, because you can't relate functionally or aesthetically to the neighboring developments.

When detailed infrastructure planning is left to the individual developers, parking spaces are typically located close to the street, increasing the amount of space between buildings of different developments. As the consulting architect who made the overall urban design of the Skejbygård plan explains, "the use of large lots, normally leads to the result that buildings are placed in the center, surrounded by parking and open spaces. And the next developer does the same on his lot. And that means that you end up having small blobs of development on large lots. That's the kind of structure

that emerges."

Such a pattern obviously conflicts with the aim of both plans to create a dense – or 'urban' – environment by means of buildings. While this problem was never reflected in the case of the Seden Syd Plan, in the case of the Skejbygård plan, it was confronted with a strategy of simply decreasing the sizes of large lots: "In this way, we figured that [the developers] would be forced to build to the edge [of the lot], and thus collide [spatially] with the neighboring developments", the author of the plan explains.

But this strategy did not address the basic principle of the large lot, as detailed infrastructure design was still the responsibility of the individual developers. On the contrary, as the example of the environmentally compatible housing project shows, it seemed to merely scale down the problem, making it almost impossible to create reasonable designs. In addition, some of the lots simply became too small to allow for feasible development, and thus led to unreasonable results as in the case of the student housing project, where more lots were combined into one.

In Seden Syd, the problem of scattered development may also be ascribed to the practice of planning by large lots. The unreflected division of the second development zone into large lots on the basis of the urban design sketch fixed the sizes of the lots which the City Real Estate Office then had to offer. As a consequence, development took place according to the location of appropriate lots, without regard to continuous development.

Maybe because of the logic of the large lot, and maybe because of the high focus on building layout, none of the two plans seriously deal with the of question of parking. Neither in the plans, nor in writing, does any of the two plans provide any principles for where and how to cater for parking. By a rough calculation, the amount of parking required for high-density/low-rise developments of the kind featured in the two plans amounts to ten percent of the area of large lots.[1]

The amount of space required for parking is therefore by no means insignificant. By neglecting the issue of parking, an important element of the urban space design is left out. Whether the prescribed building layouts are reconcilable with the need for

[1] The calculation is based on an average dwelling size of 85 sqm., and an average parking space size of 25 sqm. (including access space). By a building density of 35% and a requirement of 1 parking space per dwelling, the required amount of space for parking is 25/85x0.35≈10%.

Figure 6.43
Three roundabouts in a row in the Seden Syd area: Potentially predisposing poor site layouts

parking is therefore left uncertain. And the required compliance with the prescribed building layouts therefore becomes unreasonable. The level of reflection of the masterplans of the two local plans, in other words, does not justify the extent to which they guided the management of the plans.

In Seden Syd, the aim for traffic safety translated into an extensive use of small roundabouts by the layout of the main access streets. As part of the street system, these roundabouts were built prior to the development of the individual large lots. And as the roundabouts at the same time function as access points to the individual developments, this represents a contradiction to planning by large lots, as it seriously predetermines development.

As the site layout which had guided the location of the roundabouts was not considered in detail, their fixation inevitably led to poor site layouts in some instances. In one instance, one of the roundabouts even had to be slightly moved. By the retrospective adoption of the local plan for the second development zone, the City Planning Office had defined and axis across several large lots, in order to compensate for the spatial chaos which had resulted from previous development. But as the axis was defined across some of the large lots, the area of the axis was not public property.

Technically, the developers of the individual large lots were therefore responsible for its implementation, which was made contingent to the approval of site layouts. Yet, by the detailed design of one of the large lots, it became clear that the axis could not be made in alignment with the already existing roundabout, which therefore had to be moved.

The implication of the incident was, that the City Real Estate Office held, that as the implementation of the axis was conditional to the development of the site, the developer had to carry the costs of moving the roundabout. The developer, on the contrary, held that as it was not his fault that the roundabout was in the wrong place, this would require a proportional rebate by the purchase of the land. And meanwhile, the City Planning Office, whose planning decisions had caused the incident in the first place, was all together indifferent to the question of who should carry the costs.

The use of large lots, the (lack of) use of concepts for parking and – in the case of the Seden Syd Plan – the use of small roundabouts, are means of planning and urban design, each of which have had their own impact on the planning results. These means may be considered secondary to the overall planning goals, as they might well have been in the cases of the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans. But if the implications of using these different means of planning are not fully considered, they are in danger of jeopardizing the primary planning goals.

The use of large lots and the lack of a concept for parking impacted the quality of the urban design in both the Skejbygård and Seden Syd areas. In Seden Syd, also the use of the small roundabouts influenced the quality of the urban design. As means of planning and urban design, the choice of using or not using these means, is a professional choice. The possible negative impact which these means may have on the resulting urban design is therefore a problem which is internal to planning and urban design.

The achievements of urban design and planning in recent years, have often raised the question of whether urban development in its seemingly increased complexity, is at all controllable. The statement by the prize winning architect which opened the introduction to this thesis, that "of course we know that it's never going to be like this", as well as the more general and regularly repeated statement that 'planning is dead', seem to indicate, that the era of urban design and planning as means to guide and control urban development is history.

It is a general assumption, that the reasons for this apparent crisis of urban design and planning must be sought outside the disciplines themselves, and attributed to developments in society at large. And certainly, external forces may play their part in the game of urban development. As a social and political activity, urban design and planning has its share of rationality and power conflicts (Flyvbjerg, 1998) which may distort the final results.

Yet, as the cases of the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans show, the disciplines of urban design and planning, and the way they are conceived and conducted, play their parts too. Not only does the normativity of the disciplines and their guiding visions influence the outcomes, as discussed in the first part of this thesis. The process of implementation has at least as much to say. And here, the way urban design and planning interacts with its institutional settings as well as the tools which are put to use, are crucial.

To a certain degree, the goals of urban design and planning must reflect the interests and wishes of the external actors of the urban development process, such as developers, architects and users. If 'pure' urban design and planning goals are too remote from the goals of other actors, they will be regarded as irrelevant or even absurd by other actors. At best, such goals will lead to quarrels and complaints and tedious negotiations. At worst, they render development areas too unattractive to the actors of the urban development process, with the result, that no development will take place.

The goals and means of urban design and planning must be shared at the administrative and political levels within the City administration. On the one hand, the intentions of a plan must enjoy political support as well as the support of the City administration, beyond the City planning office. Otherwise, instances of overruling by politicians may occur, and collaboration within the City administration will be uphill.

On the other hand, political and administrative consensus about the means and procedures for carrying out the goals must be established. If special planning initiatives do not have proper political backing but are introduced administratively – as with the concept of the consulting architects in the Skejbygård area – such strategies are likely to be less successful. And if interdepartmental cooperation within the City administration is not tailored to suit the urban design and planning goals, they may become counterproductive.

Finally, also the tools of urban design and planning must suit the goals. If the goals – what urban design and planning sets out to achieve – are changed, it is likely that the tools to achieve them should be changed too. Tools, such as planning by large

lots, are designed to specific ends. And just because they have become part of the established planning practice, does not necessarily mean that they can be applied to new planning tasks.

The definition of the goals of urban design and planning, as well as the means to achieve them, are not a purely professional matter. Urban design and planning, in other words, do not enjoy sovereignty within their own professional domains. On the contrary, they are interdisciplinary activities which depend on constructive interaction with a broad variety of actors, each representing their own realms of thought, ideas, and interests, in order to be successful.

Therefore, a broad understanding of the processes and interests of urban development, beyond the professional outlook of urban design and planning, as well as the ability to interact constructively with other actors of the urban development process, are essential capacities to urban design and planning. These issues are the topic of the remainder of the second part of this thesis.

When dealing with the quality of urban design, there is a strong tradition – among lay people and professionals alike – to focus on its outcomes. Whether the focus is on the aesthetic, spatial, functional or environmental quality of the urban environment, the object of judgment for urban design is its product. Unlike consumer products and buildings, however, the outcome of urban design is rarely a unified product with a unified function and design. On the contrary, the product of urban design is most often

the sum of multiple individual products, in the form of buildings and open spaces, each serving their own functions and each following their own designs.

Although it is normally the aim of urban design to combine these individual buildings and spaces into a unified whole, it is rarely within its power to exert full control over the shaping of physical space. The formulation of the overall framework for development, however, is only a part of the task for urban design. The orchestration of the multitude of individual activities in the course of development is an equally important part of the task, and the success of urban design therefore depends as much on its ability to perform this part of the task. This brings as much focus on the process of urban design as on its product.

"Indeed, it is probably more revealing to recognize the difference between urban designers in terms of the processes of designing they use than the forms they generate. Procedural paradigmatic differences represent fundamental sociopolitical attitudes. These attitudes pervade the methods used in programming, designing, and evaluating, and even the methods an urban designer is willing to learn about."
– Jon Lang, 1994, p. 401

In order to understand the task of urban design, it is therefore important not only to consider its product, but also its process. Considering the process of urban design, therefore, is 'fundamental to understanding the activity of building … cities … and the responsibilities of urban designers' (Lang, 1996, p. 8). Nonetheless, while there is an abundance of normative as well as positive literature on how cities should be, very little has been written on how cities should come into being. As George puts it, when it comes to the methods, processes and procedures of urban design, 'our knowledge is mostly anecdotal and at the very least, it is extremely disorganized. … Most urban designers are in the dark, when it comes to this kind of knowledge' (1997, p. 158).

The term urban design encompasses a broad variety of ideas about why and how to deal with the shaping of urban space. The ambiguities arising from these seemingly disparate ideas have fundamental implications for the conceptualization of the process of urban design. Apart from a broad understanding that the purpose of urban design is somehow the conscious shaping of urban space, there is no unified view, neither of the objectives of urban design – why it should be performed, nor of its object as an activity – what it should act upon, in order to achieve its purpose. As Madanipour (1996) contends, the different views of the objective of urban design is expressed in varying emphasis on the visual, spatial or social aspects of urban design. And, in turn, what is considered to be the objective of urban design has implications for, whether it is viewed as a creative, technical or social process (ibid.).

Framed in terms of the purpose of urban design, three fundamentally different approaches may be discerned within urban design thought. One approach views urban space in terms of narrowly defined aesthetic qualities. By this view, the major task of urban design is to lay out urban space in order to achieve an aesthetically interesting environment. As the aesthetic quality of the environment is directly linked to its concrete appearance, the focus of this approach is on the physical environment

in terms of the actual shape and layout of buildings and open spaces. By this approach, focus is on the creation of the design, and less attention is paid to the process of implementation, which is often regarded as the mere actualization of the design. This approach to urban design largely conforms with the general public's image of urban design, and is widely adopted among architects.

Following Jonathan Barnett's famous maxim that urban design is 'designing cities without designing buildings', the object of urban design may also be defined as that of defining the overall framework – spatially, legally, as well as organizationally – within which the subsequent design and development of individual buildings and spaces takes place. By this approach, urban design may be described a 'second-order design endeavor' (George, 1997), as it is concerned with realizing a desired state of the built environment, without actually designing the components of the environment. And as such it is aiming at creating 'a decision environment that enables others to author the built environment' (ibid., p. 148). Although the approach may encompass narrow aesthetic considerations, it generally acknowledges a wider scope for urban design. This is the most widely adopted approach within the framework of public planning.

A third, more pluralistic, approach to the urban design process, is to view the process as one evolving out of the needs and wishes of concrete people as the users and creators of physical space in concrete contexts. In this case, the design process is highly participatory, and involves little, or in extreme cases no preconfigured anticipations or ideals on behalf of the designer, who acts primarily as a facilitator and supervisor for the actors involved. As people are generally most concerned about their immediate environment, this approach is mostly adopted on the smaller scale of housing schemes and neighborhoods, but may also be put to use for entire neighborhoods and towns (Wates & Knevitt, 1987). Although this approach is increasingly adopted within the framework of public planning, it has typically been adopted by citizens and grassroots organizations who have engaged in urban design out of discontent with the outcomes of institutionalized urban design and planning.

Although these strands may rarely appear in their pure form in practice, they constitute a good basis for the discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches to urban design, and hence for the understanding of urban design as a process. In order to qualify this discussion the first two sections of this chapter offer, a description of different modes of urban design, as well as a methodological discussion of the nature of design processes.

DIFFERENT MODES OF URBAN DESIGN

Urban design may operate in different modes, according to the amount of control it is intended to exert over urban development. Central to the discussion of these different modes is the distinction between design objectives, design principles and design guidelines. All urban designs are founded on some notion of what the design must achieve – the design objectives. Design principles are formulations of how these objectives are met through interventions in the physical environment. And design guidelines, finally, are the operational definitions of design objectives (Lang, 1996).

Design guidelines can be either prescriptive or performance oriented. Prescriptive guidelines are oriented towards the concrete end product of a design scheme, describing the characteristics of the physical environment to be achieved. Performance guidelines, on the other hand, focus on the performance required by the end product, rather than its concrete physical characteristics. As the former are more unambiguous, they are easier to evaluate. However, the latter provide more flexibility because they allow different solutions to a given problem (ibid.). Different modes of urban design offer different ways of handling design objectives and design guidelines.

Probably, one of the most widespread ways in which to think of urban design – and which definitely has a long tradition in prescriptive urban design thought – is to conceptualize it as large-scale architecture. Much like designing a single building, this 'total design' mode incorporates all aspects of the spatial environment into one grand design. The object of the design is therefore the actual physical environment, and the means of conveying the design content is highly specified design prescriptions, in the form of masterplans.

The power to control the implementation process is crucial to the success of total urban design. Historically, such power has been held by autocratic rulers who have commissioned many successful total urban designs. After the second world war, in the era of large-scale urban developments, both public and private developers held similar power by the implementation of large detached housing and multi-story housing schemes as well as urban renewal and infrastructure projects.

In contemporary capitalist democracies, development generally takes places on a smaller scale (and mostly over a longer span of time), and an increasing degree of public participation in the design process has opened it up for a more pluralist formulation of design objectives. These changes in the societal context has reduced the scope for total urban design. A notable exception is the cases where corporations develop large tracts of land, typically for suburban housing or malls. For the rest, total urban design is only likely to be successful in more limited settings, thus making it 'total' on a smaller scale.

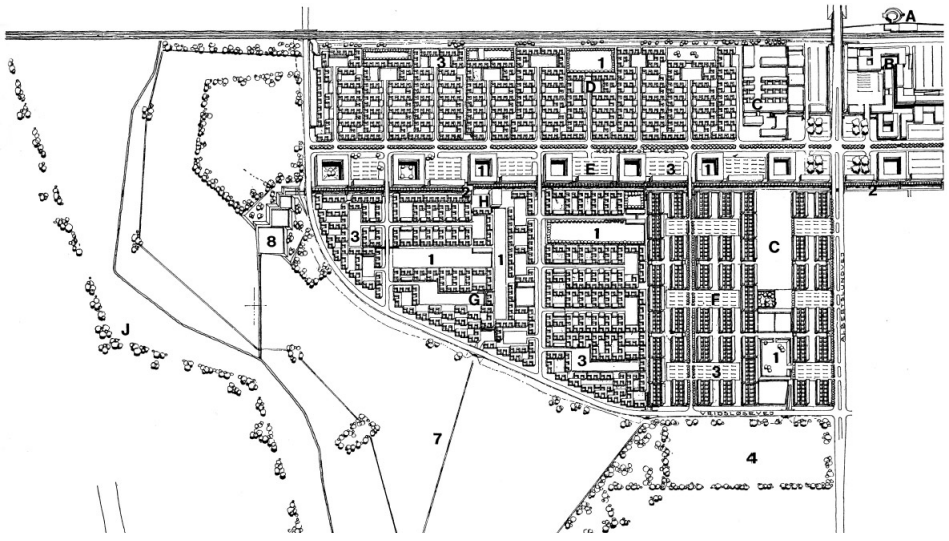


Figure 7.1
Albertslund New Town, Copenhagen. Early 1960s example of urban design as large-scale architecture: '… a firmly carried out urban construction' (Gaardmand, 1993).
Not to scale

Therefore, whether the total urban design mode is preferable partly relies on the societal context in which it is executed. It also relies, however, on the qualities inherent in the design. When the total urban design mode is accompanied by adequate power of implementation, it provides the designer with a high degree of freedom to determine the design objectives (though in accordance, of course, with the commissioner of the design). These may be more or less in accordance with the objectives of the users and the general public.

Historical examples of total urban design have led to some of the most celebrated, as well as some of the most criticized urban environments. Both the Hausmannian Boulevards of Paris and some of the most notorious *banlieues* of the same city, for instance, are the outcomes of total urban design. Although the total urban design mode may have the potential to produce the most outstanding urban environments, it does not guarantee a successful outcome. This relies on the societal context as much as on the quality of the design.

The long standing traditions of total design mode within urban design theory may explain why especially architects tend to think of this mode as the norm (Lang, 1996). Another reason may be that it is the only mode of urban design which expressly deals with the actual physical shaping of the environment, thus making it bear a strong resemblance with architecture.

Another mode, which is less controlling than the total urban design mode may be termed all-of-a-piece design (Lang, 1996). By this mode, only the conceptual site design is uniform, whereas individual components of the plan may be designed by others (ibid.). This allows for a certain unity of design, while leaving the details of individual developments flexible. In that sense, this level of intervention only extends to the conceptual design phase of the design process, leaving the detailed design phase open. This has important implications for the nature of all-of-a-piece mode of urban design as an instrument of design control.

Whereas the total design mode is more or less unambiguous in terms of whether an individual design conforms with the overall urban design because of the 'wysiwyg'[1] nature of the design mode, all-of-a-piece design, due to its more generic nature, is open to interpretation. Hence, whether an individual design is in compliance with the overall design becomes a question of whether it complies with the design objectives. Contrary to total design schemes, individual designs within an all-of-a-piece urban design scheme are open to negotiation. It therefore becomes important to define what elements of the scheme are negotiable and which are not. What is essential by the all-of-a-piece design mode, is the design objectives which must be complied with, while room is left open for different ways of meeting these objectives.

For all-of-a-piece urban design schemes it is therefore crucial to make the design intent explicit, or, in other words, to formulate what constitutes the *sine qua non* of the scheme. A total design scheme need not be explicit about the reasoning behind it in terms of judging the conformity of a partial design with the scheme, because it is a simple question of whether it meets the prescriptions for the actual physical layout. All-of-a-piece design schemes, however, are concerned with whether the performance requirements of the scheme are met. And the question of whether a partial design meets the performance requirements of a scheme depends on what

[1] What You See Is What You Get

these requirements are.

All-of-a-piece urban design schemes are therefore formulated on a more abstract level than total urban design schemes. Rather than depicting the desired state of the actual physical space in the form of a masterplan, it must be formulated in the form of more abstract diagrams which specify the design objectives and the boundaries within which interpretation may take place. Such diagrams may be supplemented by illustrations, either in the form of plans or three-dimensional drawings, which suggest how the design intent may be interpreted. In all-of-a-piece urban design, however, such graphics are secondary to the diagrams, serving only as exemplification.

If urban design is the conscious shaping of the urban environment, the lowest level of intervention which may be considered an act of urban design, is to merely regulate infrastructure and land use, and leave the design of buildings and open spaces free (Lang, 1996). This 'overall infrastructure' mode of urban design may often be adopted in situations where no more than the interventions necessary to make the land accessible and to maintain public health and safety is desired. Typically, this will be the case for industrial areas and harbors, where the utility of the space is generally considered to have precedence to other aspects of urban space, such as aesthetic and environmental qualities. In such areas other than utilitarian considerations may even be considered to reduce their quality as production spaces, as they may conflict with rational and efficient use.

Total design, all-of-a-piece-design and infrastructure design constitute different modes of urban design as they seek different amounts of control over urban development. But they also represent different procedural types of urban design, as they represent different ways in which to judge whether partial designs conform with the overall design. The biggest procedural difference lies in whether design objectives must be made explicit in order to make this judgment.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO URBAN DESIGN

The practice of urban design may be guided by different methodological approaches. What design methodology is adopted is determined by conceptualizations about how the design task at hand may best be solved, which, in turn, is determined by conceptualizations about what the design task is. On a more fundamental level the choice of design methodology is also determined by conceptualizations about the very nature of the design process.

The nature of design processes is the object of design methodology studies. In the early days of design methodology studies in the 1960s, design methodology was approached as a science. Based on the view that design processes could be described as a discrete set of operations in a unidirectional, sequential order, it was believed that they were amenable to systematization, based on scientific method (Lang, 1987). The inspiration for this 'systematic' design approach came from instrumental problem solving techniques, management and operational research which had been developed during the second world war and in the 1950s (Cross, 1984).

This approach was founded on a Cartesian view of design by which complex design problems are broken down into fragments which are solved individually,

followed by the combination of the partial solutions into a grand synthesis. The aim was to develop a methodologically 'sound' process, by which any preconception of the design solution was abandoned (Broadbent, 1984). The process of design was seen as scientific in the sense that an objectively best way of solving design problems could be developed, and as universal, as design methods were seen as applicable to all design problems, independently of the nature of the specific task (Harfield, 1999).

When practiced, this 'expert-knows-best' approach often led its practitioners to a somewhat abstract view of the world:

Clearly there was a fascination for many rationally inclined theorists in raising design to the highest possible level of abstraction. … We find the same desire for the abstract purity of a concept, the same tendency to think of people as abstractions (often of statistical nature) rather than as persons, the same unwillingness to think of a building (or anything else in design) as a concrete physical thing.

– Broadbent, 1973, p. 272

By the early 1970s what Horst Rittel coined 'first-generation models' (quoted in Lang, 1987) of the design process became increasingly criticized for being founded on a too narrow functional definition of rationality. By the discovery of this embedded normativity of the supposedly scientific approach, it became clear that their claim to objectivity was an illusion. Although the behaviorists still believed that models of man-environment interactions could be quantified on the basis of empirical methods as a basis for scientific design, this 'latter-day-modernist' approach (Broadbent, 1984) was largely dismissed as too linear and one-dimensional to address the profoundness and richness of human existence and the design problems relating to it (ibid.).

The fundamental critique of the rational approach of the first-generation models lay with the definition of design problems. If design problems could be definitively stated they would also be solved. Design problems are therefore essentially ill-defined, as the nature of the problem can only be fully understood through the process of solving it. The design process is therefore a dialectic process of problem solving, definition and redefinition (Cross, 1990; Rowe, 1987). Extremely ill-defined problems may even be characterized as wicked. Wicked problems have no definitive formulation, as they cannot be fully defined. Consequently there is also no way of determining when the problem is solved; it has no stopping rule (Rittel & Webber, 1973; Lang, 1987; Rowe, 1987).

Second-generation models therefore see the process of design as argumentative rather than scientific. The design process is reiterative and includes backtracking, as new solutions foster new problems. In the process of design, choices must be made between different design objectives, and through this process, both the problem and its solution becomes clearer. An ultimate solution, however, cannot be reached. As design problems are inherently ill-defined, they can always be improved upon, and the decision as to when to finish the design process is likely to be when a 'good enough', or satisficing, solution is found (Lang, 1987).

The design process must be directed towards a goal, which can only be of a generic nature – otherwise there would be no design, as the goal would already be known.

Furthermore, the design must be guided by a certain approach – aesthetic, technical, etc. – in order to make it a process. Any design methodology, in other words, relies on a certain ideology, which suggests that it cannot be generic and applicable to all design processes (Harfield, 1999).

The argumentative approach not only sees every design problem as unique, but also redefines the role of the designer. Rather than being an expert who possesses a professional know-how for solving design problems, he or she is seen as a mediator of different attitudes towards them (Broadbent, 1984). In more radical interpretations of the argumentative approach, to claim any professional knowledge on behalf of the designer, is seen as an inappropriate attempt to bias the design process under the guise of technical insight, and emphasis is put on collaborative techniques for participation:

Design method seems quite irrelevant in contexts such as these. Or, worse still, it is seen as a 'skill' which the 'expert' will bring to bear in overriding the wishes of those he is supposed to be designing for.

– ibid., p. 340

An argumentative design process invites an empiricist, rather than a rational, approach. Rationalism is based on logical reasoning, but as the nature of a design problem cannot be defined prior to the process of solving it, any methodological approach based on logical reasoning is inappropriate, as attempting to reason about something which is uncertain would be essentially irrational. Empiricism is based on observations of the lived world as a means to generate the knowledge necessary to produce solutions to the problems pertaining to it (Lang, 1994).

Rather than formulating general theories about the world, empiricism looks at the world in a case-by-case manner, in order to analyze the specific situation at hand. This approach is more sensitive to the complex nature of design problems and offers a more pluralistic way of looking at design problems, as it allows a host of different design parameters to guide their solution. Empiricism like rationalism, however, may be guided by different normative positions, leading to different methodological approaches and design techniques. Empiricism, for instance, has formed the basis for behaviorism and environmental determinism as well as for argumentative approaches.

Another way of framing the difference between the empiricist and the rationalist approaches, is to discuss them in the context of programs and paradigms (Rowe, 1982). Whereas the empiricist approach is based on programs – definite plans, schemes of intended proceedings, outlines or abstract of something to be done, the rationalist approach is based on paradigms – in Kuhn's words, universally recognized scientific achievements that, for a time, provide model problems and solutions to a community (ibid.).

Rowe is critical of both. While the paradigmatic approach, despite its claims to universality, is explicitly based on a particular view of the world, the programmatic approach is implicitly so, as facts are always subject to interpretation. What therefore seems to be false empiricism and false idealism simply present superficial alternatives.

And while empiricism, which refuses to deal with the 'fabric of ideas' is illusory, idealism, which rejects involvement with empirical detail, is inadequate (ibid.). Neither of the two, Rowe argues, therefore seems adequate as design approaches:

To me, the first [program] seems to be unduly deterministic and the second [paradigm] to disclose an unwarrantable pessimism. For surely both of them disallow the possibilities of genuine novelty and, in the end, both of them envision the solution*, the synthetic statement, as no more than the extrapolation of the existing. On the one hand, the procedures are too flat and empirical and, on the other hand, they are too exalted, too idealistic and too* a priori*. Both positions, I think, leave the world without hope.*

– ibid., p. 9, emphases in original

As an alternative to the programmatic and paradigmatic approaches, Rowe suggests a 'detective' approach based on conjectures and refutations. This view is shared by Broadbent (1984), who suggests that a 'third generation' model should build on Popper's methodology of science, which describes the scientific approach as one of making hunches and guesses about phenomena and to collect data to support conjectures, and subsequently to test and possibly disprove these conjectures. If the test is successful, the scientist may hold his or her conjectures as a theory, until a better one may eventually arrive (ibid.).

In the context of urban design, the weakness of this methodology of science metaphor may be, that urban design does not take place in a scientific discourse environment. On the contrary, urban design is situated in a highly political context, where the quality of solutions is measured against different interests and normative positions, rather than scientific argument. To look for optimal solutions as commonly accepted, less refutable, propositions in this context, may therefore rely on an illusory Habermasian understanding of ideal speech situations, which ignore the presence of power (see Flyvbjerg, 1998).

A third – or maybe fourth – methodological approach, which has not been dealt with as much in the design methodology literature as the rational and the empiricist approaches, could – in lack of a better term – be called the intuitive approach. Although intuition may be considered as adversary to method (a probable reason why this approach has gained less attention), this approach is widely used, especially within the more aesthetically oriented part of the design discipline.

The problem with both the rational and the empiricist approach, as Rowe contends, is that none of them necessarily leads to genuinely novel design. As the rational approach is founded on theoretical paradigms about design, it fundamentally relies on preconceived design ideas. As such, it represents an established world view which, of course, is already known. The empiricist approach with its recourse to the lived world, is equally unlikely to come up with genuinely new design concepts, as it is based on the world, as it already is. The intuitive approach, on the other hand, does not rely on either preconceptions or preexisting fact, and as such, it represents the most promising potential for original design.

The differences between the three approaches may be framed within the American

philosopher Peirce's terminology. As such, the rationalist approach may be described as deductive, because it approaches design with a view of how things must be, the empiricist approach as inductive, because it approaches design from an interpretation of how things actually are, whereas the intuitive approach is abductive, because it suggests how things may be.

The difficulty in describing the intuitive approach is, that it tends to be implicit about its own process. It is most often performed in a 'black box'-manner, making it difficult to explain and convey its methodology (Lang, 1987). As this tacit nature of its methodology makes it incommunicable, it is impossible make explicit as objective knowledge. This, however, does not mean that tacit methodological knowledge is irrational (Harfield, 1999). But it does represent a dilemma, which Schön sums up in the question that, if knowledge is what can be made explicit, then what do designers know? And if tacit knowledge is recognized, then how do we describe how they know it and get access to it? (according to Harfield, 1999).

Anthony Ward (1990) sees the opaque nature of intuitive design as a deliberate mystification of a process which cannot be argued objectively. Because artistic design is inherently subjective, what is considered the better design can never be determined by argument, but becomes a question of power. In their battle for a position in this power game, designers feel inclined to accredit their design achievements to a certain design genius rather than to design methodology. By making recourse to a mysterious talent, design methodology is substituted for some godly insight, and its results may thus be withdrawn from argumentative discourse. The process of design is turned into a 'mastery-mystery game', where mystery is taken as a symptom of mastery (ibid.).

Another explanation for the difficulties in verbally conveying design knowledge is offered by Cross (1990), who suggests that it may lie with the nonverbal media of thought and communication which are used in the design process. Models and drawings are not only means of communicating design but also of formulating design. As Daley suggests, 'the way designers work may be inexplicable, not for some romantic or mystical reason, but simply because these processes lie outside the bounds of verbal discourse: they are literally indescribable in linguistic terms' (quoted in Cross, 1990, p. 132).

Cross argues that design competence is a natural ability, possessed by everyone, although it is more developed among professional designers. Following Gardner's criteria for distinct forms of intelligence, Cross suggests – although admitting that the case is not fully proven – that the ability to design may rely on a certain 'design intelligence' (ibid.).

Whether the mysterious nature of intuitive design processes is ascribed to the power game of positioning design views of an essentially unargumentative nature, or it is an inherent quality of the process, it certainly leaves designers in the dark, as George says. But, as it shall be argued below, it also leaves others in the dark, something which presents a major dilemma in urban design.

Urban design practice has swayed between the rationalist, argumentative and intuitive approaches as the dominant methodology. But although one approach has often been dominant, urban design practice usually includes more, if not all of them (Lang, 1994). Because the different approaches largely correspond to views of

urban design as a technical, social or creative process, their application has varied according to which view has been dominant. But as Madanipour (1996) points out, too narrow views of urban design as an either technical, social, or creative process rarely correspond with the practical reality of urban design. Rather, the different approaches must be seen as applicable to different aspects of the urban design process, as it involves dealing with both the objective world, the institutions and individuals involved in the process, as well as the subjective world of ideas (ibid.).

URBAN DESIGN AS AESTHETICS

The plurality of architectural theories about what constitutes proper architecture can be categorized within two major strands, according to what they see as the realm of inquiry for architecture. One strand sees architecture in relationship with the outside world, and is based on theories about society or interpretations of the lived world. Within this strand, architecture is legitimized and validated with reference to phenomena that lie outside architecture itself. Its realm of inquiry, therefore, is the outside world, which forms the basis for design. The other strand sees architecture in relation to itself and its constituent elements. Within this strand, architecture does not require any outside excursions to validate or legitimize itself; it deals with architecture for its own sake. Its realm of inquiry is therefore architecture itself (Rowe, 1987).

Although this latter strand of architecture dates back at least to the enlightenment period and the formation of the École-des-Beaux-Arts tradition within architecture (Nygaard, s.d.), it is generally associated with postmodern architecture. It is often ascribed to the disillusion about the poor achievements of modern architecture in trying to connect with the outer world, and as a reaction against it (Ward, 1989). However, as Eisenman points out, much modernist thinking was equally occupied with the language of architecture and its own 'objecthood' (quoted in Rowe, 1987). But while modernist architecture is predominantly occupied with non-referential or natural form, without cultural connotations or meaning, post-modernist architecture is interested in figure, as form imbued with cultural meaning (ibid.).

Whereas modernist architecture relates to the aesthetic paradigm,[2] which sees genuine art as something which speaks only of itself, is non-referential and therefore mute (Harries, 1998), the post-modernists are interested in the rhetorical, argumentative and polemical potential of architecture, and its ability to comment on the outer world (Rowe, 1987). Modernism and postmodernism are generally seen as two very different, and even antithetical, approaches to architecture. It may be that postmodernism – in architecture as in art – has discarded the aestheticism notion of art for art's sake, but it is still equally occupied with architecture for architecture's sake. And by that token, much modernist and postmodernist architecture is of a piece. Paraphrasing 'aestheticism' as the notion of art for art's sake, an architecture which is occupied only with itself might therefore be termed 'architecturism'.

The 'architecturist' approach to urban design, hence, is concerned with the built form of cities for its own sake. One of the most prominent exponents of this approach is Camillo Sitte who, in his City Planning According to its Artistic Principles, promoted an artistic approach to urban design with a distinct focus on the 'urban image'. It is

[2] The aesthetic paradigm, or aestheticism, was formulated by the 18th century philosopher Baumgarten, who asserted that a work of art has to be a perfect whole. Aesthetic experience is based solely on the aesthetic object as it presents itself to the spectator, and the aesthetic object serves no other function than the aesthetic. Thus, neither the aesthetic object, nor the aesthetic experience needs any external justification but are sought for their own sake. (see Harries, 1998, chapter 2)

therefore not surprising that Sitte's ideas gained much attention in the 1970s and 80s, most notably through Rob Krier's Urban Space, which drew much inspiration from Sitte (although Krier's formal language features many of the elements of the 19th century city which Sitte was opposed to).

To view the built environment as a work of art, and hence to view urban design as an aesthetic endeavor has implications, not only for the process of urban design, but also for what is considered the outcome of this process. And ultimately it has implications for the viability of urban design schemes, depending on the conditions for its implementation. The narrow definition of architecture within the aesthetic approach, as expressed by an anonymous writer in the introduction to an interview with Cecar Pelli about his project for the expansion of the Museum of Modern Art in New york, might explain the problems of its application to urban design:

The issues in the project are complex, touching on financial, political, and social concerns. These, however, are ideological problems, and once the idea of the project is accepted – that this is the best way for the Museum of Modern Art to expand and to continue to exist – the issue becomes architectural: how *should the museum expand.*

– Perspecta, 1980, p. 97, emphasis in original

This view is formulated even more bluntly by Michael Graves:

I really don't think that architecture is about social or political activity any more than I think politics is about architecture.

– quoted in Rowe, 1987, p. 175

When urban design is about itself, its realm of inquiry is essentially arbitrary. If urban design is not intended to serve any external purpose, but only the aesthetics of its own composition, inquiry does only serve as a source of inspiration for the design as a work of art. Therefore, one type of inquiry is as good as any. If analysis is not intended to inform about a problem which must be solved, but only to inspire the creation of new form, what analysis is chosen does not have to be justified.

Therefore, when Bunschoten (1999) throws beans on a map as a way to make an 'unbiassed' selection of places of investigation in the terrain, this is no different from the deconstructionist method of superimposing different ordering systems (Proudfoot, 1991). And the Dutch architecture firm MVRDVs (1999) obsession with data and statistics without any stated design objectives, apart from a vaguely argued, yet strong wish, for density, likewise becomes a sort of 'data-dada'. Both serve as sources of inspiration for arbitrary artistic designs, rather than of information for solving specific problems.

As Lang (1994) notes, the aesthetic approach to urban design (as to architectural design in general) tends to take place in a 'black box'-manner, by which the reasoning behind design decisions remains undisclosed. Although the deconstructionist approach lays open the different systems of interpretation which are used to generate the design – whether it be points, lines and surfaces, as in the Parc de la Villette design or in

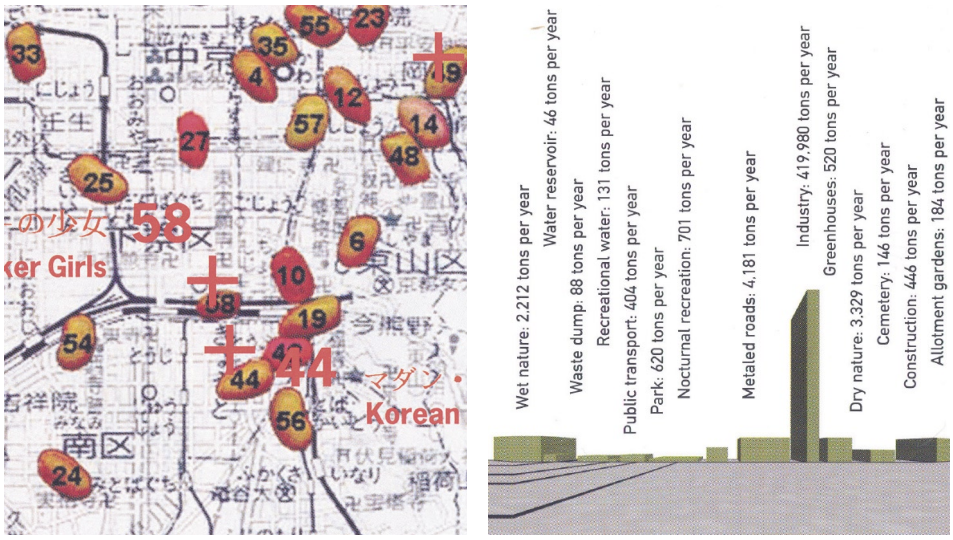


Figure 7.2-3
Throwing beans on a map or playing with mass and density, like the deconstructionist approach, are design techniques to help triggering new ways of interpreting the environment as a basis for genuinely new design, rather than survey techniques, dealing with the outside world.

the Skejbygård Plan, or something else – the way in which these systems are used is the personal decision making process of the designer. And the same goes with Bunchoten's beans and the dutchmen's data.

These different techniques may be excellent means of generating genuinely novel designs, or new ways of interpreting the environment – with all the potentialities which it encompasses – but they are so on conditions exclusively set by the designer. They are therefore not tools of inquiry or analysis in any conventional sense, but rather design techniques. Whether one cherishes the one technique or the other is therefore a matter of professional preference as to design techniques, but does not address the fundamental question of whether urban design should deal with the outside world, or only with itself.

The undisclosed nature of 'black box' designs raises the question of legitimization of the design. When the generation of a design relies on subjective choice, it is difficult to make it subject to objective judgment. Whether a design is good or bad therefore becomes a matter of belief, rather than of argument. Furthermore, if a design is primarily concerned with problems pertaining to its own 'objecthood' and not to the outside world, any lay judgment becomes essentially irrelevant. Qualified judgment is reserved for those with special knowledge and insight into the architectural discourse, and what constitutes good design therefore becomes a matter of judgment by the designer's professional peers, rather than of other actors in the urban development process or the general public (Shirvani, 1985).

In the case of urban design, this supremacy of the profession in terms of the legitimization of designs is problematic in a number of ways. On the one hand, it is conflicting with the wish for democratic planning processes, as non-professional actors are not only incapable of making their own judgment but also have to rely on the judgment by professionals, who, in turn, are not inclined to justify their arguments. On the other hand, it makes it potentially hard to argue politically for any design scheme which can be justified only internally, thus making its implementation potentially more volatile.

An urban design which is only internally justified becomes a *fait accompli*. Because it does not address any external questions but is only interested in urban form for its own sake, there is no other choice than to take it or leave it. If external questions are addressed, alterations to a design can be judged by their ability to address these questions. When only internal questions are addressed, the answer to which relies on subjective judgment, there is no way of knowing, whether an alteration will sustain the quality of the design or possibly even ruin it. As the design is based on subjective choice, only the author can make this judgment. In a contemporary setting with highly unstable processes of urban development, this represents a major weakness for any such urban design.

As the aesthetic approach to urban design is concerned only with the physical appearance of the built environment, its natural mode of expression is total urban design. As there is nothing beyond the form, it cannot meaningfully be formulated on a generic level. Hence, diagrammatic representations of the design are meaningless, and the design can therefore only be formulated in the form of a masterplan.

The viability of 'architecturist' urban designs therefore seems to depend on stable power conditions for their successful creation and implementation. The 'black box'-manner of their creation makes them potentially authoritarian, as it does not allow for democratic scrutiny. And likewise, their implementation requires a firm hand, as they can only be meaningful if implemented in accordance with the discrete ideas of the author. In a contemporary context of urban design with democratic decision making processes and ever-changing processes of urban development, aspirations to 'architecturist' urban design therefore seem at risk of being either authoritarian or futile. Or, as Harvey puts it:

The translator who assumes omnipotence represses. The great individual (the architect/philosopher) who becomes detached from the masses and from daily life becomes either an irrelevant joke or an oppressive and domineering figure…

– 2000, p. 253

URBAN DESIGN AS DECISION ENVIRONMENT

In practice, most urban design takes place within the framework of public planning. As public planning is based on notions of public good, urban design from a public planning point of view generally has a broader scope than just built form for its own sake. Rather, urban design is a tool for changing the built environment, for the purpose of implementing economic, social and cultural policies (Lang, 1994). From this perspective, urban design as a field of activity is imbedded in both political and economic contexts, and as such, it has to merge ideal normative concerns about how the built environment should be, with more pragmatic concerns about how it could be, within the given economic and political realities (ibid.).

As most urban development, apart from infrastructure development, is undertaken by private or semi-private developers, public planning agencies often have limited power of implementation. Hence, urban design as a public sector activity, rather than dealing with the actual design of the built environment, deals with defining the

framework within which urban development can take place:

Urban design activities seek to develop the policy framework within which physical designs are created. … It extends in both time and space in that its constituent parts are distributed in space and constructed at different times by different persons. In this sense, urban design is concerned with the management of the physical development of the city. Management is difficult in that the client is multiple, the program indeterminate, control partial and there is no certain state of completion.

– UD Review, 1976, 1, quoted in Shirvani, 1985, p. 2

This approach to urban design differs substantially from the aesthetic approach. From a public planning perspective, urban design is imbedded within the larger framework of public policy (Friedman, 1987). Far from being concerned only with its own 'objecthood' or built form for its own sake, the public planning approach to urban design therefore includes objectives pertaining to the immediate built environment, as well as to more general purposes of public planning. It does not only involve a distinction between the object and the objectives of urban design, it also does so on a number of different levels.

On the macro-level, the built environment is the overall framework for most activities in society as the space for production, consumption and reproduction. The urban environment may fit these purposes more or less adequately and effectively, and as society changes over time, its requirements towards the urban environment change too. An important purpose of urban design is therefore to adapt the urban environment to meet the needs and uses which are required for society to function in space (Harvey, 1996). Space for housing, recreation, public and private services, production and transportation, ideally, must be made available to the extent and at the locations where it can best meet these purposes.

On the intermediary level, the built environment is the space for the actualization of private and public activities. Different activities have different requirements, and public and private developers therefore judge concrete spaces with regard to their ability to meet their specific needs. In order to facilitate urban development, another purpose of urban design therefore, is to meet the specific requirements of housing, offices, industrial uses and public amenities in the specific areas designated for these purposes.

On the micro-level, the built environment serves as the living environment of people. And a third purpose of urban design therefore, is to shape the built environment with regard to quality of life. This encompasses considerations about environmental, social, and cultural aspects of the built environment. Aesthetic concerns, from a public planning perspective, is therefore but one of the objectives of urban design.

When urban design is carried out within the framework of public planning, it operates in the public arena. It deals with the public realm and with issues of public interest, and is financed with public funds. Public sector urban design therefore has an obligation to meet public objectives. In order to judge whether it does so or not, it must be possible to trace its underlying arguments. The process of urban design

therefore has to be open to scrutiny (Lang, 1994). Public sector urban design, in other words, has to be explicit with respect to its objectives, as well as to the means devised to achieve them.

When urban design is based on implicit values, the underlying reasoning renders opaque. It thus becomes resistant to objective analysis (Ward, 1989). Lack of transparency complicates qualitative inquiry into the design, making it potentially questionable whether, or to which extent, design objectives are actually met. Furthermore, design objectives which are not explicable make the design more vulnerable to conflicting rationales (typically economic or functional), and therefore susceptible to failure. Public sector urban design therefore, has to be carried out in a 'glass box'-manner, based on objective argument, in order to gain validity, as well as integrity.

Likewise, the the procedures of urban design should ideally be methodologically 'sound', in order to be accountable. It is therefore understandable, when some urban design theorists argue that urban design practices which rely on tacit understandings of 'good practice' or 'personal [or professional] whimsy' (Lang, 1996), are problematic and call for the generation of substantive procedural knowledge (Lang, 1996, George, 1997). Given the nature of design processes, as discussed above, however, this does not seem to be an easy call.

When urban design is not supported by power of implementation, detailed design prescriptions may be difficult to sustain. Actual developers may have differing design intentions for their developments, and if there is a misfit between design prescriptions and developer wishes, areas may be unattractive to development (Lang, 1994). When development occurs gradually over time, design paradigms may also change, and original design criteria may render irrelevant. Without power of implementation, urban design therefore has to be flexible.

This implies that public sector urban design has to be oriented as much towards process as towards project, and to consider *how* to implement, as well as to consider *what* to implement. To view urban design as large-scale architecture or 'one-shot/ one-sheet planning' (Shirvani, 1985), whose primary aim is to produce masterplans or blueprints for urban development, is therefore inadequate. On the contrary, the act of urban design is rather a question of designing the decision environment for urban design, than to design the built environment itself. As such, urban design differs from other design disciplines like architecture, landscape architecture or product design, as it is one step away from its object (George, 1997):

Urban design is designing cities without designing buildings because the intention is to realize a desired state of the built environment, but without actually designing the components of the environment. Urban designers are not authors of the built environment, rather they create a decision environment that enables others to author the built environment.

– ibid., p. 148

Similar to architectural programming in its indirect relationship with its object, this approach to urban design can therefore be characterized as a second-order design

approach. By waiving claims to first-order design, and by concentrating on generic design qualities, this approach becomes more robust towards changing economic, political, social and legal factors:

Second-order design is more appropriate to a turbulent decision environment because it is based on a strategic approach to decision making ('what do we really need to specify? What can we ignore') rather than the comprehensive decision making that characterizes first-order design (where every aspect of the designed object must be specified).

– ibid.

As the focus of this urban design approach is the decision environment rather than the built environment, it operates not only by means of plans, but also by means of policies, guidelines and programs (Shirvani, 1985). Design policies are general statements about various aspects of urban design, which constitute the framework for the overall design process. Although they state intentions for urban design, they do not formulate actual goals or specific implementation strategies. Guidelines, regulate general aspects of built form such as density, skyline, distribution of built and open space, and use, without addressing the specific design. Design programs are more action oriented and often oriented towards maintenance of the existing built environment, as they encompass preservation, urban renewal and regeneration. Programs formulate targeted strategies for specific aspects of urban design, and are normally backed by varying degrees of funding (George, 1997; Shirvani, 1985). Expos and experimental urban designs may also be considered as urban design programs.

The strength of the decision environment approach is, that it views urban design as embedded in the societal context, as it relates to political, economic and legal realities. As its formulation of objectives is explicit and based on argument rather than belief, it is well suited for the argumentative process of urban design. By focussing on the generic aspects of design rather than specific physical design solutions, it is more robust towards the volatile and changing urban development process and the varying interest of its actors.

However, by nature of its second-order approach to design, it is generally more concerned with the performance of the built environment than with its concrete appearance. To the extent that aesthetic concerns are considered, as this approach is enabling but not authoring the built environment, aesthetic control is performed by means of design guidelines which are likely to be iconic – based on existing forms – or canonic – based on existing styles (Broadbent, 1973). It is therefore unlikely to foster genuinely novel design.

Furthermore, as this approach addresses an urban development process by which individual developers implement partial designs within the framework of an overall generic urban design, it has limited capacity to coordinate designs qualitatively on the more concrete level. This 'blindfold' mode of operation tends to direct design guidelines towards *avoiding* what is found undesirable, rather than towards *stimulating* what is found desirable. It restricts with regard to what cannot be done in

order to avoid conflicts of use and form, rather than to promote with regard to what can be done, in order to trigger potential synergy effects. This mode of operating by the smallest common denominator, therefore, renders the decision environment approach reactive, rather than proactive.

URBAN DESIGN AS LIVING ENVIRONMENT

Urban design may also be viewed as a means to shape the built environment as living environment. This view focusses on the needs and aspirations of the users and inhabitants of urban space. One of the central elements of approaches to urban design which focus on the built environment as living environment, is therefore citizen participation. Given the often meager performance of the built environment in this respect, this approach is often formulated as a critique, not only of the existing built environment, but also of established views of urban design and their institutional settings.

There is a broad variety of urban design approaches which seek to address the built environment as a living environment. Both private architectural firms, professional and grassroots organizations, as well as public institutions, have been engaged in this approach, which came about in the late 1960s (Batchelor & Lewis, 1985). The Regional/Urban Design Assistance Teams (R/UDAT) which were initiated in 1967 by the the American Institute of Architects, and its later Canadian (CAUSE) and British (CUDAT) offsprings, the American Community Design Centers (Batchelor & Lewis, 1985; Wates & Knevitt, 1987), the British concept of Community Architecture (Wates & Knevitt, 1987), as well as more recent approaches such as Community Planning Weekends and their German derivative *Perspektivenwerkstätte* (scenario workshops) (Zadow, 1997), and the similar American concept of Design Charettes (Kelbaugh, 1997), all represent variations of this approach.

Theoretically, the built environment as living environment has been the focus of architecture theorist like Appleyard (1981), Gehl (1987), and Hertzberger (1991). Within this line of urban design thought, urban space is viewed with respect to its capacity to foster the quality of life of its inhabitants. Its primary attention is therefore environmental issues, such as green space and traffic, as well as social issues, such as public space and the promotion of social interaction.

Alexander's A Pattern Language is an attempt to develop an empirically based, procedural theory for the creation of space – at all scales from a single room to entire regions – as living environment. Alexander's theory is based on a communitarian view of society and is highly critical of capitalism and consumerism. His ideas have therefore been criticized for being utopian in a contemporary societal context, and therefore of little use in practice (Dovey, 1990).

Two early, and often quoted examples of participatory design processes are Erskine's 1968 redevelopment scheme for the Byker district in Newcastle, England, and Kroll's 1970 student housing complex at the Catholic University of the Louvain Medical School in Brussels, Belgium (Trancik, 1986; Wates & Knevitt, 1987). Contrary to later examples however, the idea of user participation, in these cases, was introduced 'from above' and did not spring from the users themselves, and thus the 'vehicle' for

participation, or the rules of the game, was conceived by the designers (Broadbent, 1984). In the Belgian case, participation was total, leaving it entirely to the participants to formulate the design (within a basic structural framework designed by the architect). However, the wish for total participation and the withdrawal of the designer from the role of professional advisor led to a number of professionally and technically bad solutions, which ended up making the design less acceptable to the users, than if the designer had guided the process from a professional point of view (ibid.).

The British community architecture approach to urban design emerged as a distinct approach in the mid 1970s, out of discontent with the inability of conventional planning and architecture to address citizens' needs and aspirations concerning the built environment. The top-down structure of the conventional approaches was criticized for being too narrow in scope, focussing mainly on technical and functional issues, resulting in a built environment which was poorly fit as a living environment. Contending that the inhabitants of the built environment are the most qualified in defining the requirements of a good living environment, the remedy to meet the shortcomings of conventional approaches was seen as citizen participation. As such the community architecture approach was formulated as a critique, not only of the outcomes of conventional approaches, but also of the process of generating these outcomes (Wates & Knevitt, 1987).

An approach to urban design based on citizen participation raises a number of issues. While citizens may be able to formulate their requirements to the built environment, they lack the professional skills to generate solutions which can address these requirements. The lack of professional insight also makes it difficult to assess technical and organizational aspects of urban design, as well as the potentials for, and limitations to, their aspirations. The process of participation in itself is both complex and difficult, and therefore requires both citizens and professionals to develop attitudes, skills and techniques, which can accommodate this process. As putting local inhabitants in charge of their own environment implies the delegation of control over the urban development process from the development industry and local government

Figure 7.4
Who should decide and how? By means of a gameboard with interactive pieces, political, cultural and business leaders take part in a planning game workshop in Aarhus, Denmark

to the citizens, it has structural implications for these institutions. But most crucially, as this implies a redistribution of power, the participation of people in the creation of their own environment is inherently a political issue (ibid.).

In order to accommodate these issues, the community architecture approach implies a redefinition of the role of the professional, a reorganization of the organizational framework for the urban design process, an inclusive definition of design objectives, as well as the use of a variety of design, communication and information techniques.

As the objective of the community architecture approach is to accommodate citizens' needs and aspirations, the role of the design professional is to operate as a catalyst and interpreter of these needs and aspirations, rather than to produce prescriptive designs. As the judgment of good, is what is good in the eyes of the users, the approach therefore has no aspirations to 'high design' or 'high art'. Lay formulations of goals for urban design are often vague and unarticulated. The designer's role is therefore to concretize and articulate these goals. As there are both technical, economic and legal limitations to the scope for design, it is also the role of the professional designer to convey these limitations to the users, in order to reach realistic solutions.

The concept of R/UDAT was developed in the late 1960s as a response to the increasing urban problems in many American cities, as a means '… to help the citizens of each urban community articulate their goals and participate in the job of making urban environments better and more satisfying places to live in.' (Batchelor & Lewis, p. 1). It is based on the observation that citizens and local governments with a wish to change and improve their cities, often lack the ability to define clear goals and to turn ideas into action (ibid.).

The approach involves participation from both local politicians, the business community and citizens organizations, as well as individual citizens. The assistance team is put together of professionals from different fields; architects, engineers, sociologists, historians, or whatever is deemed relevant, depending on the nature of the issues at hand. The approach is therefore doubly inclusive, as it seeks not only to include a broad variety of local perspectives on the issues, but also to include a broad variety of professional angles on them (ibid.).

A fundamental tenet of the approach is, that urban design schemes should never be imposed on communities, but must emerge out of their own initiative. R/UDATs, therefore, are never foisted on communities, but are always invited. Another central element is to bring local actors together, who do not normally communicate with one another. The point is, through the exchange of potentially conflicting views and a process mutual learning, to develop a unified strategy for action. It is therefore a prerequisite for the success of this approach, that there is both a conscious will for change in the community – otherwise the R/UDAT will never get invited – as well as a basis for reconciliation of conflicting views. Otherwise it will not be possible to arrive at a common understanding, as a basis for action.

Contrary to early forms of participatory urban design, which often operated outside the institutional setting of public planning and urban design, design charettes, and their european counterparts, are increasingly being used by different public planning

and urban design bodies, to develop urban design strategies on a participatory basis. Much like the RUDATs, charettes constitute a forum for intense brainstorming and design formulation, involving a broad array of participant over a limited period of time.[3] This reflects the recognition, that urban design does not only encompass purely technical or aesthetic problems which can be resolved by professionals, but affects the lives and businesses of many people, whose voices must be heard in order to make the design most widely acceptable and hence viable.

The participatory urban design approach has both strengths and weaknesses. The inclusiveness, both in terms of issues and stake holders, improves the ability to target design objectives, as well as design strategies, thus making the design potentially more viable. By bringing together different stake holders, it is possible to formulate both concrete and qualitative goals, thus rendering the design process proactive rather than reactive. Furthermore, the close linkage between actors and design objectives increases the action potential, and hence improves the probability for actual change.

On the downside, the approach makes little sense if the potential stake holders do not participate in the process. Stake holders are generally more inclined to get involved over contested issues, making the approach most suitable for questions with a certain conflict potential. However, the higher the conflict potential, the harder it is to reach an agreement. This raises the issue of power. If some stake holders hold disproportionally more power, economically or politically (which is often the case), they will be less inclined to enter into constructive dialogue. The participatory approach therefore also relies on a relatively even distribution of power among the participants.

Finally, the participatory approach to urban design sets different requirements to professional designers as well as institutional structures, than other design approaches do. In addition to design skills, including different professionals and lay people in the design process requires high organizational, communicative and educational skills by the urban designer. And when the design process is participatory rather than technical or aesthetic, it requires a more direct involvement of the professional body, whether a consultant or public planning office, in the actual context of place and people.

[3] There are a number of fanciful explanations as to the origin of the word 'charette'. The most persistent, and meaningful, is, that formerly when the architecture students at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris submitted their assignments, the works were collected and brought to the professor on a cart (charette). If someone had not completed the assignment, his fellow students would help him completing it while running along the charette. This obviously led to a collaborative design process where decisions had to be made in very little time.

CONCLUSION

The different methodological approaches to urban design which have been described in this chapter, are intrinsically linked to their definitions of design objectives. Each approach, by nature of its objectives, leads to its own focus of activity. Furthermore, the viability of each different approach is dependent on the societal context in which it operates.

The aesthetic approach to urban design is interested in the built environment as form for form's sake. The object is the objective. As there is thus nothing outside urban form itself, the focus of this approach is the masterplan. The success of this approach must therefore be measured by the extent to which urban development is in accordance with the masterplan. Any deviation from the masterplan subtracts from the quality of the design by its own measure, and too many deviations ultimately causes the design to collapse. The aesthetic approach is therefore highly dependent

on power of implementation. However, it has a strong potential for generating genuinely novel design.

The decision environment approach is based on a broader definition of objectives. As the formulation of objectives is transparent and argumentative, it is open to democratic scrutiny. By virtue of its process orientation and focus on generic design objectives, it is also more responsive to the reality of the urban development process. However, it is unlikely to foster genuinely novel design. It is also unlikely to trigger potential synergy effects, as it is reactive, rather than proactive.

The living environment approach, on the contrary, is proactive, as it is participatory and links actors with design objectives and strategies. It values design on the basis of the needs and aspirations of its users, rather than to aspire to 'high design' or 'high art'. It is thus highly dependent on the voluntary commitment of citizens. It also constitutes a radical challenge to established ways of carrying out urban design, as well as to the professionals and institutions of urban design.

Whereas the aesthetic and the participatory approaches are similar with respect to their first-order relationship to design, they differ significantly in the way they relate to power. For the aesthetic approach, strong unilateral power is to some extent a prerequisite. The participatory approach, however, cannot function without an even distribution of power. The participatory approach is similar to the public sector approach, in the way it relates to the societal context of urban design. But whereas the public sector approach is reactive in its mode of operation, the participatory approach is proactive. And although the aesthetic and the public sector approaches both see design formulation as a purely professional activity, they are highly different what the nature of the design process is concerned.

The different approaches interlock in peculiar ways, as both similarities and differences coexist in the way they relate to one another. Although creative, technical and social approaches may be applicable to different aspects of the urban design process, as Madanipour suggests, a simple merger of the different views of urban design is not without obstacles. Whereas some elements of the different approaches can easily be combined, others are essentially at odds with one another.

However important the understanding of the processes of urban design are for the successful outcome of any urban design activity, it is not enough to look at the procedural aspects pertaining to urban design as a professional activity alone. The practice of urban design takes place in a larger societal setting which may condition this practice in many different ways. No matter how carefully the methodological approach of urban design is adjusted to its normative ends, without an understanding

THE PROCESSES OF THE CITY 8

of the processes within society that may set the scope for urban development and urban living, urban design efforts, as a process as well as in their results, may end up futile.

The processes of the city which are the object of urban theory, make up an enormous theoretical field. Hence, to get a full grasp of the processes of the city is obviously beyond the scope of any single urban designer, nor are all processes equally relevant to the practice of urban design. Yet, when taking a glance of the last 2-3 decades of urban theory, certain trends emerge as more persevering than others.

What aspects may be relevant for the practice of urban design depends on the nature and scope of the individual urban design scheme, as well as on its local urban and societal setting. The aim of this chapter, however, is to make a general description of a selection of the processes of the city that may condition the practice of urban design.

The restructuring of the economy in the 1970s, the gradual cease of the Fordist mode of production, and the increasing significance of the new economy, prompted new headings in urban theory. The 1970s had been dominated by the so-called 'new urban theory', whose most prominent contributors were Neo-Marxist theorists like Castells, Harvey, Gottdiener and Soja (Tonboe, 1993).

But the new urban theory which was strongly critical of urbanization processes of the Keynesian-Fordist welfare city, was at the same time closely related to it (Simonsen, 1988). It therefore had little to offer in relation to the emerging currents of the development in society. At the same time it became clear, that the 'new urban theory', like previous attempts to develop a separate urban sociology, was dealing with issues which were not specific to the city, but of a more general, societal nature (Albertsen, 1988).

Thus, by the end of the 1970s, urban research largely turns its back on the macro-social level, and embarks on studies of micro-social conditions on the local level, such as life-forms, everyday life and local power (Albertsen, 1985). An era followed, where research was largely empirical, and with few attempts to frame results within a larger theoretical framework.

Around 1990, the contours of the postmodern society seemed to be so distinct, that the theorization of the overall role and function of cities in society started to emerge again. In *The Informational City* (1989), Castells describes the development of urban society in the light of the fundamental impact of information technology on the capitalist mode of production. And in *The Global City* (1991), Sassen relates the new global economy to the formation of new global cities.

Thus, over the past thirty years, urban theory, in the words of Castells, has '… witnessed an evolution of thinking […] from structuralism to subjectivism, then to an attempt, however imperfect, at integrating both perspectives into a structural theory of urban change" (Castells, 2000, p. 558). This double strategy, which seems necessary because regional, historical, and cultural differences influence development in different parts of the world, appears to enjoy wide support (Fainstein, 1996b; Harvey, 2000; Sassen, 1999, 2000).

The shift from production oriented to consumption oriented production and the implied commodification of space, as well the increase of social injustice within cities – as a result of the mode of production's need for both highly specialized, as well as manual services – has led to studies of the increasing aestheticization and segregation within cities. And finally, the living conditions of the increasing share of less privileged and marginalized population groups and their increased place-boundedness, has led to studies of every day life.

Although there are close relations between the issues of globalization, aestheticization, segregation and everyday life in contemporary cities, each of these issues stand out as individual fields within research. Thus, it makes sense – not least in order to maintain a certain overview – to treat these issues individually.

GLOBALIZATION

In order to comprehend the developments in cities within the last couple of decades, it is necessary to relate them to the overall developments in society. The kind of society which seems to have taken over from the Keynesian-Fordist welfare society, whose economy was based on production, has been given many different labels: the service society, information society or knowledge society. These labels all indicate, that production has given way to exchange – of goods and services, but not least of knowledge and information.

According to Castells (2000), what we speak of is a fundamental, paradigmatic change of the structure of society, caused by the revolution in information technology. Similar to the way in which the 19th century industrial revolution lead to a fundamental change in society – what we know as the shift to capitalism, developments in information technology today seem to mark the beginning of an entirely new era. On this basis, Castells argues that the information technology revolution and the formation of the global economy which it has facilitated, mark the end of the industrial society and usher in 'the informational society'.

Whereas the previous technological revolution was based on new forms of energy (the steam engine, the generator and, later, the internal-combustion engine), the current technological revolution is based on information technology. Common to both them, however, is that they have consequences for all aspects of society, from production and consumption, work and war, culture, communication and education, to time and place (ibid.).

The revolution in information technology, in other words, entails a number of structural changes in society. It has enabled the functional integration of a worldwide economical system. As it determines the productivity and competitiveness of individual

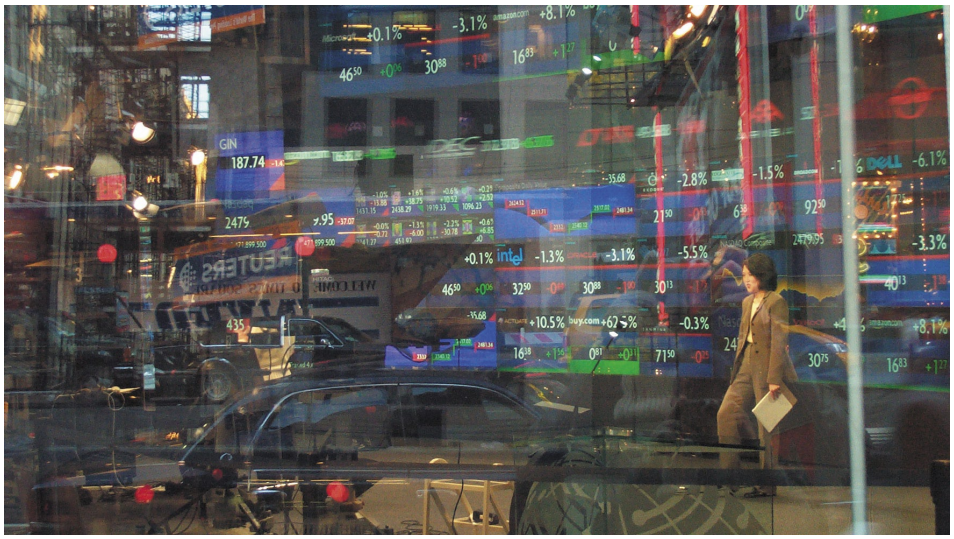


Figure 8.1
While cars and pedestrians reflect in the window panes, the latest stock reports are transmitted world wide from a tv studio at the Nasdaq stock exchange at Times Square, New York

regions, it leads to an international division of labor not previously experienced. It creates an asynchronous communication space, as, at the same time, it enables centralized mediation and decentralized communication reception. Last, but not least, it creates a close connection between the economic and cultural capacities of different societies: As knowledge and information are the bases for productivity, the ability of individual societies to generate knowledge and to manipulate symbols, translates into economic productivity.

The informational society may thus be defined as

… a social structure where the sources of economic productivity, cultural hegemony and political military power depend, fundamentally, on the capacity to retrieve, store, process and generate information and knowledge.

– Castells, 2000, p. 560

Furthermore, the revolution in information technology has made way for a global economy. Contrary to the world economy, which in principle has existed since the days of Marco Polo, the global economy operates all over the globe in real time. The markets for capital, labor and goods, information and raw materials, management and organization are all internationalized and mutually dependent all around the globe, albeit with a very uneven level of integration of different regions (ibid.).

The Cities in the Informational Society

It has been a widespread belief, that the dissemination of information technology on the organization of society, would lead to a reduction of the importance of place. When any exchange of information can basically take place anywhere, as long as one has access to a telephone, a fax machine, or the internet, it should not matter, in principle, where the sender, nor the recipient, may be located in physical space. Thus, as far back as the 1960s, Webber (2000) predicted, that the technological

development in telecommunications, along with faster, more frequent, and not least cheaper transportation, would lead to a decreasing importance of big cities as communication hubs. New settlements would have little in common with the classical city as we know it, and rather, they would consist of small settlement units, located particularly in areas of natural beauty.

Nonetheless, the metropoles of the world have experienced increasing growth and densification as the importance of information technology for society has increased, and their economical importance is greater than ever before. According to Sassen (1996), the reason for this must be sought in the conditions for the organization of the global economy. The globalized mode of production, by which goods are composed of components which are produced in all possible parts of the world, and subsequently sold in a worldwide market, requires increased centralization of the management, control and planning of this entire process. This tendency towards the centralization of management and specialized services is most distinct in what Sassen defines as global cities (New York, London and Tokyo), but it can also be recognized within other cities of national and regional importance.

This development has led to and increased need for professional company management, and partly to a need for specialized services, such as financial, accounting and legal services, marketing, software development and management consulting. The nature of these specialized services makes them mutually dependent of the physical proximity of one another. At the same time, large corporate transactions typically involve a wide array of specialized services. Finally, the highly paid staff within this sector generally prefers the amenities and lifestyle of large cities (ibid.).

Hence, one of Sassen's important points is, that the centralized management of the global economy is not something which emerges all by itself. Rather, it is predetermined by the production of specialized services. These, in turn, depend on a multitude of manual services, from cleaning and surveillance to maintenance and operator services. Also a large number of services, which do not relate directly to the corporate sector, such as domestic aid and health, care are increasingly in demand, not least among the new elite. Thus, the global economy not only depends on highly paid specialists, but as much on low-income services, which are supplied, to a large extent, by women and immigrant workers (Sassen, 2000).

Hence, manual services are a just as integrated and indispensable part of the global economy as specialized services. And the cities within the globalized economy require the presence of both. Thus, the economic differences which formerly were apparent mostly between states – and particularly between the first and the third world countries – now become more apparent also on the intra-urban level. And hence, the cities increasingly generate difference; not only economically but also culturally.

Apart from the corporate culture of the elite, which is often equaled to the culture of globalization, the globalized city also generates a multitude of other cultures and identities within its territory (ibid.). The city, therefore, becomes a contested terrain, where different cultures and population groups take part in a territorial battle over the right to the city. The globalization of cities, in other words, is not only about abstract, worldwide, technological and financial networks. It is just as much about concrete processes within the globalized cities: "Large cities in the highly developed world are

the places where globalization assume concrete forms. These localized forms are, in good part, what globalization is about" (Sassen, 2000).

Globalization and Place

When viewed as a process, Harvey (2000) argues that globalization is closely linked to capitalism's need for continuous geographical reorganization, as an answer to its crises and impasses. And as such, globalization, in some form, has been around for as long as capitalism. When viewed as a condition, contemporary globalization has been characterized by four major shifts: The financial deregulation which began in the early 1970s, profound technological changes and product innovation which are taking place at an unprecedented pace, the media and communications revolution, and last but not least, a drastic reduction of the cost and time of moving commodities and people.

As a consequence of these shifts, production and organizational forms have changed, the world labor force has more than doubled, and migration and urbanization have increased dramatically. A reterritorialization has taken place, with shifts of power from the nation state, both up and down, to the supranational level, as well as the regional level. A 'geopolitical democratization' has also taken place, by which the traditional geographical core powers of the West have lost some of their control, allowing for peripheral powers (particularly in southeast Asia) to gain economic influence (ibid.). The economic globalization, in other words, has created a new geography of centrality and marginality.

However, in order to understand the development of cities in the informational society, it is not enough to look at the impacts of the global economy at the macro-level. As the global economy leads to a concentration of wealth, technology and power in North America, Europe and Japan, it generates a polarization between the rich and the poor regions of the world. In Europe, this polarization and its entailing immigration pressure has led to increased protectionism, in the form of stricter legislation on immigration. In the attempt to match the challenges of the global economy, Europe at the same time experiences increasing intra-European political integration within the framework of the EU.

The increased transfer of political power to supranational institutions, and the immigration of people with different cultural backgrounds, leads to a culture and identity crisis within the European urban communities. The national identity is blurred and it becomes uncertain what forces control the destiny of the individual. This leads to an individual or collective withdrawal, either in the form of Neo-liberalism or in the form of nationalism.

At the same time, the urban communities are impacted by a multitude of new cultures through immigration, and society takes on a polycultural nature. These many new cultures appear as a threat to a society which already faces a state of unstable identity, and the crisis intensifies.

The polarization between the class of the informational elite and the other classes translates into a territorial battle within cities. On the one hand, the elite attempts to appropriate the inner cities which are highly loaded with symbolic value, while the

cultures opposing the elite, on the other hand, fight for their right to the city as use value. Outside this battle, stands an increasing minority of the marginalized and the economically expelled. They are displaced, in part, to the ghettos on the edges of the city, out of sight of the rest of society, and in part they invade the public spaces of the city center.

Because of the network character of the global economy, its physical presence in space is nodal. In an economy based on the exchange of knowledge and information, access to infrastructure in the form of airports, freeways and high speed trains at the regional level, and proximity to other businesses and services on the local level, is more important than access to industrial production units and mass labor.

The informational city may thus be characterized as a 'space of flow', superseding the 'space of place'. the nodes of this space are the central finance and business headquarters, that make up the driving forces of the informational economy.

The tendency of the informational society to concentrate power and wealth, and to polarize different classes in relation to their informational capacities, and the centers of the global economy's independence of their surrounding regions, leads to a transformation of the cities. The crucial condition of this process is, that the cities experience increasing social differentiation, while their functional relations are beyond physical proximity. They increasingly become 'dual cities', where socially segregated classes live side by side in growing tension, leading to territorial battles and defensive spaces.

AESTHETICIZATION

Whereas the Keynesian-Fordist economy was based on production, the postmodern economy is based on consumption. With this new focus on consumption, goods are increasingly valued by their image value, rather than by their quality. Goods become self-referential signs, by which use value is replaced by the exchange value of the sign. Thereby, the production of things is supplanted by the production of signs; what is produced and consumed is meaning (Dovey, 1999).

In the new economy, production recedes into the background, while still more people are employed within the service sector. The identity of the individual therefore becomes less defined by its professional, class or political relations, and increasingly by its consumption of goods and leisure (Zukin, 1997, 2000). This double condition leads to a change in the use of goods and places.

When the identity of the individual is increasingly defined by the capacity to consume and by signalizing a certain lifestyle, rather than by the everyday life as it unfolds through workplace and home, the role of the individual shifts from citizen to consumer. The city thereby becomes an object of consumption, rather than of use, and the gaze on the city becomes that of the tourist – a passive and spectating gaze – rather than that of the local dweller (Steiner, 1994). The tourist's gaze on the city is aesthetic. The city is experienced primarily as a setting – as a staging of leisure and consumption. The facade thus becomes more important than the substance, architecture is reduced to surface[1], and the built environment becomes detached form its social context (Dovey, 1999; Leach, 1999).

[1] With the redevelopment of the Potsdamer Platz in Berlin as his point of departure, the German architecture critic Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm has expressed the view that architecture may characterized as 'an ever thinner layer, separating the inside from the outside'.
(personal note from a lecture given by Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm at Center for Tværæstetiske Studier, University of Aarhus, 07.10.1998)

The new role as the framework for consumption and entertainment has consequences for the organization and design of space. On the macro-level, the changing localization needs of transnational companies leads to increased competition between cities. In terms of local politics, the fight for the favor of capital leads to an increased focus on local identity and originality, as well as on the fulfillment of the localization needs of the courted businesses. This strategy leads to a division of expression, through stressing the unique and the local, and content, through basically generic facilities such as office buildings, hotels, shopping malls, etc. (Ronneberger, 1997).

The most important role of the city in the consumption oriented economy is to function as a backdrop for consumption. The aestheticization of the city is therefore scattered and 'product-like'. Under this 'artistic mode of production' (Zukin, quoted in Ronneberger, 1997), the capital invests in urban entertainment such as cinemas, shopping malls, leisure parks, etc. "It is a question of creating a built environment which is oriented towards the display, sale, and production of cultural symbols" (ibid., p. 2). This is different from the industrial city, where the requirements of production addressed the entire city, and demanded its organization as a (functionally zoned) unity.

The postmodern discourse on urbanity played an important role in this shift from the modern unified city to postmodern fragmentation.[2] Since its advent in the early 1960s, the postmodern discourse on urbanity has developed as a critique of the Fordist-modern, functionally zoned city and its deficiencies in terms of urban culture and lively urban spaces. The bourgeois city of the nineteenth century and its streets, squares and parks became the ideal of this new urge to urbanity and the attempt to revitalize the city (ibid.). Whereas the modern agenda was to zone and organize the city on the basis of considerations for functional rationality, the reurbanized city, like the classical city, should allow for a full urban life, with a symbiotic and synergetic resonance of functions.

The development of the new districts of the Fordist city (the suburbs) focussed on the home and the domestic sphere and on recreational green spaces, rather than urban spaces for public life. While this was the major object of criticism of the neo-urban critique, it had also come to a change of the nature of the historical city. The social agenda underlying modernist urban design implicitly involved a loss of meaning of public space. The historic city developed into a "void which no longer symbolized the everyday life of the residents" (ibid. p. 3), but was 'functionalized' to cater for services and consumption.

In the light of this, the postmodern urbanization efforts presented themselves as an architecturization and not least an aestheticization of the city. In parallel with the developments in the historical city and the nineteenth century districts, similar changes take place in the suburbs. However, The aestheticization of these areas take on different forms, and depending on the context, aestheticization may therefore emerge as a result of either preservation, historicization, gentrification or Disneyfication (Zukin, 1997; Boyer, 1997).

[2] Ronneberger uses the term 'Urbanitätsdiskurs' which has a narrower meaning than 'urban discourse'. What Ronneberger refers to, is the discourse on physical urban form and urban life, which has been promulgated, not only by urban theorists, such as Jane Jacobs, but also by architects such as Allan Jacobs, Appleyard, Gehl, Rossi, and Leon and Rob Krier.

Different Forms of Aestheticization

Apart from the paradigmatic rejection of the program of modernist urban design, an increased sensibility has emerged towards the historical districts which have been subject to radical modernist transformations of the urban fabric. Preservation programs have been initiated in order to 'save' historical districts, in the pre-industrial city as well as in the housing and industrial areas of the early age of industrialization. The preservation efforts have primarily been targeted at the preservation of the physical substance, however, and has therefore been primarily historical and aesthetic.

In the historical districts, the preservation of the form and appearance of the building mass is typically regulated through legislation. In this way, special 'milieus' with a strong visual or historical identity are frozen into a certain image, and the quality of the areas is made equal to the consistency of the historical setting.[3] Detailed regulations make sure that the general impression is not spoiled by contemporary designs and materials. The street furniture in these areas typically consists of reproductions of historical designs or it is otherwise distinct from the average design program, used in other parts of the city (Boyer, 1997).

Although the specially preserved, or even reestablished, historical districts may appear more authentic than the palimpsest of partly redeveloped areas, old buildings and new infrastructure that makes up many urban areas, they, rather than the rest of the city, are the 'true nonplaces' (ibid., p. 201). The historicization of these areas is a reconstruction of a selective past, and therefore represents an erasure of anything else. And often, as in Nielsen's (2001) account of the ostensible reestablishing of the historical center of Aarhus, Denmark, it becomes part of an "… urban strategy aiming at the staging of commercial activities" (ibid., p. 69).

As the image value of the historical districts is high, there is a shift from original uses to luxury apartments, shops and entertainment. in some cases, the historical staging goes beyond the physical substance, and includes theme shops and events. Harbor areas like South Street Seaport, New York, for instance, get a maritime profile with fish restaurants, marine equipment shops and sailing festivals (ibid.).

[3] As an example of this, massive local protest was raised against a 1990 proposal for an 18-storey glass office building which was planned next to 'The Old Town' – an open air museum of urban history and culture – in the center of Aarhus, Denmark. The objections to the project stemmed from the fact that the visual presence of the office tower would ruin the illusion of a preindustrial town.

Figure 8.2
On the backdrop of the office towers of downtown New York, the historical buildings at South Street Seaport offer a perfect scenary for exclusive retail shops

Figure 8.2
Classic dream – classic design. Equipped with front porches and picket fences, ownership houses are designed to appeal to the middle class dream of the friendly small town neighborhood

In the nineteenth century districts, a gentrification takes place, partly through massive building renovation, and partly through a change of shop types and stock. Apartments are renovated and new residents with high buying power supplant the original residents. Along with the new residents follows specialty shops and high-end food stores, let alone restaurants and the ubiquitous cafés (Steiner, 1994). Not least the shops' display of goods, from fruit and italian olive oil to fashion clothes and trend objects, contribute to the mental mapping of the transformed areas, and thus to warrant the accomplishment of the gentrification process (Zukin, 2000).

In the new development areas, housing enclaves, business parks, shopping malls and theme parks are constructed, each with their own thematic profile and scenography (ibid.). The thematic profiling of these different functional units represents a competition over market shares, and the themes therefore court the middle class ideals of the professionals from the service sector with an adequate buying power.

New residential areas are marketed on the promise of a certain lifestyle, enabled through amenities, design and landscaping. The metaphor is that of the safe, small town idyll, where neighbors say hello to one another over the white picket fence, while their children ride their bikes safely on the sidewalk in front of the two-car garage.

Private investors develop business parks on a turnkey basis. The architectural language must therefore be flexible enough to allow for different corporate identities (Ronneberger, 1994). This 'architecture of flexible space' (Ute Lehrer, quoted in ibid.) dissociates itself from the container architecture of the industrial mode of production, and presents itself as relaxed leisure environments rather than production environments.

The more high end business complexes feature atriums and fountains and are made from luxurious materials such as granite, steel and mirroring glass to indicate elegance, while others focus on nature and landscape qualities and an aura of leisure (ibid.). Apart from the entrance and reception areas, the quality of the work spaces rarely differ from that of the office spaces of the past. The different character of these

business complexes is therefore purely formal and not substantial (Ute Lehrer, quoted in ibid.).

Shopping malls and amusement parks – these 'hybrid forms of commerce and spectacle' (Ronneberger, 1997) – are the epitome of Disneyfication. Here, the staging of space is directly targeted on the consumption of goods and events. But apart from their function as spaces for consumption, shopping malls also represent a new type of public space. The double nature of these spaces as both private spaces for consumption, controlled by private corporations, and public spaces, turns them into liminal spaces.[4] A conflict emerges between the market, whose economic forces weaken the bonds between the individual and the established institutions of society, and place, which forms the spatial foundation for stable identities, by tying the institutions of society to the societal world (Zukin, 1997). Thus, "the very qualities that make liminal spaces attractive and competitive within the market economy also lead to a deterioration of local distinctiveness" (ibid., p. 161).

SEGREGATION

The increasingly liminal character of public space makes it sensitive to abnormal behavior. If space has to please the market, elements that do not fit in with the aestheticized setting of the symbolic economy become a potential threat, and must be eliminated. Thus, a repressive space emerges, where the presence of people with deviating appearance or behavior, such as immigrants, homeless people, drug abusers or drunks, which do not fit into the image, cannot be tolerated (Ronneberger, 1994).

This is true, not only for privately owned public spaces, but increasingly also for conventional public spaces. Due to the increasing importance of the setting, for the turnover of goods, the shop owners within the traditional city areas do not accept the presence of unaesthetic people. But also the public authorities, motivated by the increased competition between cities, pay increasing attention to the value of 'the city as a business card' (Ronneberger, 1997).

Bums and roamers are relegated to certain areas where their presence is tolerated, and potential gathering spots are removed.[5] Also public transportation facilities and terminals are subject to upgrades in design, following the motto 'if you have nothing to do, don't do it here', by which 'distinctive corporate identity' goes hand in hand with surveillance and control (Ronneberger, 1997). In cases where the public authorities, due to their meager economy, can no longer keep up with the maintenance of public parks and squares, private corporations, on the right terms, are happy to help out, and a similar cocktail of design, control and entertainment is introduced, to guarantee 'pacification by cappuccino' (Zukin, 2000, p. 137).

The Fordist era was characterized by a state-led, paternalistic disciplining of misfits. In opposition to such 'serial homogeneity', post-Fordist power strategies attempt a 'differential homogeneity', expressed through diversity of space:

The overall goal of post-Fordist control politics is first and foremost to fixate the growing fragmentation of social space territorially, and to secure segregated areas, each of which feature a specific social homogeneity.

[4] The concept of liminality is defined by the anthropologist Victor Turner as a notion for the transition of certain (age defined) social groups from one social status to another. In social science, the term denotes 'transitional space': "By mixing functions and history, liminal spaces positions the users between the institutions; neither here, nor there. As liminality fuses the pursuit of profit and (public) shopping malls non-profit places, home and workplace, (private) neighborhoods, it always challenges our acquired behavior."
– Zukin, 1997, p. 160

[5] In 1989, the private organization which runs the Central Park in New York demanded that a historical band stand should be demolished, because it had become a gathering point for homeless people (Zukin, 2000). One early morning in 1999, the City of Odense, Denmark, after a swift decision in the City Council, removed a band stand in the King's Garden public park, for the very same reason.

– Ronneberger, 1997, p. 7,

Particularly in the inner cities, the high symbolic value of the built environment is linked to the representation of the hegemonic way of life. Control over the inner city, thus, is not just a question of conflicts of use, but also a question of controlling images and meanings (ibid.).

The power conflicts of the inner cities and the resulting restructuring of these areas also affect the surrounding urban areas. By example of Frankfurt, Keil & Ronneberger (2000) describe how the spatial spread of the office economy, in the form of office building developments, has affected the logic of inter-neighborhood links and the microstructure of communities. The pressure from office space development on the existing housing stock leads to rising rents, loss of housing space, and the closing of small scale manufacturing, as offices intrude into residential areas. The resulting effect is displacement, not only of people, but also of small businesses such as traditional manufacturing and craft industries.

The logic of of the global economy in combination with the technological possibilities of contemporary infrastructure means that the spatial organization of the economy is becoming increasingly insular. Large specialized entities develop, such as shopping malls, airports, freight transportation hubs, and large scale storage facilities for the growing internet shopping. Each of these facilities, 'dynamic sites for organizing logistical processes', as Graham (2001a, p. 4) calls them, cater for very specific needs, and are operated as small worlds of their own. The contemporary city, in the words of Nielsen (2001), has become a 'city of cities', each of which are "… 'specific', yet internally highly complex, multifunctional and integrated" (Brake, quoted in Keil & Ronneberger, 2000).

The increasing polarization of the labor market into high-skill and low-skill labor, resulting from the world city economy, also has spatial impacts within the urban region. When the poorer classes are forced out of the inner cities (whose traditional diversity they often depend upon in their daily life), they move to the edge of the cities. Here, they typically move into housing estates which were originally built for middle class families, but which now sometimes become "a 'dump' for impoverished or marginalized citizens as well as for new immigrants" (ibid., p. 236). This process of 'marginalizing peripheralization' (ibid.) means that the periphery experiences increased social polarization and poverty. And in part, the functional separation of lifestyles typical of the Fordist city, dissolves:

On the one hand, unprecedented segmentation segregates the poor and the rich who are kept apart in social housing towers and condominium complexes respectively. On the other hand, the middle classes, who in previous eras of urbanization had been hoping to realize an autonomous privatized lifestyle, are now experiencing a close and inescapable proximity to metropolitan problems.

– ibid., p. 239

While the gentrification and mallification of the inner cities has made them more homogeneous, the socio-spatial structure of the periphery has often become more complex than that of the inner city. In other words, the suburbs, which are gener-

Figure 8.4
'Hotel industriale' at the Périférique in Paris. As the rents in inner city Paris have reached beyond the capacity of small scale industry and manufacturing, the City of Paris has provided alternative spaces for these activities at the perimeter of the city.

ally conceived of as the homogeneous domain of the middle and upper classes, become more heterogeneous, while the inner cities, ironically, become increasingly suburbanized through their increasingly mono-functional structure. Traditional understandings of urban life and urban civil society therefore render increasingly insufficient (ibid.).

In the United States these processes seem to take on a more radical nature, not least because the gentrification of the inner cities typical for European cities, only to some extent takes place in American cities. By example of Baltimore city, Harvey (2000) gives an explicit account of the physical and social decline of American inner cities and the appalling living conditions of the poor urban dwellers. While those who can afford it leave the city for the 'bland and undistinguished world' of suburbs, edge cities and ex-urbs, more than ten percent of the inner city housing stock is vacant and largely abandoned. And although the downtown areas and parts of the inner cities have experienced physical improvements, the process has generally led to increased gentrification and the production of controlled spaces of consumption. The overall picture is therefore one of division and fragmentation of urban space, and loss of social diversity.

Historically, cities have been characterized by exchange, not only of goods and services, but also of different values and interests. But, as Bauman describes it, the sense of powerlessness generated by globalization, has led to a condition of fear, which has made the issue of safety a key issue for urban development (Steinø, 2001a). The high focus on safety has developed an aesthetics of fear, by which the city is increasingly segregated into different ghettos. While those who can afford it withdraw into voluntary ghettos in the form of wealthy suburbs or guarded condos, the less well off get isolated in involuntary ghettos in socially strained neighborhoods.

Again, although also emerging in Europe, this development finds its most radical expression in the United States, in the form of gated communities and no-go-areas respectively. While no-go-areas are deeply socially strained areas that those who can avoid it do not go to, and those live there cannot get away from, gated communities serve the purpose of securing the inhabitants from the intrusion of unwanted and potentially criminal people.

Gated communities may simply be 'security zone communities', similar to conventional subdivisions, apart from a surrounding fence and guarded entrances, or they may be 'prestige communities', where the inhabitants share the same economic class and status (Hulgård, 1998; Kristensen, 1999). In their most elaborate form, gated communities are also 'lifestyle communities' (ibid.), based on specific lifestyles, whether they are tailored to meet specific needs, such as care and training facilities for the elderly, or they focus on specific leisure activities such as golf or horse riding.

Often, gated communities are run by an owners' association or corporation, which defines rules of conduct that regulate social life and physical activity within the community. The result of this is an almost sanitized social environment with practically no public life, and where not even the girl scouts are allowed to canvass at people's homes. In some cases, gated communities have transformed into full-fledged, corporate run cities with civic institutions of their own (Hulgård, 1998; Kristensen, 1999).

However, segregation within cities also appears in much more subtle forms, without the use of gates and guards and other tangible means of control. Graham and Marvin (2001) describe how the increasing liberalization of infrastructure supply in combination with new information technology has made it possible to tailor the provision of services to very specific needs. Whether it be transportation, telecommunications, or the provision of goods and services, there is a general trend towards services being tailored to suit the most powerful, who obviously make up the most interesting market, in a system of increasingly privatized infrastructure provision.

As infrastructure in the Fordist economy was designed to the mass market, most services were provided as mass services, equally accessible to everyone. The post-Fordist era however, has experienced an 'unbundling' of technical infrastructure, which has made way for an increased segregation of both physical and social space, as it has enabled the creation of different forms of bypass. Local bypass takes place through "[t]he physical development of a parallel infrastructure network that effectively connects valued users and places while simultaneously bypassing non-valued users and places within the city" (ibid., p. 167). Glocal bypass "… involves the construction of new, materially distinct networks that are configured to support interaction between local valued users and places and global circuits of infrastructural exchange" (ibid., p. 171). And finally, virtual network bypass, puts new technologies to work in customizing infrastructure services, provided via general infrastructure networks, but tailored to selected consumers, as exemplified by smart card prepayment technologies, road pricing, electronic route guidance, and other tolling and information technologies.

As a consequence of this development, spaces become valued by their technological, rather than their spatial connectivity to other places. And as, on the one hand, technology makes some spaces more valued than others, it also allows for the bypass of less favored spaces, on the other. This leads to a paradox of physical proximity; while exact location, even by street or building, becomes increasingly important (e.g. because an office building sits on a broad band internet cable and the neighboring office building does not), proximity on the neighborhood or district level may no longer matter.

With the globalization of economic power, many of the forces that determine the development of cities are beyond the control of the cities themselves. An important dilemma is, that while the economy has become much less dependent on physical space, urban politics have stubbornly remained local and tied to specific physical locales. The result of this development, according to Bauman, is that urban politics are helplessly trying to fight problems that are rooted in global conditions, by local means (Steinø, 2001a).

EVERYDAY LIFE

While the issues of globalization, aestheticization and segregation are general processes which may be real and recognizable within the city, they do not necessarily tell much about the individual lives of urban dwellers. Although the city may be described in terms of more general processes and spectacular phenomena,

[i]t is also the place of all people, common occurrences, various creative acts, community workers, small shops and quotidian buildings. This is the city of everyday life – the city that occurs normally, routinely, without fuss and bother. It is the city that is at once boring, and banal, and profoundly connected to the culture of the city that everyone experiences every day of their lives.

– Malcolm et al., 2000, p. 139

Influenced by the theories of Lewis Mumford, postwar planning has been dominated by the concept of neighborhood planning. Based on a middle class conception of the nuclear family of husband and wife with children, the neighborhood was seen as the ideal frame for the everyday life of families. Anticipating that the husband goes to work, the wife is anticipated to be a housewife, taking care of home and children. In this scenario, the neighborhood, apart from being the center of collective upbringing, with church, schools, and civic institutions, it is also the center of services in the everyday life of wife and children, with shopping and recreational facilities, etc. Yet, as already Jane Jacobs (1961) pointed out over forty years ago, this is not necessarily the way people actually live their lives.

After almost a century of normative theories about the city and the good life for the urban dweller, urban theorists particularly in the 1980s, started to focus on the actually lived lives of urban dwellers – on everyday life. Books like Lefebvre's *Everyday Life in the Modern World* (1984) and de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), as well as Bordieu's concept of 'habitus' as a way to mediate between structure and practice, became important theoretic foundations for the emerging field of research into the everyday life.

The field of everyday life research has generally focussed on activities related to reproduction and consumption. To Lefebvre, the everyday life is a sphere of 'non-work-relations'. It is "… the ongoing routines, the repeated going-to-work, paying-bills, coming-home, and consuming, that characterizes the daily existence of most people" (Simonsen (1993), p. 57, my translation). This leads to a focus on the popular classes to whom these activities are most dominant, and women in particular, as they are typically responsible for the care and upbringing of children, the provision of everyday necessities and the maintenance of the daily routines of the family.

Everyday life in the contemporary city is conditioned by the increasing separation of living and dwelling, prompted in particular, by modernist urban planning and the functional zoning of cities. In Lefebvre's (1996) formulation, the dwelling (habitat) was traditionally closely related to a broader concept of living (to inhabit) as taking part in the social life and the community beyond the dwelling itself. In the contemporary city – as most notably expressed in the large housing estates, but to a large extent also in detached housing – the dwelling, or habitat, is reduced to simply providing a home for the household, and the concept of living, or inhabiting, – in relation to the dwelling – has moved towards a narrower concept, encompassing only the members of the household.

In the contemporary city, the prerequisites for the Mumfordian ideal of the local community as the basis for social life and networks are vanishing. On the one

hand, the institutions of the local community disappear due to centralization and the closing of local shops. On the other hand, people increasingly leave their local area during the daytime for working, shopping and leisure activities. Not least the increased share of women who entered the labor market during the 1960s, 70s and on, has intensified this pattern.

Social relations and networks therefore must be established in other arenas than the neighborhood. For some, social relations are established through sports and leisure activities, or through memberships of different clubs and organizations. Parents typically get to know other parents through child care institutions, schools and leisure activities for children, while the elderly build up networks through arenas which are specific to them. As a consequence, Social networks tend to become more age specific (Simonsen, 1993).

Although neighborhood networks may still exist, in some cases they tend to be more tied to family relations, and focussed on mutual support and care between generations, and child care in particular (ibid.). In general however, family relations also experience a change. With the increasing geographical dispersion of family members which most families experience today, there has been a shift from neighborhood family to nuclear family (Gleerup, referred in ibid.). This presents a shift from the social space of the extended family within the local area to the psychological space of parents and children, and a set of loose connections to other family members. As the psychological space of the nuclear family does not provide the broad social networks, experience environment, and scope for practical learning of the neighborhood family, the nuclear family is generally more vulnerable.

The shift from networks constituted through the local community and extended family relations to more narrow networks, centered around the nuclear family, has implications for the sense of what Giddens terms 'ontological safety'. The concept of ontological safety "… is based on the psychological need for a basic safety system that may endow the individual with a sense of confidence with the environment" (ibid., p. 219-220). In other words, it is the sense of security generated by the acquaintance with, and predictability of, the physical environment and the routines of everyday life. When ontological safety is constituted by the home and the nuclear family, rather than by the local area and community, it leads to a reduced definition of what may be considered 'home turf' in connection with the place of living.

Although people may thus not think of their local area as a community, this may be compensated for, through the scope of activities and social relations that reach beyond the local area and into the larger urban area (ibid.). Apart from the fact that the individual local areas, districts and developments within the city may feature large differences, as expressed for instance through social segregation, it makes limited sense to speak of local communities in the anthropological sense.

A more appropriate way to frame contemporary everyday life, may be Marling's (1999) notions of domiciles and lifestyle domains. With reference to Bordieu, Marling defines a lifestyle as the actions and conducts, tastes and attitudes of the individual, stemming from structural aspects, such as the level and type of professional training, as well as individual aspects, such as social background.

While Marling's notion of the domicile is similar to Lefebvre's contemporary city

version of the habitat, lifestyle domains are defined as the cultural and lifestyle related dominance in time and space, of any given lifestyle group over certain areas within the city and region (ibid.). For some, the lifestyle domain may almost coincide with the local area of their domicile, while for others, it may stretch in numerous ways across the city, the urban region, or even beyond. This does not necessarily mean that the latter group includes a larger part of the city into their lifestyle domains than the former. Rather, their lifestyle domains are scattered over more, specific locations, linked through infrastructure.

In many ways, this way of depicting the everyday life of contemporary urban dwellers fits well with the actual physical structure and functional division of the contemporary city. The urban structure of local areas, some for housing and others for production, consumption, recreation and transportation, does not in itself reveal the patterns of everyday life of the city's inhabitants, however. On the one hand, any local area for housing may be the domicile of more, different lifestyle groups. On the other hand, different lifestyle domains may be temporal, so that different locations may be dominated by different lifestyles during the course of the day. In areas where a certain lifestyle prevails, the lifestyle is likely pervade the physical environment and produce a certain 'local' atmosphere, whereas areas which are frequented by many different lifestyle groups such as transportation hubs, attain a more anonymous character.

From the social and spatial image that emerges, Marling's lifestyle domains may be likened to the concept of the layered city offered, among others, by Marcuse and van Kempen (2000). The conception of the city as consisting of different socio-spatial layers, is a way to capture the complex dimensions of division within the city. Thus, different layers may reflect residential spaces, places of work, transportation patterns with usage over time, where children go to school, or the location and usage of recreational or commercial facilities for different social groups:

Each layer shows the entire space of the city, but no one layer shows the complete city. Some layers may reflect differences in usage, others difference in time, others difference in the components of the built environment. Each one reflects a divided city.

– ibid., p. 265-266

The city, in other words, may be described as consisting of several superimposed socio-spatial layers. These layers however, though they may coexists in time and space, may still be unconnected socially and in other ways. The physical space of the city, so to speak, may be framing many different life-worlds that may or may not interfere with one another.

CONCLUSION

The processes of globalization, aestheticization, segregation and everyday life discussed in this chapter, all have implications for the practice of urban design. Yet, as urban theory tends to focus on the unintended and negative consequences of the developments in urban culture and social life, it may leave a somewhat dystopic impression of these developments. But even though different urban theorists may

agree as to the nature of the processes of the city, they may differ in their judgement of what they see.

While some urban theorists, like Mike Davies and Michael Sorkin – as well as Zygmunt Bauman – are rather dystopic in their portrayals of the contemporary city, others, like Graham & Marvin, prefer to adopt a more optimistic attitude, while still critical in their analyses (Graham & Marvin, 2001). Yet others, like Castells, refrain from making any normative judgments at all, despite the inherently political nature of the issues that they are dealing with (Marcuse, 2002).

Although the practice of urban design must also take a normative position on the processes of the city, it is not necessarily within the scope of urban design to address them, even though it might be found desirable. This does not mean that the processes of the city are irrelevant to the practice of urban design. But it is important to assess how, and to which extent, they can and should be addressed by means of urban design.

Theorizations of the processes of the city tend to describe general trends on the basis of partial analysis. Yet, different urban environments, social structures and local economies each have their own specific variations. Overall theories may therefore apply differently to different locales and urban settings. And as urban design is always carried out in a specific context, the applicability of general trends must be evalueated in relation to local conditions.

In the case of the Seden Syd Plan, the foundered vision of the local services center seemed to be at odds with the general economics of the retail trade and private services industry. Furthermore, it might even not address the everyday requirements of local residents. While the planned location of the local services center in the geographical center of the Seden Syd area did not meet the localization needs of the intended services, local residents might also prefer to seek some of those services elsewhere, depending on their individual preferences.

Underlying both the Skejbygård and Seden Syd Plans was the more or less explicit ambition to create social mix through different types of housing. But a latent fear of mixing with low income residents made both individual and institutional private investors hesitant towards development close to public housing. And although the City, in both cases, was able to control the development of public housing, it did not have any means to impact the decisions of private investors. Hence, the resulting urban development became more segregated than it was intended in the plans.

Both of the plans address the issue of aesthetics and form as purely professional, architectural issues. In doing so, they do not negotiate the possible market value of visual branding through a certain aesthetic image, nor do they seek to accomodate popular aesthetic preferences. While this may not matter in terms of public housing, the development of which was subject to control, it might well have lowered the attraction of the two areas to private developers, especially as none of the areas feature any particular natural beauty.

The fact that the Skejbygård and Seden Syd Plans have failed to deal with some of the processes of the city, does not mean that such ambitions should necessarily be given up upon altogether. But the examples given are all instances of attempting to address the processes of the city by means of urban design alone. Some of the

processes of the city might well be addressed through various public policy programs. And urban design might well be among the means to implement such policies. But regardless of how reflective any urban design initiative might be of the processes of the city, it may not be able to deal with them without broad political and economic backing.

Triggered by a popular claim among urban design practitioners, that the often poor performance of urban design may be ascribed to the increasingly complex societal setting of its practice, or, in other words, to conditions which are external to urban design, the hypothesis of this thesis is, that the problem must be ascribed to deficiencies within urban design itself. The answer to the question of why there is often a gap between what is considered good urban design and the built reality

CONCLUSION 9

of the urban environment must therefore be sought in the conceptualization and practice of urban design.

The approach of this thesis has been to make a dual investigation of the theory and practice of urban design. While the practice of urban design has been investigated through a case study of two urban design histories, the theoretical investigation has adopted a broad approach, encompassing not only the field of urban design theory, but also the fields of planning theory and urban theory.

The focus of both the empirical and the theoretical investigations has also been dual. On the one hand, the investigations have focussed on the question of normativity; the underlying views and values which constitute definitions of what urban design and planning should deal with, and what a good city is like. On the other hand, the investigation has focussed on the question of process; the procedural aspects of carrying out urban design, and the processes of the city which may condition the scope for urban design, both as a process and in its results.

In this chapter, the questions of normativity and process will be summarized and discussed across the different fields of investigation, as well as in relation to each other. On the basis of this discussion, the limitations to the study will be discussed, followed by the conclusions which may be drawn form the study. Finally, some implications of the conclusions of the study will be outlined.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The question of normativity in urban design theory has been approached by examining an array of normative urban design theories which have played a major role in the urban design discourse. As the theories are partial in the sense that they do not deal with all aspects of urban design, they have been categorized by their dominant features as belonging to either the societal, formal, or environmental paradigm of urban design.

However, the fact that different aspect of urban design may be dominant within the different theories does not mean that they are necessarily mute with respect to other aspects. While some are broad, covering all aspects to some degree, others are narrow, covering only one aspect thoroughly. Figure 9.1 tentatively shows how the different theories distribute with respect to all aspects of society, form and environment.

Normative theories of urban design generally take a critical stance towards the status quo. Thus, the societal theories of urban design are critical towards the existing society, envisaging new concepts for society and its organization in space. The more

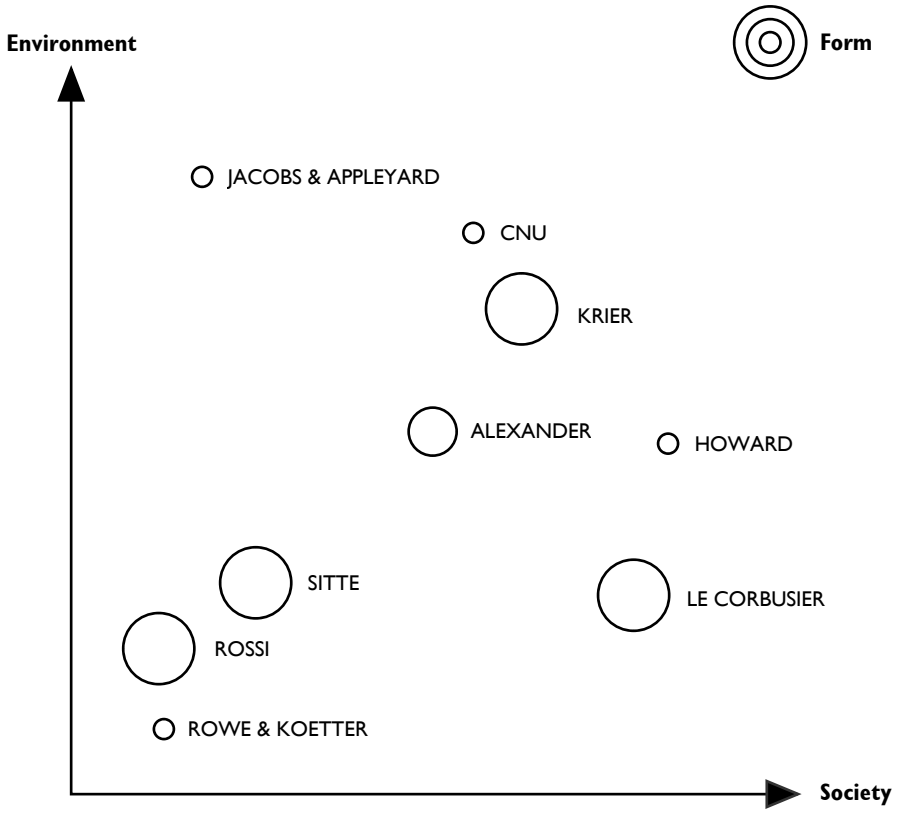


Figure 9.1
Distribution of normative theories of urban design with respect to different aspects of urban design. The figure is tentative as it is not based on objective criteria but on the author's personal interpretation of the theories in question.

radical the critique, the more utopian the theory, as is the case for Howard and Le Corbusier. This is also true for Krier and Alexander, although social critique may not be the most dominant feature of their theories.

The formal theories of urban design are generally narrow (and intentionally so) in the sense that they practically only deal with the issue of form. Most of the theories in this category are postmodern. As such, they are critical not only of the formal language of modernism, but also of its universal approach to urban design as well as the modernist notion of 'form follows function'. Most radically, Rossi explicitly champions a narrow approach in his aim to define architecture as an autonomous phenomenon by setting up architecture itself as the measure of architecture.

Between the societal theories of urban design dealing mainly with urban design on the large scale, and the formal theories of urban design dealing with the concrete appearance of the built environment, stands the environmental theories of urban design which deal with the quality of built space as a place to live. As quality of life is contingent upon the organization of society, some of the environmental theories of urban design are also – to some extent – dealing with societal aspects. The theorists in this category deal only little with formal aspects of urban design *per se*, with the notable exception of Krier.

An important feature which is shared by all the theories, is that they take a specific stance towards the aspects of urban design which they cover. Hence, while some

theories may cover the same aspects of urban design, it does not mean that they necessarily share the same approach. Their normative stance, or *how* they deal with the different aspects, in other words, varies.

The theories of Howard and Le Corbusier for instance, are similar with respect to their interest in urban design as a means of organizing society in space. Yet their social visions and the measures they devise are as different as can be. Likewise, both Rossi and Rowe & Koetter are exclusively dealing with form for form's sake, but whereas Rossi sees the city as a unified whole and seeks to distill the essence of architecture, Rowe & Koetter read the city as a palimpsest and are fascinated by the collage nature of urban space, resulting from changing approaches to urban design through history.

In the cases of the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans, urban design was regarded primarily as an aesthetically and visually oriented matter, thus placing them within the formal paradigm of urban design. The ambition of the Skejbygård Plan of deconstructing the traditional notion of the suburb is aimed solely at urban form *per se*. Its play with different suburban building typologies in order to create new types of spaces includes no concern for the environmental or social aspects of urban form. While aspects of urban ecology and crime prevention were also part of the plan, they were not integrated into the urban design. On the contrary, the author of the urban design scheme expressed explicit disregard for these concerns.

Although the overall layout of the Seden Syd Plan was inspired by Howard's concept of the Garden City, foreseeing a local neighborhood center with public and private services, the urban design ambition of the plan was primarily to establish the visual appearance of a Garden City. In relative terms, the focus on the visual qualities of the urban design was enhanced by the fact that the idea of a neighborhood center was unfeasible and thus never implemented. The Seden Syd Plan expressed a major concern for traffic safety which translated into a system of separate pathways and the implementation of numerous little roundabouts in order to slow down the speed of cars. These elements, however, did not support the overall urban design intentions, and in some instances the roundabouts even turned out an obstacle to the practical realization of the intended urban form.

The focus on formal and aesthetic aspects of urban form of the two local plans had implications for the process of their implementation. Their shared focus on build form *per se* meant that they were conceptualized as total designs, and therefore, the only meaningful way of formulating them was by means of a masterplan. Contrary to what is normally the case for local plans, the masterplan (illustration map), in both cases, became the most important planning instrument of the local plan.

However, as public planning instruments, local plans are designed to suit the decision environment approach to the process of urban design. Thus, the natural mode of local plans is what Lang (1996) calls 'all-of-a-piece' urban design. In general, the idea of local plans is to specify loose design criteria, either as design prescriptions or as performance criteria, rather than to specify the actual design. When put to their proper use, the illustration maps of local plans therefore merely illustrate how the plan *may* be implemented, not how it *should* be implemented, while the plan's design criteria are conveyed by means of text and diagrams.

This schism of trying to conduct a total design approach to urban design by means of the public planning instrument of a local plan in the cases of the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans was bound to cause problems. As both of the plans were first-order designs, the site layouts of individual developments had to be in absolute compliance with the masterplan. The planners who managed the plans therefore had a hard time arguing with the architects of individual developments whenever they preferred different solutions. Furthermore, as the designs were the discrete creations of the authors of the plans, the planners lacked objective arguments for why the prescriptions of the plans had to be followed. This led to alienation on behalf of the consulting architects, and – in the Skejbygård case – also of the local politicians.

By the total design approach, control over the urban development process is essential. In none of the cases did the City Planning Office have the power to fully control the urban development process, and therefore, certain elements of the plans had to be given up. In the Skejbygård case, the fact that no development took place within the first two years set the City Planning Office under political pressure to accept development proposals with deviating site layouts. And in the Seden Syd area, the lack of demand for 'special houses' on small lots forced the City Planning Office to redesign the 'English Garden City' area to cater for standard houses.

While the adoption of the total design approach in both cases was based on the wish for first-order design, it was applied by means of local plans, the natural mode of which is second-order design. As the designs were carried out in a black-box manner, the reasoning behind the designs remained undisclosed. Therefore, judging the quality of the designs was a professional matter, as when the Aarhus City Council member had to ask head of the planning office whether the Skejbygård Plan was a good plan.

The total design approach cut short the strategic potential and flexibility of the public planning approach of the local plans. But as the City planning offices lacked sufficient control of the urban development process, they were unable to fully carry out their intentions. While the total design approach is unresponsive to the interests of other actors of the urban development process and the public planning approach has little potential for first-order design, both of these qualities might have been catered for by a participatory approach, involving the actors of the urban development process at the level of goals formulation.

Notwithstanding that this would most likely have implied quite different design values, it would also have required a quite different organizational structure, a different form of involvement of the other actors of the urban development process, as well as different skills on behalf of the professionals involved. Whether this would at all have been possible within the concrete contexts of the two cases, however, is quite a different matter.

Issues of Urban Planning

While urban design is concerned primarily with the form of urban space, regardless of whether the aim is to achieve societal, formal, or environmental ends, urban planning is more concerned with the spatial distribution of uses and the provision of services,

or, in the words of Davidoff, with the question of 'who gets what, when, where, why and how' (1973, p. 292). Hence, urban planning is oriented towards social issues, as well as the question of power. And as such, urban planning – like urban design – is inherently normative, as it must always confront the question of *why to plan*.

Most planning theory, however, deals with the question of *how to plan*, or different planning styles, thus masking the question of normativity in planning. But as all planning styles are means to certain ends, normativity is always present, whether implicitly or explicitly. So, when Hudson (1979) argues for a pluralist application of different planning styles, depending on the planning task at hand, this is not as innocent as it may seem. What planning does, essentially, depends on how it is carried out.

As urban planning is concerned with social issues and power, it is inherently political. In this thesis, different approaches to planning have therefore been discussed with regard to their political stance, as either system-maintaining, system-changing, or system-transforming. While system-maintaining approaches to planning are conservative in nature, system-transforming approaches are radical. Between the two, system-changing approaches are in favor of gradual change.

While the system-maintaining theories of urban planning are generally not conscious – or reflective – about their own, embedded normativity, the system-transforming theories are very explicit on the issue of normativity, as they take a very clear standing in favor of the groups which are marginalized by established planning. The system-changing theories of urban planning, on the other hand, are equally explicit about not defining a normative base, as this should be constituted through the planning process. As such, the normativity of the latter is a meta-normativity, as the issue of concern is *how* the normative base should be constituted, rather than *what* it should be.

The primary aim of both the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans was to create distinct urban form. In their focus on 'pure' urban design issues, they were largely negligent of distributional issues, as well as the question of who would benefit from the plans, apart from a vaguely defined wish for social integration through different types of housing.

Apart from the shared focus on formal aspects of urban design, there may be some other reasons for that. As the most detailed level of planning within the hierarchy of the Danish planning system, local plans must comply with planning at higher levels. Distributional issues, such as the provision of services and the distribution and density of different uses, are planned on the level of the municipal plan. In this concern, the purpose of local plans is to plan the detailed allocation in space of the services and uses which are prescribed by the municipal plan.

As greenfield developments in areas of no particular natural beauty, the two plans were not as contested as plans for other types of areas might be. Plans for inner city areas, redevelopment or regeneration areas, or areas of natural beauty, are potentially subject to more conflicting interests, and are therefore much more likely to be contested.

But despite the relatively peaceful setting of the two plans, they too had their share of rationality conflicts. As instances of public planning, both plans were subject to

interests and rationales outside their own paradigm of urban design. These interests and rationales were represented not only by external actors such as developers and landowners, but also by internal actors within the City administration, such as traffic planners, the City Real Estate and Subsidized Housing offices, and public works.

In the case of the Skejbygård Plan, the author of the urban design scheme was explicitly disregardful of other planning rationales. As irrationality *per se* was considered a quality by the author of the plan, it even became an end in itself for him to make the plan collapse – to deconstruct it – in order to make it render irrational. This negligence of other rationales however, was countered by skepticism on behalf of the urban planners within the City administration towards the concept of architectural deconstruction.

In the case of the Seden Syd Plan, the major internal conflict spelled out between the City Planning Office and the City Real Estate Office on the issue of the distribution of different types of housing within the plan. In order to pursue the formal intentions of the plan, the City Planning Office wanted subsidized housing, which is typically denser than ownership housing, to be located in the central part of the planning area, while ownership housing, in the form of detached single family houses, should be located on the fringes of the area. This distribution however, was unfortunate in the view of the City Real Estate Office, as it would make plots for ownership housing less marketable.

In the case of both the Skejbygård and the Seden Syd plans, the relation between the intentions of the plan and the level of City politics also represents an area of conflicting rationales. In the case of the Skejbygård Plan, neither the aspect of urban ecology nor the ambition to achieve high quality architecture enjoyed the necessary political support. The urban ecology measures therefore, were not implemented to the intended extent, and in more cases, the architectural ambition did not correspond with the economic reality of individual development projects. The local politicians also, like the City planners and the consulting architects, had difficulty understanding the concept of architectural deconstruction, potentially jeopardizing the whole plan; when confronted with hard, quantitative arguments it is hard to defend the realization of a plan based on a formal concept which one does not grasp.

In Seden Syd, the planning efforts seemed to be subject to instances of overruling by the political level. While the local plan was still in preparation, a housing company submitted a development proposal which did not comply with the urban design intentions of the local plan. Nonetheless, the proposal was incorporated into the plan, skewing the structural idea of the urban design. Although it is unclear how this could happen – formally, no actual development activity may commence until after the local plan has been adopted – it is not just unlikely to have pleased the planners to have their efforts intercepted in this way. It also undermines planning as a tool for democratic development.

In relation to the rationales of the external actors of the urban development process, the two plans were problematic at two scales. At the large scale, both plans were based on a wish – albeit vaguely formulated – for social integration. This wish was translated into the idea of a fine-grain mixing of different types of housing. This did not work in practice however, as neither private home-buyers nor private housing

developers wanted to invest in the areas. Not only did the proximity to social housing represented a barrier, but neither the quality of the landscape, nor the regional setting of the areas appealed to these groups. And the anticipated quality of the urban design of the areas was not enough to outweigh these factors.

At the small scale, the formal aspects of the plans often conflicted with developer concerns for quality of use and rational building layouts. The combination of odd plot shapes and strict guidelines for the layout of buildings often turned it into a tedious process to make the design of individual developments comply with the urban design guidelines of both the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans. In addition, several architects and developers felt that formal and aesthetic concerns were given too much preference by the City planners over concerns such as the social and environmental qualities of buildings and open spaces.

Issues of the City

Urban theory deals with the relation between space and the social at the scale of the city. Insofar that normative theories of urban design and planning deal with social aspects, they therefore enter the realm of urban theory. They may do so more or less explicitly and in more or less reflected ways. A prominent example of how normative urban theory has shaped urban design and planning thinking, is the way the ideas of Lewis Mumford has influenced much of 20th century urban design and planning. But in other cases – and particularly for urban design theorists – the relation between normative theories of urban planning, and particularly of urban design, and urban theory is less obvious. Nonetheless, a view of normative urban theory is fundamental to the understanding of normativity in urban design and planning, in theory as in practice.

Like urban design and planning theory, urban theory may deal with its object at different scales. At the one end of the scale, Neo-Marxist urban theory may almost lose sight of the city as well as the individual, dealing with class struggle and the production of space at the regional or higher levels. And at the other end of the scale, theorists like Sennett and Lefebvre focus on lived space and the individual in their interest of the socio-psychological and everyday life aspects of the socio-spatial relation.

Regardless of the scale of inquiry, different urban theorists may evaluate what they see differently, and prescribe different remedies for what they identify as problems. A theorist like Wirth of the Chicago School does not take issue with the overall mode of production, capitalism, but is concerned about the negative effects of urbanism as a way of life, which he identifies as a result of living in big cities. This 'ecological' view, on the other hand, is criticized by the Neo-Marxists who argue that modernity and the modern city cannot be analyzed and understood meaningfully outside the context of the capitalist mode of production, of which they are critical.

Sennett and Lefebvre are also critical of the modern city, although for different reasons. Sennett is critical of the social and functional segregation within the modern city because it fosters alienation, although he identifies the process of segregation as a self-imposed means to escape the very disorder which he identifies as a conditional to a vital, eventful and progressive urban life. But while Sennett does not take explicit

issue with the relation between the capitalist mode of production and the production of space, Lefebvre is quite clear on this matter.

To him, the crucial point is the transition from use value to exchange value which industrialism imposed on the city. Although he is in many ways in favor of the pre-industrial city, he is aware that zoning and segregation are inescapable consequences of the fragmentary approach to the city, promoted by modernist planning, which, in turn, is a precondition for the rational organization of production. This awareness is shared by Harvey, who focusses on the distribution and organization of uses in space as a product of the economic logic of capitalist society. In order to stay competitive, production and exchange must be continuously reorganized. And therefore, capital accumulation and urbanization as the creation of a rational landscape for production, exchange and consumption, inevitably goes hand in hand.

Despite their differences in scale and focus, as well as in their normative stance, the different theories generally agree on one point: The organization of urban space and social organization are mutually contingent. From this it follows that the modern city is fundamentally different from the pre-modern, spatially as well as socially. The former observation has obvious implications for the viability of 'pure' theories of urban design which focus solely on the formal aspects of urban design. The latter has implications for the viability of those theories of urban design which advocate a return to the formal qualities of the pre-modern city.

The Skejbygård Plan accepted the capitalist mode of suburban development in the form of different suburban types, but wanted to reorganize it for artistic reasons, as expressed by the concept of the 'catalogue of suburbanism'. Yet, it failed to acknowledge that certain combinations of types such as the fine-grain mix of high-density/low-rise housing and detached housing, did not appeal to developers. And as the plan did not incorporate special incentives to promote the type, it failed to develop.

The urban ecology measures of the Skejbygård Plan express a wish for societal change with respect to environmental issues pertaining to urban development. Apart from the fact that the urban ecology measures were experimental and local, as they only applied to the Skejbygård area, they lacked the necessary political backing in order to be fully implemented. Furthermore, it is questionable whether planning is an appropriate means for implementing urban ecology measures, compare to other forms of public intervention, such as taxation, subsidization or legislation.

In the outset, the Seden Syd Plan was based on a strong critique of the capitalist mode of suburban development, not only in its detest for standard housing, but most notably in its proposed neighborhood center with shops and services. While standard houses were primarily detested for aesthetic reasons, the neighborhood center expressed a vision of good urban life at the neighborhood level. But just as the plan was unable to counter standard housing development, it was equally unable to foster the development of the neighborhood center.

In the Seden Syd area as in the Skejbygård area, whenever planning goals were at odds with the capitalist mode of suburban development – regardless of whether these goals were aesthetically or socially motivated – it proved incapable of reaching the goals by means of plans alone. This does not mean that urban design and planning

should generally refrain from visions which are critical of the status quo. But the implications of formulating critical visions must be carefully assessed, and the proper means to carry them out must be at hand. Otherwise, urban design and planning turn into wishful thinking.

Just as important it is to assess the implications of societal critique in urban design and whether urban design is a proper means to address such implications, critique must be founded on the best possible understanding of the current processes of the city. Otherwise societal critique may not only miss the target, but relevant points of criticism may not even be identified.

The process of globalization is generally associated with abstract economic and technological developments on the global scale, but it also assumes concrete form on the local scale. Changed production and organizational forms have led to increased migration and urbanization which, in turn, has led to changes in urban culture and social life. Society has become increasingly polycultural and different social groups engage in a territorial battle over the symbolic and use value of urban space. This results in increased polarization and the formation of 'dual cities'.

The process of aestheticization is a result of the increased commodification of space. As cities become objects of consumption, the aesthetics of places become dissociated from their content. This process may take on the form of either preservation, historicization, gentrification or Disneyfication. In suburban areas, housing enclaves, business parks, shopping malls and theme parks are subject to thematic profiling, in order to target specific segments of the market.

The post-Fordist economy's relation to space is nodal and therefore different from that of the Fordist economy which was more dependent on a contiguous organization of space. This has prompted a process of segregation, economically and socially, which has led to an increased division and fragmentation of urban space and to loss of social diversity. Enabled by the technological capacity for different forms of spatial bypass, some of the results of this process is the creation of secluded spaces in the form of both voluntary and involuntary ghettos.

In parallel with these developments, the process of everyday life has experienced an increased separation of living and dwelling. With the disappearance of local institutions, the closing of local shops, and the general trend towards centralization, the importance of local community has faded away. As people increasingly cater for their daily needs outside the areas where they live, it has become less meaningful to speak of local communities in the anthropological sense. Rather, people seem to have different lifestyle domains which do not necessarily overlap spatially with the local areas in which they live.

The processes of the city are general and may therefore apply to different extent and take different forms in different locales. Whether and how these processes may apply to the Skejbygård and Seden Syd cases must be evaluated in the context of the two cities which they are part of. It is therefore not entirely within the scope of this thesis to be more than suggestive towards this issue. One thing is clear however: None of these issues have been explicitly dealt with in relation to the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans.

It may be held that dealing with the processes of the city is more appropriate at

the level of municipal planning, as it deals with planning issues at the overall scale of the city. But to the extent that the processes of the city are taken into consideration, such considerations must spill into the level of local planning as it is the only level of planning which deals with the creation of concrete urban form.

Although the implications of the processes of the city were not reflected in the local plans, they may seem to have had an impact on the plans in a number of ways. In the case of the Seden Syd Plan, the idea of the neighborhood center did not meet the localization needs of the intended services and functions, and might not have responded to the everyday life preferences of the residents. In both of the cases, private housing did not develop to the extent and in the form that it was intended. While this may, in part, be ascribed to a latent fear of mixing with the low-income residents of public housing, it may also be ascribed to a misfit between the aesthetic preferences of private developers and the aesthetic programs of the two local plans.

The different realms of theorization summarized above all pertain to the practice of urban design. Yet, the role they play in urban design in practice may vary significantly. Different practitioners have each their training background and professional outlook, and the institutional and political setting for the practice of urban design may vary from place to place. Thus, the emphasis which may be put on the different normative aspects of urban design, planning and the city which are dealt with in theory, let alone the actual normative stances which are taken towards them, is very situational. And the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans were no exceptions in this regard.

LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY AND ITS FINDINGS

The case study of this thesis has investigated urban design in the context of two local plans for greenfield development on the perimeter of two medium size Danish cities, featuring mainly housing in different forms. Urban design is carried out in many other ways and contexts, which may give rise to different considerations about the normativity and process of urban design, and spread light over other issues than the ones which have been dealt with in this study.

For instance, urban design in the context of urban renewal, of uses other than housing, or within other institutional frameworks than public planning are likely to feature conflicts of rationality, power and interest which are different from those of the two cases of this thesis. In particular the issue of political values in planning, or the question of whom the outcome of urban design should benefit, as discussed in chapter 4, has not been relevant in the two cases, as the two areas were not contested in this regard.

The theoretical study has been carried out as an 'in-breadth', rather than an in-depth investigation of the fields of urban design, planning, and urban theory. The obvious limitation to this approach is that it is less thorough in its investigation of each field. Therefore, there is a risk that important aspects have been overlooked, or that issues have been poorly understood because of the limited context in which they have been discussed.

Yet, the aim of this thesis has not been to quantify all possible aspects of the normativity and process of urban design, planning, and the city, but rather to qualify

the hypothesis that the often poor performance of urban design may be ascribed to deficiencies within the theory and practice of urban design itself. And although there may be more ways in which to qualify the hypothesis than the ones I have provided in this thesis, I hope that the reader will agree that I have provided sufficient arguments to substantiate it.

This does not mean however, that the hypothesis could not have been supported with arguments which this thesis does not provide. And the thesis might well be further articulated on two points. First, all the normative theories of urban design treated in this thesis take a specific stance towards different aspects of urban design which they deal with. Yet, normative theories of urban design may be content with trying to define what can meaningfully be defined as the object of urban design. Essentially, this is what Lynch (1981) is aiming at in his Theory of Good City Form.

In brief, what Lynch is aiming at, is to define some general 'performance *dimensions*' for the quality of urban form, rather than to set 'performance *standards*' (ibid., p. 111, emphasis in original), as most of the normative theories of urban design treated in this thesis do.[1] Lynch's approach is argumentative, as he makes explicit the characteristics which performance dimensions should have, in order to be useful guides for urban design.

Interestingly enough, in relation to the interdisciplinary approach of this thesis, Lynch not only defines five such basic performance dimensions for urban design (vitality, sense, fit, access, and control – some of which, not surprisingly, overlap with the aspects of society, form, and environment, used in this thesis). He also defines two meta-criteria, efficiency and justice, thus adding traditional aspects of planning to what is generally considered aspects of urban design. A discussion of Lynch's or similar approaches to the question of normativity in urban design would provide a relevant supplement to the way the issue has been treated in this thesis.

Second, although planning theory has a lot to offer on the issue of process, as hinted in chapter 4, this thesis has only dealt with planning theory in relation to the issue of normativity. Although urban design and planning theory overlap on the issue of process, and the issue therefore has been dealt with to some extent in chapter 7, it has been subject to much broader theorization within planning theory.

The issue of process has been dealt with by Habermasian planning theorists like Forester and Healey, who focus on the communicative aspects of the process of planning. In opposition to this strand, Flyvbjerg adopts a Foucaultian angle in his focus on issues of rationality and power. A third approach to the issue of process is offered by Schön, in his practice-based development of the notion of reflection-in-action, building on experience, as opposed to technical-rational conceptions of how practice is guided solely by predefined rules and procedures. A discussion of these and other approaches to the question of process would likewise provide a relevant supplement to the arguments of this thesis.

[1] A noteworthy exception is Jacobs & Appleyard's tentative urban design manifesto. Appleyard has studied and worked with Lynch, and Jacobs & Appleyard's approach bears some resemblance with Lynch's, although they still take a normative stance towards the aspects of urban design which they deal with.

CONCLUSION

If the ambition of urban design is to create distinct urban form, it is luring to have recourse to 'pure', or narrow, theories of urban design which deal with the formal

aspects of urban design. Yet, in the practice reality of urban design, concerns for environmental and social aspects are always present and must be taken into consideration. If not, attempts to achieve these other concerns are likely to hamper the concern for the formal aspects of urban design.

This does not mean that urban design practitioners must decline on ambitions to create distinct urban form. Rather, they must have the ambition to achieve more than that. It is a misconception to believe, that if other aspects must be incorporated into an urban design it will inevitably lead to less distinct urban form. On the contrary, if they are not, the practice reality of urban design will force aspects which have not been taken into consideration to be negotiated. And this is far more likely to lead to less distinct urban form.

Urban design must be based on a founding vision. But while narrow theories of urban design may constitute valuable contributions to the theoretical discourse on urban design, they do not suffice as the only basis for urban design in practice. Here, a broader perspective is necessary in order to cater for the plurality of interests which pertain to the creation of the built environment.

Regardless of whether normative theories of urban design address societal aspects, the built environment essentially represents the physical expression of society. Urban design in practice therefore has to be responsive to societal aspects, as it might otherwise lead to unanticipated results. In the case of the Seden Syd Plan, this was what happened with regard to the neighborhood center which was never implemented, as there was no economic basis for the planned services at the given location. And likewise, lack of attention towards the requirements of private investors meant that the desired social mix was unable of realization in any of the cases.

A similar case can be made for the environmental aspects of urban design. If urban designers have no concern for them, someone else probably will. And if the urban design is not responsive to them, the likely result is poorer urban design with respect to all aspects, or no urban design at all, as areas might fail to develop if the urban design is considered too restrictive.

It can be argued that formal and aesthetic aspects of urban design are a professional matter, as they belong to the realm of art which, by nature, cannot be made entirely subject to democratic decision, nor to rational reason, without loosing its artistic qualities. This is not the case for social and environmental aspects of urban design however. While urban designers may have the professional knowledge to assess the environmental or social qualities of different urban design concepts, it is not a professional matter to judge what social or environmental qualities are preferable to others, even though urban designers might well have their own personal preferences on these issues.

This raises the question of who should define the founding vision of an urban design. While it is the professional task of urban designers to formulate *how* certain ends may be reached through a particular urban design, it is not a professional task to define *what* ends should be achieved. Just as building architects get commissions from clients for building designs, urban designers, in principle, are commissioned by the general public to design the urban environment. Qualified urban designers may suggest ways to accommodate the task which are quite different from the expectations

of the 'client', and they may even suggest designs which go beyond their commission, just as building architects may do. This is all part of the professional task of urban designers. But when the client is the general public, what urban environment is desirable is essentially a political question.

The normative theories of urban design discussed in this thesis have very little to offer on this issue. Even the postmodern normative theories of urban design which are critical of modernism's formal paradigm and universal approach, seem to adopt the modernist conception of the urban designer as an omniscient professional, and the task of urban design as a purely professional matter which may be solved on behalf of the public without consulting it. The normative theories of urban design discussed in this thesis, in other words, do not provide any guidance to the political and democratic aspects of how to define the good city.

While these aspects are absent within urban design theory, they are indeed present in urban design practice. When practicing urban design it is therefore necessary to turn to other realms of theorization, in order to achieve an awareness of the question of who should define the good city and how. And in this field, normative theory of urban planning has a lot to offer.

But again, just as the definition of urban design values is not a purely professional matter, the choice of planning style and the implied scope for planning as either system maintaining, changing or transforming is not a purely professional one either. Regardless of the personal and professional preferences of urban designers and planners, they must relate to the institutional and political context in which they operate. The professional aim of the Aarhus City Planning Office to promote architecture and urban ecology measures miscarried because they did not enjoy the necessary support, neither within the City Council, nor within relevant parts of the City administration.

This does not mean that urban designers and planners should necessarily accept established planning paradigms. As well as it may be considered a professional task to introduce new ideas for urban design, it may be relevant to introduce new ways of planning. But without the necessary political and economic backing, new ideas – in urban design as in planning – easily become wishful thinking, as all that urban designers can do is to merely hope for their realization. And urban design based on hope is basically hopeless.

To the extent that socio-spatial considerations are integral to urban design in practice, it is typically at the micro-scale, in the form of considerations for built space as a living environment. This may translate into issues such as traffic safety, provision of local services and amenities, functional mix, or fine-grain social integration. Yet, if there is a mismatch between such consideration on the micro-scale and the large scale reality of society – notably the economic reality of the market as in the examples of the neighborhood center and social integration mentioned above – even the best intentions may have little chances of real success.

Urban design in practice therefore must be founded on a broad understanding of the socio-spatial relations at all scales in order to be viable. If urban design initiatives are contingent upon market forces alone, their scope is limited to what the market allows. If the scope of urban design initiatives goes beyond what the market allows,

further action is required to alleviate what may then be considered a market failure. For instance if the market fails to implement elements like urban ecology measures or high quality architecture as in the case of the Skejbygård Plan, special programs to promote these elements may be necessary. In the former case, an understanding of large-scale socio-economic relations is necessary to be able to adjust the scope for urban design to what is feasible on market terms. In the latter, it is necessary in order to identify what kind of special action is required in order to alleviate market failure.

In sum, the normative aspirations as well as the procedural approach of urban design must relate to the needs and interests of all the actors of the urban development process, to the institutional and political setting of its practice, as well as to the the different aspects and scales of the societal setting in which it operates. Therefore, urban design practice must be conceptualized as an embedded activity rather than a 'pure' activity, as an interdisciplinary and political activity, as well as an inter-scalar activity.

PERSPECTIVES

These conclusions have a number of implications for urban design research and education, for the conceptualization of urban design practice, as well as for the individual urban designer and the institutional setting within which he or she is operating.

The theoretic field of urban design as it is generally constituted today, emerged in the 1960s as a branch within architecture. To a large extent the formation of the field took place out of discontent with urban planning which since the second world-war had become increasingly occupied with the distribution of land use, services, and infrastructure, and less with the morphological quality of built space. Still today, urban design and planning often constitute separate realms, in theory and research as well as in education – even within the same institution.

While theoretically defined within architecture, urban design in practice is in many ways more related to urban planning. First, there is no clearly defined designer-client relationship. Like urban planning, urban design mostly takes place i the public realm, either within the setting of public planning offices or in collaboration between public planning offices and private consultants. The 'client' therefore, is the general public, represented by the City council.

Second, urban design is most often realized by proxy; as the actual design of buildings and open spaces is typically made by consulting architects for individual developers, whose designs, in turn, must comply with the urban design regulations. In these cases urban design is reduced to a second-order design endeavor, as it is one step away from its object. Therefore, urban design is mostly limited to conceptual design.

Finally, the process of urban design typically evolves over long spans of time. It is therefore very susceptible to changes in demand, technology, and the economy, as well as to changing architectural paradigms. The more specific urban design is about concrete form – which it is likely to be particularly within the formal approach – the more vulnerable it is. A special dilemma exists for urban design in this respect, as the

more flexible and responsive it is to change, the less distinct it is likely to be.

This discrepancy between theory and practice calls for the development of normative 'theories for practice', drawing from elements of both urban design and planning theory. The fundamentally different practice settings of architecture and urban design have implications for how urban design may be conceptualized and what it can do. Normative theories of urban design cannot meaningfully focus on what it aims to achieve – a certain quality of built space – without considering how it can be achieved. As with planning, what urban design does, depends on how it is carried out. Equally important, normative theories of urban design must consider the question of how the normative bases for urban design should be constituted – something which also has procedural implications – as it is done within normative planning theory.

The shortcomings of urban design theory also apply to urban design education. In design education – particularly within architecture and urban design – there is a strong tradition to focus on the outcome. And procedural considerations are mostly oriented towards the creative process of generating ideas and form making. In addition to this, urban design students must acquire strong conceptual skills, as urban design is more about concepts than about concrete form. Furthermore, urban design students must acquire methodological skills which are different from those of other designers because of the different practice setting of urban design. This represents a special problem, as the complexity of the practice setting of urban design is difficult to simulate in the context of education.

As the built environment represents the physical expression of society, urban design students must also acquire a basic understanding of the socio-spatial relation at all scales. Otherwise, mishaps of the kind which happened in the cases of the Skejbygård and Seden Syd plans are in risk of perpetuating. Urban theory must therefore be considered 'theory for urban design' as well as for planning.

Urban design in practice is a dual process of mediating between the ideas, views, and interests of the external actors of the urban development process, decision makers, urban designers and other professionals inside and outside the city administration, as well as of creating the actual urban design. Urban design therefore must be conceptualized not only as a design practice but also as a communicative and pedagogical practice of building consensus between, and conveying design ideas to, the actors involved.

Many of the aspects pertaining to the creation of built space lie without the professional capacity of urban designers. Although urban designers may have a basic understanding of aspects like landscaping, transportation, or social and economic issues, they must cooperate with an array of different professionals. Because urban design is but one discipline which deals with the creation of built space, it must be conceptualized as an interdisciplinary activity, based on a variety of different rationales for the creation of urban form.

The complex nature of urban design as an interdisciplinary activity which requires both communicative and design skills has implications for the professional self-understanding of urban designers. Rather than adopting the traditional role of an architect, artistically authoring urban form, urban designers must see themselves as

team-workers collaborating with others to achieve broadly defined ends. This does not mean that creativity and artistic skill are of lesser importance to the urban designer, but they must be executed as a collaborative effort, on the basis of rationales which go beyond a narrow understanding of urban design.

For the traditionally trained urban designer, the communicative and pedagogical skills required for the cooperation and mediation between peers and lay people may represent areas in which he or she is in need of professional upgrade. Because of the different professional approach which this way of conceptualizing urban design may represent, it requires open-mindedness and the capacity to adapt to new ways of working.

A collaborative and interdisciplinary approach may also have implications for the institutional setting of urban design. The traditional compartmentalized structure of City administrations by which different offices have each their area of authority may easily lead to bureaucratic conflict. This does not only leave the impression that 'the one hand does not know what the other is doing', but may even be counteractive to urban design efforts. Ways of organizing which can limit bureaucratic conflict are therefore important to the success for urban design.

The concept of planning by means of legally formalized plans such as the Danish local plans is very static. This may function well under stable societal conditions where external parameters are unlikely to change during the time of implementation, or if implementation takes place very quickly after the adoption of the plan. But in a dynamic planning environment in which the urban development process evolves over longer spans of time, they easily become too rigid and inflexible. Planning by means of static plans represent a linear planning model by which implementation is seen merely as a final step from plan to reality. This fits poorly with the challenges of a dynamic planning environment. It may therefore be relevant to develop new means of conducting urban design which are responsive to change without jeopardizing democratic control or the quality of urban design.

The practice setting of urban design is complex and interdisciplinary, and the skills and insights required to practice urban design may seem breathtaking. Therefore, urban design in practice cannot meaningfully be conceptualized as 'pure', nor as the work of a single author. On the contrary, it is a rather dirty business, involving a mess of different people. This is the challenge and the thrill of urban design.

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