The Journal of Public Space is the first, international, interdisciplinary, academic, open access journal entirely dedicated to public space. It speaks different languages and is open to embrace diversity, inconvenient dialogues and untold stories, from multidisciplinary fields and all countries, especially from those that usually do not have voice, overcoming the Western-oriented approach that is leading the current discourse.
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Founding Editors
Luisa Bravo & Mirko Guaralda

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City Spaces Architecture
QUT Queensland University of Technology
UN HABITAT FOR A BETTER URBAN FUTURE

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EDITORIAL

Our commitment to implement contents related to public space included in the New Urban Agenda adopted at the UN Habitat III conference

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On the 20th October 2016, at the United Nations Habitat III conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, held in Quito, Ecuador, the New Urban Agenda (NUA) was adopted, providing a 20-year framework on how cities should be planned and managed to best promote sustainable urbanization globally[1]. The document, as reported by Dr. Joan Clos, Secretary-General of the conference and Executive Director of the UN Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), should be seen as an extension of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, agreed by 193 Member States of the United Nations in September 2015.

After the first conference in Vancouver (1976) and the second in Istanbul (1996), the third Habitat major summit to discuss the future of cities was attended by around 36.000 people from 167 different countries.

The preparatory process, along the road to Quito, engaged mayors, local, regional and governamental authorities, civil society organizations and community groups, the private sector and hundreds of urban planners around the world. A "zero draft" of the NUA was released in May 2016, after four months of political negotiations, that subsequently produced a series of additional drafts. The final text of the NUA was agreed at the UN General Assembly in New York in September, during an extraordinary informal negotiation session that lasted for more than 30 hours.

Some important recommendations for the drafting and implementing of the New Urban Agenda came from a group of 200 high-level experts, working on 10 Policy Units related to six areas, from August 2015 to February 2016. The 10 Policy Units explored the state-of-the-art research and analysis, identifying good practice and lessons learned and developing independent policy recommendations on particular issues regarding sustainable urban development.

That preparatory process of the NUA also included an extensive series of events, regional meetings, thematic meetings and several "Urban Thinkers Campuses" for stakeholders' input. Some of them where focusing on Public Space, such as the one held in Stockholm, on 29 June – 1 July 2015, as part of the Future of Places conference, promoted by UN Habitat in collaboration with Project for Public Spaces and Ax:son Johnson Foundation[2] and the one held in Barcelona, on 4-5 April 2016[3].

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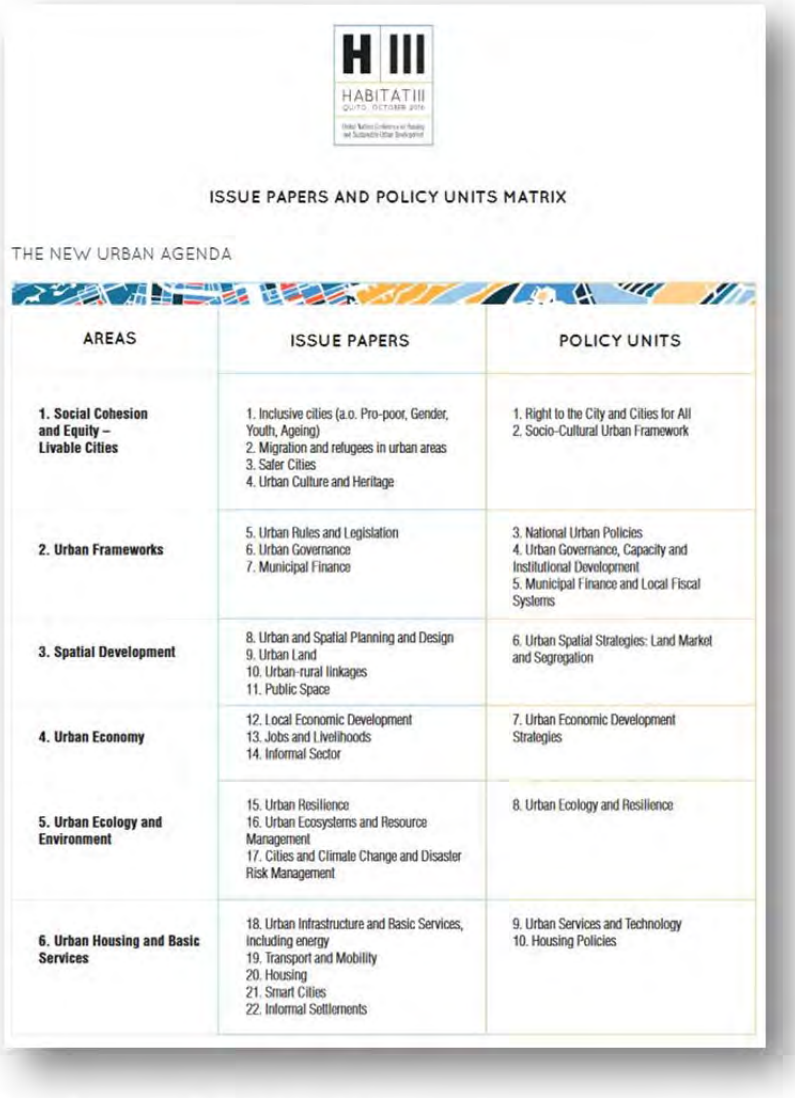
At the Habitat III conference in Quito, public space and its strategic role to create safe, inclusive, resilient and sustainable cities, according to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and particularly to SDG11[4], have been discussed by delegates from all over the world. Public space is more and more the frontier where many communities fight for their future, reclaim a civic and social role, pursue their wellbeing and seek healthy and sustainable development.



ISSUE PAPERS AND POLICY UNITS MATRIX

THE NEW URBAN AGENDA

AREAS	ISSUE PAPERS	POLICY UNITS
1. Social Cohesion and Equity – Livable Cities	1. Inclusive cities (a.o. Pro-poor, Gender, Youth, Ageing) 2. Migration and refugees in urban areas 3. Safer Cities 4. Urban Culture and Heritage	1. Right to the City and Cities for All 2. Socio-Cultural Urban Framework
2. Urban Frameworks	5. Urban Rules and Legislation 6. Urban Governance 7. Municipal Finance	3. National Urban Policies 4. Urban Governance, Capacity and Institutional Development 5. Municipal Finance and Local Fiscal Systems
3. Spatial Development	8. Urban and Spatial Planning and Design 9. Urban Land 10. Urban-rural linkages 11. Public Space	6. Urban Spatial Strategies: Land Market and Segregation
4. Urban Economy	12. Local Economic Development 13. Jobs and Livelihoods 14. Informal Sector	7. Urban Economic Development Strategies
5. Urban Ecology and Environment	15. Urban Resilience 16. Urban Ecosystems and Resource Management 17. Cities and Climate Change and Disaster Risk Management	8. Urban Ecology and Resilience
6. Urban Housing and Basic Services	18. Urban Infrastructure and Basic Services, including energy 19. Transport and Mobility 20. Housing 21. Smart Cities 22. Informal Settlements	9. Urban Services and Technology 10. Housing Policies

Fig. 1. Habitat III Issue Papers and Policy Unites Matrix.
The issue paper related to Public Space comes from the area number 3. Spatial Development, as part of Policy Unit number 6. Urban Spatial Strategies: Land Market and Segregation.
More info at: https://unhabitat.org/issue-papers-and-policy-units/

We officially launched The Journal of Public Space at the Habitat III Urban Library on the 19th October 2016, during a talk with our partners from UN Habitat Public Space Programme, Laura Petrella and Cecilia Andersson, and with our supporting partner at The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hendrik Tieben. The talk was very well received and was attended by more than 90 people. Interest in our new journal was high, many

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attendees have voiced the need of an independent, free and accessible platform to share ideas, researches, experiences and strategies to design, manage and appropriate public spaces.

Fig. 2-3-4. Pictures from the talk we gave at the Habitat III Urban Library, where we officially launched The Journal of Public Space (19th October 2016, Quito, Ecuador), together with our partners at UN Habitat (Laura Petrella and Cecilia Andersson) and at The Chinese University of Hong Kong (Hendrik Tieben).

Public space, as a topic of research, still fascinates and challenges several academics, but often bottom-up tactics by community groups are the most incredible example of how people are always passionate about their cities and their environment. What was evident in Quito, is how academia, industry and community groups would highly benefit in working together and discussing together about public spaces. Often academic research does not reach end-users because it is hard to access or simply because does not speak the language end-users understand. Industry is really active in promoting their design propositions, but an evaluation of the actual success of structured and complex public spaces is often just notional. Community groups would benefit in accessing ideas and examples to inform and foster their activism in promoting, building and developing their own public space.

Our first issue for 2017 try to address these complexities collating a series of papers covering different disciplinary domains and addressing different geographical areas.

In the Overview section, Plummer, with Geofroy and Alvaez, addresses gender issues in public spaces. Using the Caribbean as a case study, the authors explore physical spaces,

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cultural practices and their influence on human behaviours and development. Brott challenges the notion of *Star Architects* questioning if iconic projects are producing an effective improvement of the performance of cities and their public places. Lamb suggests different unstructured ways to explore public spaces and build new urban narratives.
In the Space, Society and System sections we give voice to researchers on the built environment, reporting different research projects aiming to better understand our cities, our public spaces and their ecologies. In the Viewpoint section, Day shares his personal experience with buildering, intended as a physical exploration of the affordance of our built environment. Richards share the point of view of an established practitioner about the design of cities and communities. Garau reports on the Biennial of Public Space, a major event for engagement and discussion, which takes place in Rome, at Università di Roma TRE, inviting all us to join the upcoming fourth edition on 25-27th May.
In the viewpoint section we include also a report of the presentation we gave at the Habitat III Village, Pop Up Public Space, in Parque El Ejido in Quito[5], of our cinematography and experimental activities under the name 'Urban Visions. Beyond the Ideal City', and a report of the networking event 'Stand up for Public Space!' that we coordinated. The networking event was included in the official program of the Habitat III conference, after being selected among more than 1.000 proposals received in response to a global call. 'Stand up for Public Space!' is a research project established by City Space Architecture in collaboration with the Queensland University od Technology, The Chinese University of Technology, LASE+CityUrb Ecuador and The University of Auckland[6]. Its aim is to spread awareness about the importance of public space in our cities, through the engagement of common people, sharing pictures of their favourite public spaces on social media.
As in Quito was evident that we cannot try to reduce public space to a simplified physical space, in our current issue we aim to show the variegated and different approaches to the design, research and lived experience of public spaces.

Notes

(1) http://www.huffingtonpost.com/the-conversation-global/habitat-iii-is-over-but-w_b_12632068.html
(2) https://unhabitat.org/public-space-urban-thinkers-campus-in-stockholm-kicks-off/
(3) https://www2.habitat3.org/barcelona
(4) http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/cities/
(5) https://habitat3.org/village/44-pop-up-public-space/
(6) http://www.standupforpublicspace.org/ - QUT Ethics Approval Number 1600000966

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Navigating the liminal space between childhood and manhood in the Caribbean. How are cultural spaces and physical places divided between the sexes?

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Abstract
Space is gendered. Private domestic space is classically considered to be a woman's domain while public space is masculine. Of course, men are found in private spaces and women in public, but ownership is a reference to those who typically exercise day-to-day control of that space. It should be remembered, however, that women frequently act as proxies for men in private spaces too; in much of the world, domestic space is inherited by men who are traditionally considered heads-of-the-household. To complicate matters, masculinity comes in many forms and to reconcile these wide variations with narrow, widely-held stereotypes, Connell introduced the term *hegemonic masculinity*. We take this term as referring to idealised cultural stereotypes related to orthodox masculinity, which provide virtual benchmarks for manhood but which exist nowhere in their absolute form. Nevertheless, these stereotypes serve to map out male domains and they can hence also serve to exclude women, thus making space gendered. We further argue that a potent means of mapping gender domains is through taboos: these taboos designate physical places and cultural spaces that men should *not be associated with* and doing so can pose grave risks to a reputation and sometimes result in violent retribution. We explore how masculine obligations and taboos construct boundaries between both male and female domains (intergender divides) and create distance between the domains of 'real' men and males who fail to measure up (intragender divides). In particular, we will focus on how the passage to manhood is both deeply affected by, and translates into the everyday character, praxis and ownership of public space with particular reference to manhood in the Caribbean.

Keywords: liminal space; childhood; manhood; Caribbean

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Introduction

Spatial metaphors loom large in gender. Take for example terms such as: the gender 'divide', the 'opposite' sex, the masculine 'domain', 'arenas' of masculinity, 'marginalisation' of gender transgression, the 'battleground' for equality 'between' the sexes, and the need to 'create space' for women in the workforce. But spatial considerations are more than just metaphorical when it comes to gender - gender is very much a territorial phenomenon that makes and shapes our social world. At the root of this territorial imperative is a surprisingly simple construct: gender is based on a mutually exclusive binary between masculine and feminine. That is to say for a characteristic to be considered masculine it cannot simultaneously be feminine, at least not in any conventional understanding of gender. As we will show, this mutually exclusive divide profoundly influences the social conventions and rules concerning the distribution and use of space.

Masculinity?

Unlike biological sex, masculinity is widely acknowledged to be socially constructed and studies have shown that the rules of gender can change, sometimes radically, depending on (i) social context, (ii) cultural differences, and (iii) the passage of time (Gilmore, 1990; Butler, 1999; Zevallos, 2014). Thus, while masculinity is experienced as solid, fixed and seemingly pre-ordained, there is considerable evidence that this stability is a cultural 'illusion' and under the right circumstances, gender rules can be temporarily suspended and/or permanently shifted. Some researchers (Joyce, 2013; Coney, 2015; Booker, 2016) refer to this variability as the 'fluidity' of gender, a phenomenon that has implications for gendered space: as we will see in our discussion of modern schools, custody of space can shift to become common-ground for both sexes (literally no man's land), and in some cases gendered space can 'change hands', for example, professional spaces that were previously considered to be a male domain but are now increasingly dominated by women.

Related to gender fluidity are the many ways that masculinity is enacted in everyday life. These variations depend, for example, on upbringing, cultural context, social class, peer pressure, personal disposition and sexual orientation. For this reason, Connell (1995) argues that it is more accurate to refer to 'masculinities' in the plural rather than using the singular term 'masculinity'. This recognition, that there are many versions of masculinity that can vary by everyday context, cultural difference and across different historical periods, creates a definitional challenge for the term masculinity as it does for gender theory as a whole. In the face of such wide variability, the question is: what actually is 'masculinity'? One way to resolve this conundrum is to propose some universal qualities that transcend this wide variability. An arguably better approach proposed by Connell is the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell, 1995), which rather than postulating universal qualities, amounts to a set of aspirational reference points, which are never enacted in absolute terms but which provide benchmarks relating to dominant masculinity against which, men can be measured (Connell, 1995). This approach leaves the possibility open that 'dominant masculinity' can vary in different contexts.

On the other hand, far from rampant fluidity, the gender divide gains considerable inertia from heavy social pressures that obligate us to declare our affiliation with one sex or the other, while simultaneously maintaining a respectable distance from the social territory of

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the opposite sex. This distance arises by means of deep taboos (such as misogyny and homophobia) that demarcate no-go zones, which if transgressed can place a masculine reputation at risk and can sometimes provoke extreme social sanctions, including murder (Plummer, 2005, 2014). Thus, masculinity can be thought of as being a highly variable plural set of masculinities caught in the space between quixotic social expectations and dangerous prohibitions. On one side, are the unrealistic expectations of hegemonic masculinity while, on the other, masculinities are negatively defined by a raft of taboos which designate no-go zones that are off limits for 'real men'. In fact, we would argue that it is the taboos themselves that define hegemonic benchmarks by virtue of being in binary opposition to them: everything a 'real man' *should not do or be* points to what men *should* do or be. As discussed elsewhere, these taboos mark powerful social boundaries that are enforced by stigma, shame, loss-of-face and violence (Plummer, 2005, 2014). These boundaries separate men from women through various taboos related to misogyny (inter-gender separation) and they separate 'real men' from men who fail to 'measure up' through taboos related to homophobia (intra-gender separation). Thus, gender has spatial metaphors at its core but these have very real consequences.

Masculinity as public performance

Rather than being a solitary pursuit, masculinity is a collective social enterprise. Manhood is shared with audiences in a way that has many parallels to a stage performance (Butler, 1990). The idea of a stage is useful to keep in mind when we examine the way that masculinities occupy and use public space, but first, let us examine the purpose of the performance and for whom that performance is staged.

First and foremost, gender is a system of social organisation. Gender gains meaning as an organisational code only when it is shared and thereby establishes a common set of social rules. Moreover, as discussed above, masculinity has multiple variants, so repeatedly sharing and performing masculinity has the effect of emphasising and embedding certain dominant gender conventions. Gender performance in everyday life has a number of effects: it makes a public gesture of belonging to a particular sex; it simultaneously affirms separation and distance from the 'opposite' sex both through what that performance valorises and what it deprecates; and it is through these performances that gender boundaries (both inter- and intra-gender) are defined, rehearsed and publicly showcased. Central to this shared set of codes is masculine reputation: a convincing masculine performance can secure a man's reputation while a poor performance (in bed or out) can ruin a man. Costume and props are also fundamental to a convincing performance: stature and physical development help to carry the role off; most clothing styles exhibit pronounced gender dichotomies; features such as the sweat and smell of men and especially the noise generated by men in groups can produce the effect of annexing the space around them; and the accessories they don, whether beer, bling or scars are worn like masculine badges of honour.

But if masculinity is a performance, then who is the intended audience? In one sense the performance is for society-at-large, given that codes of masculine obligation and taboo are being enacted in order to gain social approval and to shore up one's reputation. In another sense the audience is more immediate. While it is reasonable to assume that the primary audience for masculine performance is the opposite sex, arguably an equal, if not more important audience is his male peers. For a young man, the peer group is central to

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his successful passage from childhood to manhood (Mac an Ghaill, 1994). The group provides a forum for rehearsing masculinities, scrutinising his performance, providing critical feedback and the group will police and, if necessary, enforce the standards of masculinity that they revere.

The passage to manhood

The key gendered space that needs unpacking is a liminal one. This space is both a vehicle and a passage between two worlds: specifically, the passage between the worlds of childhood and manhood. In modern physical terms, this transformative space is largely located in and around the school ground, but in the past things were different.

Many, probably all, traditional societies attached high importance to the achievement of manhood. Yet, as we noted earlier, masculinity can be fluid, which may well explain why so many cultures developed elaborate rules and practices governing this transition. These arrangements have been referred to as 'rites of passage' (Van Gennep, 1960: ix, 67). These rites served to ensure that the passage was successful and that a socially mandated version of manhood was adopted. Van Gennep divided passage into 3 phases: *separation* from the former self; *transition* in a liminal state; and *incorporation* into a new status. While these rituals varied widely, several characteristics were frequently present. First, rather than taking place in full public view, many of the rites were *secretive* and involved the seclusion of the boys undergoing transition. In keeping with the ambivalent, liminal nature of the passage and depending on your gendered perspective these ritualised spaces could either be considered private because women were excluded or public because they constituted important collective men's business. Second, these rites usually involved transitioning as a member of a group of *peers* who were all becoming men at the same time. Third, the rites were orchestrated and supervised by senior men in the community, in what we will call *vertical mentoring*; that is to say, mentoring by the generation above (DuBois & Karcher, 2005). Fourth, it was not uncommon for the rites to require boys to complete a *ritualised challenge* to publicly 'prove' their manhood. On occasion, this challenge could be difficult, painful and/or dangerous (Crichlow, 2004).

The traditional rites of passage outlined above, when contrasted with modern adolescence, can be useful for understanding masculinities in the Caribbean – an area in which we have researched (Plummer, McLean, Simpson, 2008; Plummer, 2009; Plummer & Geofroy, 2010; Plummer, 2013). In Anglophone Caribbean countries, there is clear and sustained evidence of shifting gender arrangements, a shift that has transpired over several decades. This shift is particularly apparent in the education sector where there has been a steady decline in school completion by boys and a concurrent growth in the proportion of girls graduating (Chevannes, 1999). This effect is highly evident in tertiary education too. The University of the West Indies, which has major campuses in Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and minor campuses in many other regional countries, has experienced a consistent decline in enrolment and completion by young men over the last few decades (Figueroa 2004, 141; Reddock, 2004; UWI, 2010). Some researchers refer to this process as the 'feminisation' of schooling (Haywood, Popoviciu, Mac An Ghail, 2005), however this terminology has unfortunate connotations in that it can be taken to imply that women and girls are to blame for boys' failures and devalues the important progress made in education by Caribbean women (Miller, 1986). In our opinion, a more constructive descriptor is the 'de-masculinisation' of schooling (Arnot & Mac an Ghaill,

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2005). A key feature of this phenomenon is that boys are walking away from education, as are men from teaching. We argue that this shift can be traced to changes in the passage to manhood in these countries (and for that matter similar trends elsewhere).

With increasing development and growing populations in parts of the Caribbean, people's lives are being transformed. Life in villages and small communities is being overtaken; by urbanisation, lengthy and congested commuting, and economic imperatives that require both men and women to work. While there is nothing inherently wrong with these changes, they do have implications for how boys undertake their journey to manhood, primarily because of reduced opportunities to benefit from role models and vertical mentoring. Despite widespread social change, including in gender arrangements, achieving manhood is as important as it ever was for boys. It remains very difficult, if not impossible, for young people to grow-up 'gender neutral' or to transition to become a member of the opposite sex and for all intents and purposes, becoming a man is compulsory (Plummer, 2014). Yet, becoming a man is a complex process and as we have seen this seemingly natural process is by no means automatic. In Gilmore's words (1990: 25), '*Boys have to be encouraged, sometimes actually forced, by social sanctions to undertake efforts toward a culturally defined manhood, which by themselves they might not do*.'

So, with the decline of traditional forms of rites of passage, the question then arises: how do boys navigate their way to manhood now? We believe part of the answer lies in the school ground. With the rise of modern education, the ritual space previously occupied by traditional rites of passage was subsumed into the school years. We argue that van Gennep's three stage process of separation, transition and incorporation has parallels in *separation* on the first day at school, a somewhat protracted *transition* in the company of peers during the school years, and subsequent *incorporation* into the adult world on completion of schooling (Plummer & Geofroy, 2010). Thus, with the rise of modern education, the school became a primary site for establishing masculine credentials and transitioning to adulthood (Messerschmidt, 1994, Pascoe, 2007). However, these developments did not end here. Subsequent social changes have had further major impacts on the journey to modern manhood. First, schooling ceased to be regarded as the sole privilege of boys and second, opportunities for men from older generations to mentor boys in the transition to manhood were curtailed (for example, through work pressures, fewer male teachers and moral panic about men leading youth groups; see also Lewis, 2008). As schooling evolved, education was opened up to girls (as, of course, it should be) and the classroom became a place of equal opportunity.

An unanticipated consequence of these changes was that academic prowess started to lose its utility as a way for boys to establish their masculine credentials – the classroom no longer offered a substitute space for the modern rites of passage. Yet, as we noted, achieving manhood continues to be as important as ever, and boys needed new ways to navigate this difficult transition. Furthermore, if the adult world was not going to provide the means, boys increasingly had to take matters into their own hands. With growing equality in educational opportunities, the primary remaining means of differentiating between the sexes was physical development. The focus shifted to physical differences and physical performance in what has elsewhere been called a 'retreat to the body' (Plummer, McLean, Simpson, 2008; Plummer, 2013, 2016). The utility of the classroom declined, but the school ground continued to be fairly sex-segregated and physical spaces assumed growing importance for rites relating to manhood. Relocation of the rites to the

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school ground and the reduced involvement of older men shifted the emphasis away from vertical mentoring and the resulting vacuum became occupied by peer groups and 'horizontal mentoring' (Plummer & Geofroy, 2010: 14; see also Lewis, 2008).

The growing importance of peer-based (horizontal) mentoring and the 'retreat to the body' as a means of securing gender identity through more certain physical means, while effective in many cases, was not without problems. First, the prevailing standards of masculinity became those of peers, not necessarily those of the external world and of older, more experienced and hopefully wiser men. Second, the focus on physicality inevitably gave precedence to physical power, which enhanced the authority and status of stronger and more aggressive peers – a process referred to elsewhere as the 'rise of hard masculinity' (Plummer, McLean & Simpson, 2008: 9; Plummer, 2010). These changes left other members of the school community subject to the laws of the adolescent 'jungle' and had the potential to be very disruptive. At the extreme, peer groups themselves promulgated the prevailing masculine codes, which they also policed and enforced, sometimes brutally. Group membership was often determined by a boy's willingness to take risks, not unlike the old ritual challenges. Risk was readily equated with masculine qualities of strength and bravery and was used as a public means of 'proving' manhood and qualifying for membership of the group. Sometimes these risks could be dangerous, including robbery, violence and murder. And while the outside world might see these acts as deeply antisocial and threatening, the boys themselves experience them as a fulfilment of their social obligations to the culture they know and to those who matter most, their peers. Refusal to collaborate with these methods or backing out of such a challenge is risky in itself because it suggests a lack of masculinity, which is both transgressive and taboo. This drive for masculine status coupled with the taboos associated with failure had the capacity to push some groups towards dangerous and antisocial hyper-masculine acting-out, with few if any circuit breakers.

A further consequence of the 'retreat to the body' in a binary system is a reciprocal deprecation of the classroom as being a site that contributes little or nothing to building a masculine reputation – indeed too much classroom education could even be seen as soft and emasculating. Unlike physical accomplishments, trying hard in class and demonstrating academic prowess appears to have become increasingly stigmatised and boys who were good in class regularly reported misogynistic and homophobic criticism. To the contrary, it was important to seem disinterested during lessons; to speak in a localised creole accent rather than polished English (Campbell, 2013); not to be too neat or tidy; to avoid being favoured by teachers; and not to come over as too conscientious or adept in academic matters (Plummer, McLean & Simpson, 2008: 9). In Trinidad, accounts were provided by boys who hid their academic achievements from their peers, including some who tried to fail their exams in order to live up to peer group expectations and to avoid persecution (Plummer & Geofroy, 2010). These dynamics played out differently depending on access to private and public space. Boys from poor settings typically grew up in crowded houses with few rooms and much of their development was done in public spaces such as the streets, street corners and shopping malls. There were few opportunities to escape the keen eye of the peer group and very little private space in which to avoid scrutiny and to study undetected. In contrast boys who grew up in more affluent settings were more easily able to evade the peer group and take advantage of greater amounts of private space in order to pursue their academic priorities. In Trinidad

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and Tobago, there was evidence that the situation may have been exacerbated by the introduction of 'shift schooling', which was intended to ensure that children had universal access to education. However, while most young people spent half their day at school, the rest of the day was often spent without adult supervision in the company of their peers on the streets. Moreover, in Jamaica, we found evidence that public transport by minibus to and from school was influential. In order to gain competitive advantage, some of these minibuses were 'pimped out' and played loud music, including music that was notoriously sexist and violent (see Stop Murder Music, 2004). Many schoolboys considered these buses to be 'cool' and preferred to be seen travelling on them as a way of 'enhancing' their image of being a 'bad boy'.

On territories, barrios, battlegrounds, venues, stages and arenas

By now, you may well be thinking that the developments described above seem very similar to gang lore. If so, we would agree and further suggest that the main differences between a peer group and a gang are 'a matter of degree' and that a gang ultimately spills over into another public space, the streets (Plummer & Geofroy, 2010: 14). The above account of the passage to manhood in the West Indies is by no means universal nor is it the same for all boys. However, it does set the scene for understanding how masculinity might define and commandeer public space in the world beyond the school ground too. Indeed, it is apparent from the discussion that the division between the school ground and the outside world, while useful, is porous and arbitrary. In many senses the streets are an extension of the school ground and vice versa. The main point is that the transition from childhood to manhood is where the ground rules are laid down and that these find their way into society on graduation. This is the reverse of what is commonly assumed - that boys internalise the rules from wider society. Indeed, there is almost certainly a balance in both directions: with 'balance' being the important consideration. It is, however, prudent to recall the work on cultivation of male identity in Jamaica by the prominent Caribbean researcher Barry Chevannes (1999) where he argued that we reap what we sow.

Caribbean English has a word for socialising or relaxing which often includes spending time idly on the street: the word is 'liming' (Allsopp, 1996: 349; Winer, 2009: 531). Liming is a popular and well-known pastime, culturally important and often mentioned with fondness. Liming is a reminder of the importance of street life and as we saw in the preceding section young people from the school years have ample opportunity to lime on the streets - indeed young people from poorer backgrounds often have little choice and do much of their growing up on the block, the streets, street corners and in shopping malls. While not necessarily bad, socialising on the streets while growing up is not always trouble free. As we have seen, peer groups can extend their domain onto the streets and with the associated emphasis on physicality and risk-taking, the 'retreat to the body', the rise of 'hard masculinity' and growing influence of horizontal rites of passage, the peer group is susceptible to morphing into a gang. The implications for public space are well known: at their most extreme, gangs have territories, are armed and can engage in violent conflict. In Jamaica, these territories - or garrison communities - can take on the characteristics of a fiefdom ruled over by a 'Don' whose enforcers are called 'shotters'. There is hardly a better example of public space where masculinity is writ large. But these

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public spaces are not uniformly public: there are insiders and outsiders and that is perhaps the point of a so-called Garrison community arrangement.

But it would be a distortion and do an injustice to the region to simply focus on gangs and garrison communities. Likewise, it would be a misrepresentation of masculinities to only see them in a negative light. There are many positive examples of diverse masculinities in the region, not least are the great authors and musical wordsmiths, which also have their own impact on public space. Masculinities both positive and negative feature prominently in the diverse musical traditions of the Caribbean. The works of Bob Marley and his fellow Jamaican musicians and the Calypso traditions from Trinidad are both deeply steeped in both sexuality and gender not to mention crucially important social criticism (Rohlehr, 1990). It is in these traditions that gender is most literally brought to the public stage. At certain times of the year, during Carnival season, whole countries are turned into stages where gender roles are both writ large and the rules are torn up. For the remainder of the year when Carnival sounds fade into the background (but never entirely disappear), men return to their other stages – not least being the pulpit – representing aspects of Caribbean existence in communities characterised by religion and conservative ideology.

Conclusion

This paper raises the issue of the social geography of masculinity in the Caribbean. We explored fundamentally sensitive gender roles while highlighting shifts in the gendered meanings ascribed to particular public spaces – in this case the rites of passage and the school – providing analytic perspective into important social phenomena in the Caribbean and wider implications for understanding the gendered nature of space. What is also clear is that these changes are reciprocal in that public spaces are very susceptible being colonised by gender codes and practices. We also argue that in gender terms, public space is multidimensional. It is a highly-interconnected blend of physical, visual, auditory, linguistic, musical, tactile, olfactory, emotional, risky, dangerous, and, of course, pleasurable cultural spaces. Gender is territory, both metaphorical and physical. Metaphorical because it is first and foremost a *conceptual divide between categories of people* that creates an almost insurmountable *cultural distance;* but nevertheless, this metaphorical separation has very real physical consequences.

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Calatrava in Athens.
The architect as financier and the iconic city

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Abstract
Today, iconic architecture is the dominant mode of contemporary public life, but the wishes of the European city and role of public space are based on financial emergencies—even if the term 'financial' is screened out by the mesmeric distraction of such spectral, prodigal buildings. While iconic architecture parades as visual stunt—an "avant garde" project of the digital image that violently pushes physics and engineering to its limits—such projects are only made possible by giant debt arrangements; and, as I will argue, their primary agenda is to solve serious financial problems. Yet, not only do these projects often fail to generate the future income (fictitious capital) promised and thus leave the town with an impossible 30-year mortgage that might never be repaid, iconic developments also have the power to contribute to distortions of capital (economic crises) beyond the project and the city itself. This essay will examine the Olympic development and iconic objects designed by Santiago Calatrava for the Athens Summer Games in 2004, and the dual Olympic-budget crisis and national crisis that converged on Calatrava's project. After the games, the Greek Olympic development attracted considerable financial critique from outside the architectural discipline: economists debated how the Olympic development was implicated in the Greek crisis, and a parallel Left protest-movement against Calatrava, the public figure, for financial corruption through iconic projects gained traction. Regardless of the veracity of these arraignments; in Greece, I propose the Olympic development became a visual cipher for the ongoing Greek crisis. Calatrava's project illustrates the ways in which National crises in Europe today are played out via architectural icons, and the transformation of public space into both a financial medium and narrator of financial crisis.

Keywords: Calatrava; iconic architecture; Greek Olympics; financialisation; moral hazard.

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> "Today the City is sinking under its own excesses. That is where the architect died and the businessman was born (Tremlett, 2012).
> Miquel Alberlola in El País

> "The $15 Billion Greece invested has had only limited urban benefits for Athens in the long run. I came to the conclusion that there is no bigger bubble than the Olympic Games (Berg, 2016).
> Roy Panagiotopoulou

> "Of course it cannot compete with Stade de France or New Wembley. These are just very good stadia. But OAKA is a monument of modern Art (Anonymous, 2016).
> Anonymous, Forum Post

The script for global iconic architectural developments is by now as hackneyed as it is untrue: an insolvent government promises the villagers a world class (global) city through a spectacular mega-project that will "world" (urbanise) the town and raise the public's status to cosmopolitan (urban and global) (Goldman, 2015). Spain's failed attempt to save its post-industrial town Bilbao through the Abandodoibarra development—that staged Frank Gehry's Guggenheim museum, the first iconic building, along the Nervión River in 1997 - is an object-lesson in Europe today (Plöger, 2008). To clarify, the *iconic* does not refer to a disciplinary canon of historical monuments from the past, but to a new capitalist paradigm since the end of the 1990s, where cities have undertaken publicly-funded debt-fuelled megaprojects of a spectacular financial, technological, and formal *scale* heretofore unseen, which has fundamentally transformed the operation of public space and our relationship with the city. Historically, public space in the west has always been fabricated around a central monument, which visualised the psychic, political and social wishes of the city. Today, iconic architecture is the dominant mode of contemporary public life, but the wishes of the European city and role of public space are manifestly financial - based on financial emergencies - even if the term 'financial' is screened out by the mesmeric distraction of such spectral, prodigal buildings - as I have written about previously (Brott, 2012, 2017) - under the ideology of what I call the iconic architecture industry. The iconic architecture industry in Europe can be defined as a complex machine for the realisation of iconic projects enabled by three key agents: the Eurozone government or city, the creditors and global investment banks, and importantly the industrialists: the architects, technicians, construction, and development firms. While iconic architecture parades as visual stunt - an "avant garde" project of the digital image that violently pushes physics and engineering to its limits - such projects are only made possible by giant debt arrangements - and, importantly, as I will argue, their primary agenda is *to solve serious financial problems.* The conflict between these last two clauses has never been more apparent. Governments vow the iconic development will attract tourism, provide jobs, stimulate the economy, and all importantly perform as an income producing asset through real estate speculation and new forms of architectural financialisation that are the premise of the iconic architecture industry (Guironnet & Halbert, 2014; Moreno, 2014, p. 253; Shin, 2013). Yet, not only do these projects often fail to generate the future income (fictitious capital) promised (Beltran, 2012; Govan, 2012), and thus leave the town with an impossible 30-year mortgage that might never be repaid, iconic developments also have the power to contribute to distortions of capital (economic crises) beyond the project and the city

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itself. A principal framework for understanding the iconic architecture industry today is global finance and its current crises.

The preeminent case study for iconic architecture as a financial intervention in the contemporary city is the Olympic development and iconic objects designed by Santiago Calatrava for the Athens Summer Games in 2004, and the dual Olympic-budget crisis and national crisis that converged on Calatrava's project. After the games, the Greek Olympic development attracted considerable financial critique from outside the architectural discipline: economists even debated how the Olympic development was implicated in the Greek crisis (Berlin, 2015; Graham Dunbar, 2010; Malkoutzis, 2012); and a parallel Left protest-movement against Calatrava, the public figure, for financial corruption through iconic projects gained traction. Regardless of the veracity of these complex arraignments and the causalities they adduce; in Greece, I would like to emphasise that the Olympic architectural development became a visual cipher for the ongoing Greek crisis. Calatrava's project illustrates the ways in which National crises in Europe today are played out via the monuments of the iconic architecture industry, and the transformation of public space into a real financial medium and also narrator of financial crisis. To be clear, the Olympic development as a complex is an example of public space *par excellence*, the park as a whole, its stadia, plazas, and monuments, both jointly and severally function in the classical sense as space(s) for public performance, aesthetic encounter and the concentration and entertainment of mass audiences. That is according to the classical understanding of public space, which engenders a dialectical encounter between the people and the city. But as I will demonstrate, the iconic episteme and Calatrava's iconic development deconstructs this dialectic as it de-territorializes public space – alienating the people from public space by converting architecture and the city into an instrument of financialisation. In this narrative, the public protest against the project is a cry to have public space and the city itself liberated from advanced capital and returned to the people. This essay will discuss the alleged relationship between the Olympic project and the Greek Crisis; the conception of the iconic architect as financier and agent of crisis; and, finally, the financial meanings of Calatrava's development as an icon of financial crisis. While there is a vast literature on financialisation of public space in economic literature, this is the first paper that demonstrates the crucial role of iconic architecture in the problem. Specifically, it translates the tabloid media critique of Calatrava – of which there are many examples – into scholarly architectural discourse. Third, and most importantly, this is the first essay to examine the financial meanings of Calatrava's formalism, for an architectural audience, and the way in which the iconic image functions as a financial medium that screens the financial crises of the city. In doing so, it also highlights the transformation of the iconic architect into a financier of a scale unseen heretofore.

Olympic expenditure and the Greek Crisis

Enjoy yourselves. When will we ever see days like these again? – said a volunteer welcoming visitors to Santiago Calatrava's Olympic stadium with a loudspeaker at the Greek Olympic Games in 2004 (Malkoutzis, 2012). In 2001, Calatrava received the commission to design the OAKA Olympic Athletic Center Of Athens (Athens Olympic Sport Complex) which included four iconic structures: a new roof for the original Olympic Stadium designed by Rudolf Moser in 1982 (Libby, 2004), suspended from two 45-meter high tubular steel arcs spanning 304 meters, and formed out of two curved polycarbonate leaves that rest on just four points where the two steel arcs intersect; its twin, the Olympic Velodrome,

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stadium built in 1991 for the Mediterranean Games, for which Calatrava designed a new roof; and, the Agora colonnade, a pair of white arcade skeletons that flicker in the light like a digital wire-frame, and the Nations Wall, a neo-constructivist tubular steel sculpture that literally quivers before the Agora, the two sculptural objects enclose the central Plaza of the Nations, an amphitheatre for 300,000 people (Arcspace.com, 2003). There are four entrance plazas, each is covered by a steel vaulted canopy. Two are situated at the ends of a main circulation path, which links the Velodrome and Olympic Stadium. The two other plazas, connect the Neratziotissa pedestrian bridge and Irinis Electric Railway Station to one of the Agoras (Arcspace.com, 2003).

Fig. 1. The Athens Olympic Sport Complex. This high-resolution image shows the Athens Olympic Sports Complex. Acquired on June 24, 2004, by Space Imaging's IKONOS satellite, the scene shows the complex in stunning detail, including the Olympic Stadium (home of the opening and closing ceremonies), the Olympic Aquatic Center, Olympic Indoor Hall (gymnastics and basketball finals), Olympic Tennis Center, and the Olympic Velodrome (cycling).
Credit: NASA Earth Observatory - https://www.earthobservatory.nasa.gov/
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/gsfc/7651367324

Contemporary Athens is the result of a continuous post-war urbanisation process based on the self-replication of the polykatoikia building typology, the Greek translation of Le Corbusier's Domino system, a project that has unfolded continuously from the second world war until the start of construction for the 2004 Olympic Games from the end of

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1990s (Aesopos, 2010). Yet Athens, unlike Bilbao or Detroit, is not a city whose urbanity is lacking, so Calatrava exhorted the need for an iconic infrastructural project in terms of a new modernity:

> "The *return of the Olympic Games to their country of origin provides an opportunity for* renewal […] *a new means of modernization for Athens. […]* The *renewal is possible, first of all, for Athens itself" (Libby, 2004). Of course, the project would turn out to be an unmitigated geopolitical and financial disaster. Not only did construction costs blow out of control—on the eve of the Greek financial crisis—making the Athens Games the most expensive, then, of all time (Malkoutzis, 2012) – there would be no positive financial legacy for the city post-2004 (Smith, 2012).*

However it is important to proceed with caution. These financial criticisms of the cost of Calatrava's project do not take into consideration direct and indirect income, or the ratio between external and internal benefits both of which are very difficult to calculate. Nonetheless, the project demonstrates an order of financial catastrophe that cannot be dismissed by these considerations. After the games, the expensive structures in Southern Athens would be abandoned for ten years. The 2-kilometer seafront-promenade that connected three Olympic stadia became a wasteland (Singer, 2014); and, Calatrava's glorious stadium and the former Ellinikon International Airport (redeveloped into a sports park for the Summer games) would become a United Nations refugee camp, a "tent-city," for Afghan refugees escaping the Taliban (Atika Shubert, 2016). Instead of *the city's hopes and wishes for a "good" modernisation; in Calatrava's unaltered language of post-war urban renewal,* the Athenian megaproject heralded a "bad" modernisation, becoming a trope for the 'bad life' in Europe in these neo-capitalist times.
Bloomberg Media and numerous economists viewed the Olympics as *causative* in its tract "How the 2004 Olympics Triggered Greece's Financial Crisis" (Berlin, 2015; Graham Dunbar, 2010; Malkoutzis, 2012). The gist of the Bloomberg essay, that the cost of the games €9 billion ($11.6 billion today), "*helped push Greece into a fiscal black hole."* Finance minister Giorgos Alogoskoufis wrote that Olympic expenditure massively exceeded the original budget of 3 billion euros (Stevens, 2004). Even if this was only a fraction of Greece's debt, the games were built on the foundation of a much larger financial crisis brewing in Greece. In 2004, Greece's budget deficit breached European Union limits, which chastised Greece as "financially imprudent."

> "*Greece's 2004 deficit was 6.1 percent of gross domestic product, more than double the euro-zone limit, while debt reached 110.6 percent of gross domestic product, the highest in the European Union. Greece became the first EU country to be placed under fiscal monitoring by the European Commission, in 2005."* (Malkoutzis, 2012).

By 2009 Greece's debt crisis exploded after which it sought two bailouts of €240bn from the European Union and International Monetary Fund (European Commission, 2014). Notwithstanding, as those same economists pointed out, the Olympic development alone could not have dismantled Greece's economy, because Olympic expenditure was only a minute percentage of Greece's total public debt in 2004, €168 billion. Yet the failure of the Greek Olympic development epitomised and it should be added also visualised in spectacular architectural fashion the structural problems that had plagued Greece for decades.

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Guardian writer, and editor of *MacroPolis,* Nick Malkoutzis wrote "It's not just a question of how much money was spent on the Olympics, it's also how it was spent and where it came from." Allocation of Olympic expenditure from the State Budget was €6 billion. 50% of the State Budget was used to construct the sporting venues (€3 billion) (N. Zonzilos, 2015), 30% went to infrastructural works, Urban regeneration and Road network. The final cost was 9 billion, which was triple the original budget. But this scale of Olympic spending was directly linked to wider geopolitical and financial forces in play: "After a period of austerity to tighten up its finances and qualify for euro entry in 2001, the Greek government loosened the purse strings once it entered the single currency. The games were just one of several areas where public spending was unchecked and funded by unsustainable borrowing" (Malkoutzis, 2012). This was one version of the story commonly used by economists to explain the Greek situation. But Robert B. Reich, former secretary of labor and Chancellor's Professor of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley provides another:

> *"The crisis was exacerbated years ago by a deal with Goldman Sachs, engineered by Goldman's current CEO, Lloyd Blankfein. Blankfein and his Goldman team helped Greece hide the true extent of its debt, and in the process almost doubled it"* (Reich, 2015).

In 2001, Greece was seeking to conform to The Maastricht Treaty to be granted EU membership, which required Eurozone member states to demonstrate minimum benchmarks in their public balance sheet, but Greece was already deeply indebted. That year, global investment bank Goldman Sachs secretly brokered a loan to Greece of 2.8 billion euros made to look like an under-the-table "cross-currency swap"—a labyrinthine arrangement whereby "Greece's foreign-currency debt was converted into a domestic currency obligation using a fictitious market exchange rate. As a result, about 2 percent of Greece's debt magically disappeared from its national accounts" (Reich, 2015). Goldman Sachs was paid 600 million euros ($793 million) for the deal. But it also "engaged in parallel derivatives trading with Greece by purchasing 'credit default swaps' betting that Greece would default on its loan," thereby creating a situation of "moral hazard," and the reason Goldman Sachs came under intense scrutiny for its instrumental role in the Greek crisis. According to *The Economic Times*: "Moral hazard is a situation in which one party gets involved in a risky event knowing that it is protected against the risk and the other party will incur the cost." Goldman Sachs' credit default swaps "increased Greece's cost of borrowing, increasing interest rates for Greece, and raising the possibility of sovereign debt default and ultimately justifying brutal austerity measures" (Robinson, 2010, p. 5). As was widely publicised, the deal went wrong. Following the September 11 attacks in New York, "bond yields plunged, resulting in massive losses for Greece because of the algorithm Goldman used to compute the debt repayments under the swap. By 2005, Greece owed almost double what it had put into the deal, pushing its off-the-books debt from 2.8 billion euros to 5.1 billion" (Reich, 2015). Greece would pay twice for what happened in Manhattan.

In terms of construction spending, the Olympic stadium alone cost 300 million euros – 200 million over budget. While insignificant compared with the total Olympic deficit, to put this into perspective, 200 million euros today represents nearly half of Athens' first repayment instalment to the International Monetary Fund IMF made in April 2015 (which sparked a public march on EU offices and confrontation with riot police under the "Write Off Debt Now" movement) (Stamouli, 2015a). The only two arenas where losing 200

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million dollars is not mourned are Wall Street and the Iconic Architecture Industry. Calatrava's website provides an apologia in place of a typical architect's project description:

> *"Heightened security fears after the 9/11 attacks added unforeseen costs after Athens won its bid to become host city. Santiago Calatrava only received the commission on October 2001 and in addition to these difficulties and delays, rumors of catastrophic failures, including fears of a terrorist attack persisted throughout the construction and continued until the last days leading up to the opening ceremonies. This turned the Athens Olympics into the most costly and security-conscious games in modern history. The city lacked experience with constructing such large-scale projects"*
> (Santiago Calatrava Architects & Engineers, 2016).

9-11 in other words caused a spike in the Olympic construction deficit just as it doubled Greece's national debt through an interest rate spike. Calatrava's defensive tone is instructive of how the Olympic development became a lightning rod for the country's national troubles. But there is more to the story. Athens was allegedly idle for the first three of its seven-years of preparation, warned by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 2000 to tighten its organisation or risk losing the Games. "The country then embarked on a construction frenzy, paying lavishly for three shifts a day to ensure that venues were ready" (Tagaris, 2014). The stadium was only completed hours before the games began, and without a building permit (News.com.au, 2014). It should be obvious, the Olympics is not merely a 2-week sporting event, but a vast construction project completed in record time – a sped up modernity whose ill consequences for the public are magnified by the compression of time. Left critics argued the gigantism and extravagance of the Olympic mega-project "monumentalised the unmatched magnitude of money" (Traganou, 2008) – but even this straightforward analogy did not anticipate the scale of reversal Calatrava's project portended. Such gigantism today represents the black hole of capital in Europe, such as the gigantic financial debt that threatened to evacuate Greece from the EU. What iconic architecture monumentalises is the gigantism of transnational sovereign debt.

The Architect as Financier

Athens now has more than 12 abandoned or unutilised venues, and the Olympic village is a "concentrated zone of poverty and decay" (Berg, 2016). Perhaps it would be easy to excuse or isolate the architect and architecture itself from such a financial tale – as per the usual methodology of architectural historiography to remain strictly within the disciplinary genealogy of historical architectural typologies and formal languages. *Yet the transnational flows of money and the global crises they create form the very premise of the iconic project, which cannot be understood through a vertical history of aesthetic types otherwise known as the "canon."* Of course Calatrava had little say on how the structures would be used after the games, nor did he have any determination over the financial and political conditions in Greece that preceded his intervention, or the political and financial crisis that would blossom. Yet, it would also be disingenuous to claim Calatrava was the hapless artist hired to insert an iconic stadium and who then unwittingly found himself at the centre of a transnational financial disaster. Calatrava now has considerable experience in financial and budgetary crises with a career in mega-projects that spans decades in Europe and the US. First, as has been widely publicised, Calatrava is under fire by the political enemies of the conservative party in Greece for his financial mishandling of the Olympic development.

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More broadly, Calatrava is notorious for going over budget and crippling the town that inherits his projects (Geenwoordspaans, 2016), and there is a growing movement against Calatrava Architects in Europe, as I will describe, with accusations of greed, systemic corruption, manipulation of finance, and creation of moral hazard. Government officials in Left-wing parties who oppose Calatrava's use of public funds have formed weblogs that Calatrava has attempted to sue. The biggest financial complaints have been made against Calatrava from the cities of Masstricht, New York and Valencia.

The World Trade Center Transportation Hub New York cost $4 billion, double the original budget (Daley, 2013). Calatrava was paid US$80 million (Walker, 2016). Losing 2 billion dollars of public money can no longer be viewed as accidental or simply "over budget" because of the magnitudes of funds being transferred. The Campus Maastricht project was abandoned after the original budget of 40 million € escalated to 235 million € and 66 million € of public funds had already been spent. Calatrava received his entire fee, as if the project had been completed, due to the contract the architect negotiated with Masstricht (thefullcalatrava, 2016). The most controversial of all, Valencia's *Ciudad de las Artes y las Ciencias* (CAC) The City of Arts and Sciences cost €900 million, triple the original budget (Blanco, 2016). Ignacio Blanco, an opposition member for the Valencian provincial parliament for United Left, wrote that the city still owes €700 million. Blanco is the founder of the website 'Calatrava te la clava', a rhyme that means "Calatrava bleeds you dry" that Calatrava successfully sued. In response, another website 'Calatrava no nos calla' - Calatrava will not silence us – was erected by the left-wing *Esquerra Unida i Alternativa* party which claims "it has viewed copies of bills paid by the People's Party regional government to Calatrava of €100m" (Tremlett, 2012).

The same year as the Athens Games, Calatrava received the commission for the "Ghost Towers," Valencia, as they are sardonically called, a plan to insert four skyscrapers beside the CAC at 450 million € (Blanco, 2016). While the towers were never built Calatrava received 15 million € of tax-payer money for two paper models (Geenwoordspaans, 2013a). What is most astonishing about this project is the government's premise for the project was to sell the four completed Valencian towers in order to offset the monolithic losses incurred by the building of the CAC at a total cost of 1.3 billion €, exceeding the original budget of 300 million by a billion Euros. As Geenwoordspaans writes: "What better way to fix the cash flow of one Calatrava project than by taking on another?"

This returns us to Greece, where the same financial logic is in place. In April 2016 contrary to all expectations Greece met its deadline to repay the first IMF bailout loan instalment (Stamouli, 2015b). In order to fund the IMF payment the Greek government signed a deal to sell the Ellinikon airport site that currently houses 2500 refugees to Lambda Development for $1 billion who will invest 8 billion euro to transform the 1500-acre seafront property into a seaside resort including a giant park (Koutantou, 2016).

The Greek and Spanish cases illustrate the speculative and recursive nature of the iconic architecture industry – its equation is to use speculation to cover the losses of a prior failed speculation – through the intervention of iconic architecture. This is the purest example of the financialisation of architecture and public space and liquefaction of public space. Calatrava's immense urban authority and appropriation of public space in Valencia can be seen at the level of the contract he signed with the Valencian government in 2005 where 'in case of sale of the site, the buyer would have to purchase the site including the project for Calatrava's towers. If the buyer did not wish to proceed with the ghost towers, he would have to negotiate with Calatrava about the new use, meaning the buyer

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would have to hire Calatrava for a new project, or else pay Calatrava an exorbitant sum to remove the architect from the contract' (Geenwoordspaans, 2013c).
Calatrava has historically denied any responsibility for cost overruns (Geenwoordspaans, 2013b; Kassam, 2015), yet these cost overruns are not accidental – Calatrava knows his role as financier given the scale of money involved and he likely also understands how much more a project will cost in reality, based on his decade-long vitae of producing iconic structures and exceeding their budgets. In fact, until 1995 Calatrava did not have a single cost overrun in any project. From 1995 i.e. just before the inception of the global iconic project Calatrava began to have cost overruns. From 2005, he had no projects without monumental cost overruns (for a list of all Calatrava's cost overruns see (Geenwoordspaans, 2014)). The iconic megaproject provides the iconic architect opportunities for giant fees, unimaginable 25 years ago, and this becomes an opening for corruption and moral hazard. For example, in Valencia, as the project's scope inflated—when Calatrava suggested the Valencia towers should number four and be much taller than the original three towers—the architect's fees also inflated. Esquerra Unida further claimed that contracts were offered to Calatrava via "an unpublicised negotiating system establishing his payments as a percentage of the final cost of each project, which doubled or tripled in respect to the original budgets." Calatrava always stipulates that his contract fee is a percentage of the final project cost rather than the budget, so he serves to benefit spectacularly as the project inflates and costs rise. There is another moral hazard: where the project is never completed, the architect still gets paid, the city does not benefit, and the tax payers bear the cost - as the above cases illustrate. The public protested that 15 million euros for two models was exorbitant and an unreasonable loss for a city already in great financial trouble (a paper architecture *par excellence*).
Financialisation under the iconic architecture industry divests architecture of its objecthood, its reality, and turns failed dreams into money for the industrial agents of the iconic architecture industry. Moreno defines financialisation with a catchphrase: "profiting without producing" that perfectly describes Calatrava's projects in Greece and Valencia. The money Calatrava earned in these failed projects is itself form of financialisation because he provided no contribution to the city. The knowledge that the public will pay for bad architectural financial instruments is now an essential statute of the iconic architecture industry and its "contract" with the city. As economist William I Robinson puts it, "*the toxic mixture of public finance and private transnational finance capital in this age of global capitalism constitutes a new battlefield in which the global rich are waging a war against the global poor and working classes*" (Robinson, 2010: 5)
But the government also shares the blame. While Calatrava has become the "Goldman Sachs" of the iconic architecture industry and, most astonishingly, a strawman for the financial crisis at large – this is clearly a problem that goes beyond Calatrava. The problem put simply is a government's belief that iconic architecture is effective at remediating financial crisis – and further, the delusion by the public and city that are dazzled by the chance for an iconic star to visit their town and insert an iconic masterpiece (a delusion that has clearly worn off in Southern Europe). Yet financial peril at the public's expense is part of the gambler's appeal of iconic architecture to the European city – the government is the gambler in this analogy. Big sums of money evaporating in public space inspire the same awe as the 19,000-ton Olympic roof that floats in the Grecian air.
To state the obvious, Athens did not need an iconic infrastructure project, and Valencia did not need The City of Arts and Sciences or Ghost Towers – *all* these projects were pitched to set in motion the wheels of financialisation – they seek to hijack public space

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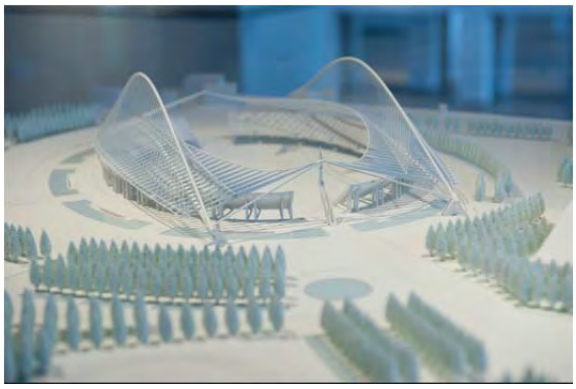
from the public and liquefy architecture into a future income-producing asset based on the promise of what Karl Marx called "fictitious capital" in Volume III of *Capital* (Marx, 1996).

The Look of Money

While many economists and urban theorists have written about urban financialisation and the transformation of public space into an income yielding asset, and I have discussed both the nature of financial crisis in the city and the agency of the architect within it, what is missing in this debate is the role of the architectural image (by image I include both the digital imagery circulated before construction commences, the photographs of the final building and also the views of the building on the ground – because the real experiential dimension of iconic architecture has become subservient to imagery). As an architectural theorist and historian it is important to reflect on the *Look* of Calatrava's structures and interrogate the financial meanings captured in his quixotic imagery – which like all iconic architecture has specific historical and theoretical significance, as I have argued previously (Brott, 2012, 2017).



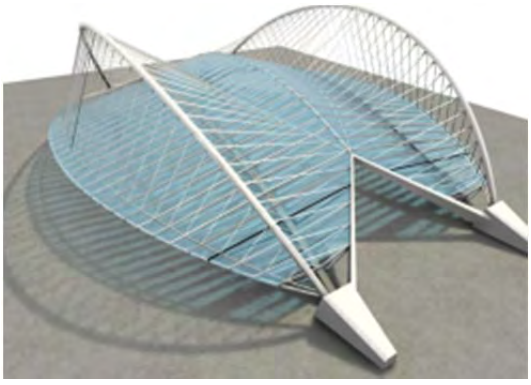


Fig. 2. On the left: Model Calatrava, Olympic Stadium, by Georgia Tech.
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/georgiatech/32272496102/
Fig. 3. On the right: Digital Rendering 3D-Model Calatrava, The Velodrome, Courtesy Tim Danaher.
Source: https://www.light-up.co.uk/forum/viewtopic.php?t=86

In Calatrava's masterplan, the main Olympic stadium and Velodrome basketball stadium are formal twins: their underlying structural language is formed by two steel arcs and two suspended curved surfaces – connected by tension cables. The Velodrome is an inversion of the main stadium cavity, the latter split and turned upside down and solidified into an airtight double shell, the duplicated steel arcs from the stadium squeezed together at the velodrome base. The stadium envelope itself derives from a slit in a single sheet, stretched to form two new surfaces and a giant cavity that acts as a volume of "water" upon which float two impossibly thin stadium surfaces, like two wet skins, their only structural contact the four vertices of each surface. But this is not a reference to the Mediterranean Sea or nature – despite the architect's assertions about Europe, classicism, the Byzantine, as inspiration. (Libby, 2004) – but to the absolute opposite, a ghostly architecture that transcends the laws of statics and physical limits – its locus is none other than the virtual space behind the computer screen where nature has been subdued and gravity does not exist. By reducing the structure to four points, the floating Olympic surfaces are reverse-tectonic sheets, not intended to signify or even function as shelter; because the iconic goal

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is how to make real parabolic surfaces look exactly like wire frame computer models and suspension cables made to look almost unseeable i.e. digital. The myth of Calatrava as the Spanish artist inspired by the beauty of organic "nature" can be dispelled by viewing the stadium on its side, where the architect-engineer's techno-mathematical intentions are clear - the stadium has the same ruthless profile as the "Gaussian curve" in Iannis Xenakis's Philips Pavilion designed for the Brussels expo in 1968. While for Xenakis, the virtual realm did not yet exist in the form of computer software that could visualise his prescient formal imagery, for the iconic architect, digital instrumentalisation and the realm of digital visualisation are today what architecture *is*.
Calatrava has been situated by critics such as Hal Foster within the 1970s "high tech" tradition, where buildings wear their structure on the outside and aestheticize technology, like the Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. But the images formed by the Olympic architecture (the photographs, renderings and views of the building) uncannily resemble a digital reincarnation that alludes to something more spectral than mere structural fashion or structure made manifest. This architecture is indeed obsessed with structure but in its recreation of a virtual space and post-human atmosphere of infinite duplication, *what these structures depict is the structure of capital, and the serialisation of money, in the otherly virtual realm of transnational finance.* That is what these buildings signify, and that is what the digital image surveys at the Athens Games. Take the Agora for example.

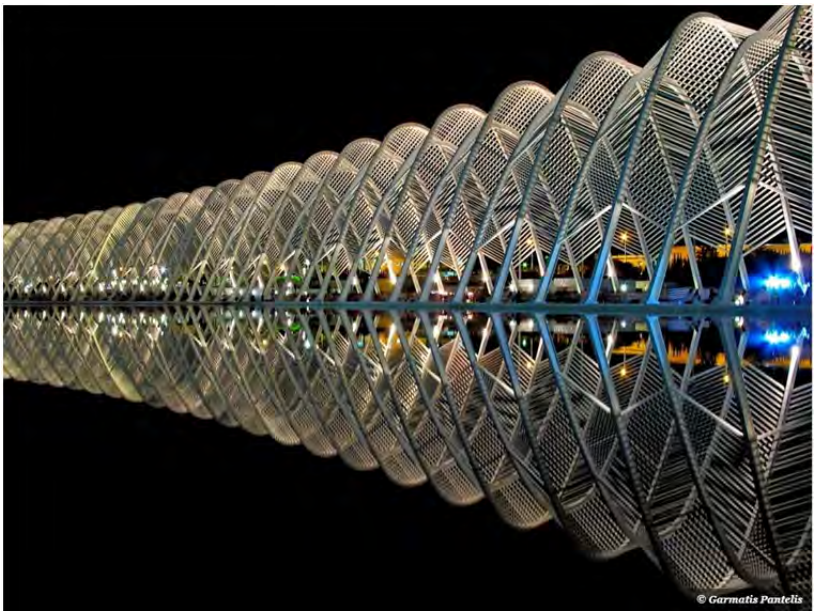

Fig. 4. Calatrava, The Agora curved colonnade, courtesy Garmatis Pantelis.
Source: http://www.pixoto.com/images-photography/buildings-and-architecture/architectural-detail/athens-olympic-park-calatrava-agora-114338640

Both fascinating and terrifying, Calatrava's Agora is a curving promenade of 99 tubular, vaulted steel arches running along the northern edge of the site and enclosing the semi-circular Plaza of the Nations, a sloping, amphitheatre. Ever since the 8th century BC the ancient Greek agora was a financial space where merchants held stalls and shops to sell their goods amid colonnades. (Today we are witnessing the transformation of the historic stadium from a political space into the site for transnational financial deals). But in Calatrava's Agora-colonnade, the striation of light and shade creates a new stroboscopic

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effect—this is the image of the new money world, of ones and zeros extending out to infinity, in the financial hyperspace that no human has any control over or real place in. Indistinguishable from a wire frame digital model, its infinitesimal lines, intersections, and threads mimic the digital minutiae that cannot be grasped by a humanoid, and which reduce human experience to an algorithm. Calatrava's shadow structure is not a fetishisation of mechanical reproduction for the sake of *lines* but a representation of the techno-industrial reproduction of capital itself.

As George Dyson, the son of quantum physicist Freeman elaborates: "*The problem starts, as the current crisis demonstrates, when unregulated replication is applied to money itself"* (Dodson, 2008). Calatrava's Agora, itself a depiction of unregulated replication is a spectacular representation of the financial derivatives that brought the financial world to its knees, the aggressive duplication of derivatives trading at a magnitude only possible with new financial CIT Computer and Information Technology that enabled a globally integrated financial system. CIT appeared at the same time that architecture was revolutionised by computer technology, by complex algorithms and parametric design, where robots replaced the architect's hand, eye, and brain. Since 2008, economists and physicists have described the way in which advanced computer software was responsible for creating the global financial disaster. "In high-frequency trading, huge volumes of stocks and shares - and derivatives of them - are traded automatically by computers rather than by humans in mere fractions of a second raising speculation to a qualitatively higher level and leading to the destabilisation of capitalism as happened in 2007" (Dodson, 2008). The products of the iconic architecture industry and Wall Street are both based on complex computer algorithms where the robot holds the highest agency. The iconic architecture industry was enabled precisely by the historical convergence of the advanced technologies of transnational finance and the advanced technologies of architecture and city making. These are not vague analogies but disruptions of cities and world finance that took place at the same moment in concert. Their mutual goals are the same, capital accumulation. Finally, their logics are the same: computer technology is what facilitated the derealisation of both architecture and capitalism, the latter having being described as "financialisation" – the shift from material labour and production to the production of money within the virtual space of finance for its own sake. The derealisation of capitalism and the contemporary city are effects of the rise of virtual abstraction and the intervention of robots into the city.

Take the following example from Dodson's essay:

> "*The people who write the algorithms that drive the software are called quantitative analysts, often referred to simply as "quants". They are generally physics and mathematics graduates working in risk management - calculating whether a given deal is a good idea - and derivatives pricing, which entails putting a figure on trades that in effect bet on other trades. It's enormously complex, which is why only the quants could understand it - if, that is, they did. History now suggests they didn't."*

This story also has an important analogue in architecture. Like the *Quant,* Calatrava is a human in charge of a high-risk process, really being controlled by machines, where the human becomes not very good at calculating risk. Calatrava almost always goes over budget – meaning he's very poor at risk assessment. It's not just going over budget – these buildings frequently fail structurally and functionally in very expensive ways. The algorithms that led to the subprime mortgage disaster were based on risk assessments that were

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later found to be seriously defective. The risk assessment in iconic developments in particular Olympic projects has been spectacularly flawed, as the economist Zimbalist has pointed out (Zimbalist, 2016).

Fig. 5. Calatrava, The Nations Wall.
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/georgiatech/32272496102/ - Creative Commons Licence, Public Domain Mark 1.0

The fourth element in the masterplan, the Nations Wall, that faces the Agora, is an 850-foot-long electric motion-sculpture built out of more self-replicating tubular steel elements which, by a battery of motors, move in a wave like motion along the north side of the Plaza of Nations. The Wall is formally analogous to the New High Speed Train Station in Italy by Calatrava and it also performs as a very large video screen. Calatrava's image is peculiarly past and future, at once reminiscent of Antonio Sant'Elia's drawing of a power station–included in his August 1914 *Futurist Manifesto of Architecture* - and the tubular elements of the Nations Wall also look like laboratory Silos for chemical production in a futuristic industrial landscape. For these reasons, Calatrava's style has been described as "neo-futurist," a modernist category devised by Hal Foster located in the 1960s and 1970s, which derives from the Italian and Russian avant garde of the artist and poet Filippo Marinetti of 1907 (Marinetti, 1909; Marinetti & Nevinson, 1914) who promoted the synthesis of architecture, fast cars, and fascist politics, but also more recently in the "neo-futurist collective" of artists surrounding Joseph Young and his 2007 Neo-Futurist manifesto (Neo Futurist Collective, 2008; Young, 2008), formalised by Vito Di Bari during the 2015 Milan Exposition (Bari, 2007, Online 2014), almost a century after Marinetti.

These historical avant-garde references today are obvious, but their consequences for the iconic project have been overlooked, because of the illusion that "the iconic" is an ex nihilo category and has no relation with history. To be clear, Calatrava is first and foremost an iconic architect – there are no architects in 1907 or 1970 that realised any structure or development with the financial and formal magnitude of Calatrava's Olympic mega-project. Nonetheless, Calatrava's project illustrates that the iconic project from a strictly internal disciplinary perspective is a transparent continuation of the modernist formal avant garde just as it is a continuation of the modernist project of ideology. I would

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like to read from the Neo-Futurist Manifesto of 2007, its goals are *"the hope of a positive future where technology, art and humanity will unite to overcome pessimism, despondency and futile utopianism in all its spurious forms"* by which it reproduces the essential utopian cliché of the modernist movement both before and after the world wars - *without alteration*. This belief that advanced technologies would provide a better future, and "better quality of life for city dwellers" was the fundamental error of the modern movement, as documented by Jane Jacobs in the historic failure of the urban renewal movement (Jacobs, 1961) then, and today, the *actual* future that was the target of twentieth century modernist ideology – with the most dire urban conditions that are a reality for the majority of the world today. If in the 1960s the critique was about the destruction of the traditional city through urban renewal and the razing of built fabric, today, it is clear, that money and capitalism are irrevocably destroying the contemporary city as economists and theorists are currently debating (Byrne, 2016; Goldman, 2011, 2015; Guironnet & Halbert, 2014; Halbert & Attuyer, 2016; Harvey, 2001; Moreno, 2014; Rutland, 2010; Smyth & Gittelsohn, 2013). Calatrava's style does not fit into any of the iconic typologies I have described previously (Brott, 2017). His work forms its own typology because it is in a sense the most pure form of iconicity — the fusion of hyper-technology, neo-capitalism and the modernist (utopian) wishes of the twentieth century re-territorialised in the digital image. Calatrava claims to be "continuing the tradition of Spanish modernist engineering including Félix Candela, Antonio Gaudí, and Rafael Guastavino" (alongside putative metaphors of the human body and nature) yet the buildings while beautiful are very poorly engineered, their cladding frequently falls off, the envelope is not water proof, for example, the Olympic roof in Greece leaks. But engineering should be understood as a *symptom* in the iconic architecture industry because *technocracy is the signifier of financialisation and the capitalist instrumentalisation of art and the city*. The violent intervention of large scale debt instruments into the European city does not evoke these benign pleasing European metaphors of the human body that Calatrava always mentions in his genealogical ruminations about his works. It is easy to lean on metonyms that give names to each building like stingray or human spinal column. But the human body is imperfect, asymmetrical, and no part ever duplicates any other part perfectly. Calatrava's formal types are therefore *robots*, not organic bodies, and they are produced by robots at every level, from transnational financialisation, masterplanning, and conceptualisation, to visualisation, fabrication and completion.

Financialisation and the Iconic ProjectArguably, postwar modernism was also defined by a period of debt and sovereign debt default, and the use of iconic developments to remediate financial crisis. The great planner Robert *Moses was able to conjure up large sums of money in the 1940s: Moses frequently ran out of money, and still built a vast amount of iconic infrastructure. It might be tempting to compare the epic failure of Moses' Shea Stadium with that of the Greek Olympic development (Caro, 1975). But today, the scales of money are simply incomparable with the postwar decades, and the buildings today themselves appear to be less and less real, their primary purpose financial remediation or what* David Harvey famously termed *"Spatial fix."*

It could however be argued that Olympic stadia are almost always financial failures (Barney, Wenn, & Martyn, 2002; Zimbalist, 2016) and state funded stadia have always been controversial as they transfer debt to taxpayers (Fischer-Baum, 2012). Yet this merely sharpens the point, for the Olympic Games are a primary locus and laboratory of the iconic architecture industry, and the difference between the two is that the Olympic games concentrates and speeds up the construction process which accentuates the

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structural financial problems of the iconic architecture industry. In real terms, iconic architecture at the Olympic games can be considered a form of securitization – it turns a 30-year mortgage into a 'tradable' source of urban-economic speculation – a bet, which almost never pays off. The debt that is never repaid becomes a black hole robbing capital from taxpayers that could have been used for the social needs of the city, for public space and for the public itself. The only real capital generated by these projects are large commissions paid to the "top ten," global investment firms such as Goldman Sachs, Blackstone, et al. who broker the debt arrangements to finance the projects. As we have seen, those banks inevitably return to 'solve' the debt problem they created, by helping to finance new speculation e.g. the new Hellinikon resort development in Greece post the Olympics designed to cover the losses incurred in 2004. Iconic construction debt is today a major source of profit for transnational finance capital, and for the architects and developers. As Robinson explains, the profit made in commissions needs to be offloaded after the deal, and so the process continues unabated: "*Once the private banking and financial institutions recovered from the 2008 collapse – in large part thanks to government bailouts – they turned to unloading surplus into sovereign debt markets that they themselves helped to create"* (Robinson, 2010, p. 8). What did Goldman Sachs do in Greece in response to the Olympic Debt crisis? They started an ambitious urban and infrastructural development fund. In the Company Overview of Goldman Sachs Urban Investment Group "Goldman Sachs Urban Investment Group is a fund of Goldman Sachs Group, Merchant Banking Division specializing in investments in corporations operated or owned by ethnic minorities and real estate developers targeting urban communities. It seeks to make early stage investments and makes direct investments in developers and projects" (Bloomberg, 2016). The other banks followed the same path after the global financial crisis: "In 2009, Morgan Stanley, with partners, set up a $10 billion urban infrastructural fund, Goldman Sachs a $7.5 billion fund; Citigroup and Blackstone a $5 billion fund; and DE Shaw a $1 billion fund" (Goldman, 2011). In other words, the GFC did not lead to a slowing down of development but established the ground for more urban speculation. But the banks are not alone in the equation. As Calatrava demonstrates, the architect is not aloof from the banks, but stands alongside them in the waters of predatory financialisation. The financialisation of iconic architecture into a tradable financial asset and futures trading object has "allowed global architects to appropriate values through new circuits that are outside of space and outside of real or actual value or material production" (Robinson, 2010: 3). The excesses and unproductive forces of iconic architecture are evident in Calatrava's projects in Greece, Maastricht and Valencia: the megaproject that is either left fallow and unused at the end – or even incomplete, a millennial ruin.

This essay's contribution is it theorises in singularly architectural terms the financial meanings of Calatrava's formalism and demonstrates the radical transformation of public space through the medium of iconic architecture and the digital image that becomes both a direct instrument of financialisation and a screen for the financial crises of the city. From a cultural perspective, the iconic architecture industry can be considered the new Hollywood, an elaborate digital advertising medium to catalyse the de-territorialisation of public space and urban financialisation process. Aesthetically, the architecture has become indistinguishable from science fiction: the building speaks a digital language that consumes it, the building must look like a hologram rather than a real building in order to perform its role, and the digital renderings are far more significant to the project than the final building, for the simple reason that that is what the development and city sells itself on,

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the technocratic image - which is equivalent to the promises of future capital. Production is now centred on an image and the stock value of that image. As the film industry declines in the US and Europe, the traditional homes of cinema, iconic architecture and mega-developments, their dramatic excesses and crises and failures and tragedies provide the new entertainment for the global masses.

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Traceur as bricoleur. Poaching public space through bricolent use of architecture and the body

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Abstract

This paper emerged from many months of regular participation in the parkour community in Indianapolis, Indiana. First, this study looks at the art of parkour as a bricolent engagement with architecture. Acts of bricolage, a sort of artistic making-do with objects (including one's body) in the environment, play with(in) the dominant order to "manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them only in order to evade them" (de Certeau, 1984: xiv). Second, this study investigates architecture's participation in the production and maintenance of what de Certeau calls, "operational logic" (p. xi). That is, how architecture acts as a communicative mode of space; one, which conveys rationalized or acceptable ways of being in space. This critical ethnography, then, takes to task the investigation of how traceurs, the practitioners of parkour, uncover emancipatory potential in city space through bricolent use of both architecture and the body.

Keywords: public spaces system; urban design; management plan; enhancement of cultural heritage; historic urban landscape.

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Architecture as Communicative Mode

Movement, while seemingly a free enterprise, is very much disciplined in urban space (Mitchell, 1995). The built environment prescribes certain movements; movements centred, for example, ongoing to work, returning home, or guiding you from shop to shop. Architecture's influence on spatial modality and expected usages of space is actually part of the design strategies of architects and city planners (Gieryn, 2002). Buildings in urban environments are "designed to reflect, as well as to create patterns of behaviour" (Hiller et al, 1987: 233). In fact, architects and planners have attempted to transpose temporal social processes into spatial functions and 'fix' them within the city's structure, with the goal being a "clear definition and separation of urban environments into exclusive zone of domestic, labour, and leisure activities" (Lloyd, 2003: 95). Zoning regulations, too, can influence communication and interaction by "controlling communication activities or by controlling communication contexts" (Drucker & Gumpert, 1991: 299). Further, as Ash Amin (2008) describes, the ordering of the built environment works to "shape public expectation, less so by forcing automatic compliance, than by tracing the boundaries of normality and aspiration in public life" (p. 15). Moreover, architecture and urban planning often are primarily concerned with the gentrification of city space and arranging space to support the capitalist prerogatives of entertainment, production, and consumption.

Because architecture communicates codes of conduct and networks of power it shows us where we fit in, where we do not, and signify acceptable behaviour. This develops an embodied knowledge of city space (Lamb, 2104b). Architecture, then, participates in the production and reflection of the intelligibility of the body and thus subjectivity. Use of public space is deeply coded and reflects the operational logics embedded within us and within space. When we change how we use space we challenge many of the schemas and conventions on which urban space is designed and understood. By privileging certain actions architecture and the landscape of the city can become constricting and in their banality hide possibilities for alternative uses of space.

Therefore the purpose of this study is twofold. First, this study looks at the art of parkour's engagement with architecture as an act of bricolage against subjectivity. Acts of bricolage are a sort of artistic making-do with objects (including one's body) in the environment. Bricolent manoeuvres play with(in) the dominant order to "manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them only in order to evade them" (de Certeau, 1984: xiv). Second, this study investigates architecture's participation in the production and maintenance of what de Certeau calls, "operational logic" (p. xi), that is, how architecture conveys rationalised or acceptable ways of being in space, and how traceurs develop an alternative parkour vision. Using interviews conducted in the field, this participatory and critical ethnography explores how traceurs, the practitioners of parkour, uncover emancipatory potential in city space through bricolent use of both architecture and the body.

Studying Parkour

In order to understand the relationship between architecture and the body, it was important to me to be a true participant in the parkour community. I wanted to not only engage traceurs of various skill levels but also develop my skills along with them. Because of my integration into the community, I was able to conduct interviews, take field notes,

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and be an active observant participant obtaining an in-depth and situated knowledge in the art of parkour.

Throughout my time developing as a traceur and studying the art of parkour I have taken the position of the critical ethnographer. The critical ethnographic approach extends inquiry into critique. This approach allows for analysis and investigation into hidden, unrealised forms of power and assumptions that constrain and discipline everyday life (Thomas, 1993). Specifically, I have patterned my critical ethnography around Gajjala and Altman's (2006) epistemologies of doing ('Producing Cyber-selves').

An epistemology of doing is defined as the "exploration of process through doing and being self-reflexive while doing ... [it requires] the subject/object to produce selves…[and] to continually interact and 'live' at these interfaces" (Gajjala, Rybas, and Altman, 2007: 210). The *doing* is essential to parkour in its progression and its study. Interacting with fellow traceurs is important to the experience and learning process. However, of paramount importance in the study and understanding of this art form is the personal and corporeal engagement with architecture and the built environment.

Additionally, the critical ethnography, more specifically here an epistemology of doing, functions to abstract from my experience a way of understanding while at the same time calling attention to the positionality of the researcher-participant. While I wanted an insider's perspective my experiences as a traceur are not the only source of report or analysis. I draw from fellow traceurs' personal accounts and interpretations to build a collaborative inquiry. Thus, a participatory critical ethnography provides a more balanced understanding of traceurs' articulation of the built environment, its meaning, and their relation to it.

During the summers of 2011 and 2012 I participated in monthly parkour jams: events organised for *traceurs* to gather, practice parkour, and socialise. The jams were held at various locations in downtown Indianapolis, Indiana and consisted of members of the Indianapolis parkour community. It was common for jams to average approximately 15 participants. Occasionally, jams would have as many as 50, although very rare, and as few 3 or 4 traceurs in attendance. I took field notes during jam sessions and conducted informal interviews during breaks between runs. I spoke with 17 regular participants in formal interviews conducted at the end of several jams in the summer of 2012. I wanted my interactions with fellow traceurs to come from a place of trust, a trust established through my progression and acceptance as a traceur. The traceurs who attended had various levels of expertise ranging from novice, a beginner having only a day or maybe a month of training, to experienced or seasoned traceurs. These experienced traceurs rival the talent you would see on popular YouTube videos. I, however, fell somewhere in between.

The traceurs attending the Indianapolis jams were primarily Caucasian males and females in their late teens and early twenties. However, Asian, African American, and Latinos also attended jams with some frequency. Class distinction, too, was varied yet there seemed to be a balance in the number of participants from affluent neighbourhoods to the north and underprivileged neighbourhoods closer to the city centre. Kidder's (2012) study of Chicagoland parkour allowed traceurs to choose between using their given names or their parkour nicknames in recording the interviews. I found this to be helpful and offered participants here the same option. I found, however, the parkour nickname was, by far, the preferred choice.

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Defining Parkour

Parkour has been described by scholars as an original and imaginative way to negotiate city space (Bavinton, 2007) or as unrestricted movement in places designed to restrict movement (Lamb, 2014). According to, Chief, one of the leaders of the parkour jams, "parkour is pretty much the best thing ever." Officially, parkour is known as *l'art du déplacement*, or the art of displacement. The impetus for this name stems from traceurs' ability to move the body out of its usual or (what is constructed as) proper place. This displacement has traceurs turning the built environment into a series of opportunities for freedom of expression through artful forms of spatial modality. Traceurs run, jump, climb, or vault through, in and around the built environment with the goal of efficient and free flowing, always continuous, movement. A guiding maximum in parkour discourse is to find the most efficient way to get from point A to point B without being stopped by any obstacle in your path.

For many, parkour is both described and experienced as an act of personal freedom. The oft-quoted interview between Alex Wikinson and parkour founder, David Belle, offers Belle's sentiment of parkour as "a method for learning how to move in the world. For finding the liberty men [*sic*] used to have" (Newyorker.com, 2007). A sense of freedom derived from the practice of parkour is explained in its contestation of the mundane and unconscious practices of the modern world. Parkour, through this contestation, becomes a challenge to the norm, an appropriation of city space and disruption of the order of "technocapitalist space" (Atkinson, 2009: 183). Further, scholars have argued traceurs learn to challenge the production-consumption binary, which constrains urban life and restricts usage counter to those which allow capitalism to function in and define urban space (Thompson 2008; Atkinson 2009; Mould 2009; Guss 2011; Lamb 2014). This antagonism to capitalism, research shows, is found in parkour's reinterpretation of material-spatial productions of capital flow.

The draw, to practice parkour, for many traceurs is the art form's capacity to complicate, even reject conventional, expected usages of city space (Lamb, 2014b). This complication works to shift traceurs' experience of city life and themselves therein. Parkour's locus of transformation is from the inside out. Practitioners change their perspective as their body becomes stronger, more agile, and their vision of space expands and enriches connections with the environment. Becoming a traceur is developed through a process, a journey, toward a way of life and not simply a temporary performance of momentary subversion. The body, Foucault (1995) reminds us, is a strategic and multi-faceted site of power. As traceurs reinterpret their body they also reinterpret their relation to power, both discursively and materially, by purposefully challenging societal constraints in the interconnection of the body and architecture's participation in informing understandings of the social body.

Parkour draws inspiration from a type of military training developed by French naval officer, Georges Hébert. Hébert's training method emerged in the early 20th century as part of his *méthode naturelle* (natural method). In the 1960s the French military developed obstacle courses, the *Parcours du Combattant*. This loosely translates to "running against" or "way of fighting" (Bavinton, 2007: 392). These training courses were based off Hébert's natural method. Raymond Belle, David Belle's father, was born in Vietnam during the war. He received an education and training from the French army, which employed many of Hébert's training philosophies. Years later, while living in France and working as a firefighter, Raymond Belle embraced Hébert's ideas of training the body. Raymond Belle

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became proficient in *parcours* training and the *méthode naturelle*. Along with his proficiency he developed an appreciation for the method's intrinsic value. Raymond Belle passed on the importance of and passion for these virtues to his son, David.

David Belle and his childhood friend, Sebatien Foucan (a key figure in the popularisation of parkour) formed the first group of traceurs, the Yamakazi. Here, Hébert's philosophy still held sway in Belle and Foucan's new art form; that is, as Atkinson (2009) notes, "immersing oneself in one's immediate physical/natural environment to gain a deep phenomenological awareness of it" (p. 172). As the members of the Yamakzi fully immersed themselves in the urban environment of Lisses, France pakour began to spread. During the late 1990s parkour's popularisation grew leaps and bounds because of its attention from the media, most notably, YouTube. Parkour's popularity continues to proliferate as the many TV commercials, Hollywood films, and YouTube videos. These media are drawn to the stylized images parkour offers.

Scholars have positioned parkour as a type of creative play, one that not only reinterprets, but challenges constraints designed into city space for the purposes of disciplining behavior (Bavinton, 2007; Geyh, 2006; Saville, 2009; Higgins, 2009; Lamb, 2014a, Lamb, 2014b). Others view parkour as a simultaneous mobile and perceptual engagement with the urban terrain. Similar studies frame parkour as a subversion of the repetition inherent in modern life, as a way of re-engaging arbitrary and often capricious habits to reclaim more purposeful actions (Sharpe, 2013). Still others have shown parkour as a form of resistance that appropriates the body from constrained experiences of, and ways of moving in, urban space (Lemos, 2010; Atkinson, 2009; Fuggle, 2008a; Thompson, 2008; Mould, 2009; Daskalaki et al, 2008). The feelings of freedom afforded by the practice of parkour, are found in how it opens new perspectives on everyday surroundings by developing highly embodied relationships with space (Ameel & Tani, 2012).

A common comparison is that of the traceur and the flâneur described by Benjamin (1999). The two share surface commonalities, for example, a disdain for the consumer-based cultural experience of urban space (Atkinson, 2009). What is often overlooked in what seems like an obligatory comparison is that the flâneur enjoys an untethered stroll afforded by wealth and privileged by race and gender. The flâneur is marked by wealth and education and marks the body with such. The flâneur wonders the streets searching for peculiarities that may go unnoticed by others but is more of an observer of the spectacle around him, an aloof spectator. In the vernacular of the flâneur, the traceurs is not a detached observer of this text, but a co-author. She/he seeks the actual, corporeal engagement with the physical landscape. This sort of super-engagement is not untethered to wealth, race, gender for parkour cannot erase these. JumpStart a traceur from the Indianapolis jams sheds some light on this:

> *"PK is about your ability to do the flow not really who you are. It's hard to define but it's not even skill level because everybody is the same and everybody is always progressing."*

Put plainly, the person develops through parkour, which is in contrast to the stroll developing because of the person.

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Bricolage Against Subjectivity

Parkour helps traceurs shift interpretations of self and of space reinforced by hegemonic discourses. Within such power structures there still exist is a "degree of plurality and creativity" within urban space (de Certeau, 1984: 30). Apparatuses of production and consumption structure ways of using objects (bodies, building, products), yet these structures do not present the only ways of using objects. As the traceur jumps from building to building, over stair railings, and other obstacles designed to discipline movement, she or he is engaged in what de Certeau (1984) calls *bricolage*. Bricolage is the "variant of activity" in the types of operations and the roles of spaces (de Certeau, 1984: 29). In comparing the act of bricolage to reading, the bricoleur, according to de Certeau (1984), "poaches" from the dominant readings of appropriate uses of space (p. 29). Individuals take what is necessary and relevant from a text and deploy it for their own purposes. Therefore, it is no longer the passive receptivity informed by the apparatus reinforcing and concealing operational logics. Through parkour the traceur becomes the bricoleur par excellence.

Individuals making a "revolt against normative space," Borden (2001) contends, lies in their performative and representational practices wherein they re-imagine architectural space and thereby "recreate both architecture and themselves" (p. 89). Architecture and the body are both sites of power. As the traceur vaults a gate or executes a wall run overcoming the structure she or he simultaneously alters the meaning of both the body and the structure. As bodies and buildings take on meaning through spatial practice, appropriation of use, for both, is an appropriation of meaning. Edgar and Sedgwick (1999) describe bricolage as the "process by which elements are appropriated from the dominant culture, and their meaning transformed" in order to "challenge and subvert that culture" (p. 48). Parkour as a tactical act of bricolage in the strategic space of power (urban architecture) also functions as an act of bricolage against subjectivity.

Power, like parkour, has a movement of its own. Hegemonic power at work in the city must reformulate itself to maintain its ability to act on the actions afforded the traceur. Power's ability to adjust, as one traceur, Cat, describes:

> *"Parkour, if it continues it'll continue to have an impact. More places will put chicken wire on the rooftops. Like in France they put a mixture of broken glass and mix it with mortar to keep traceurs off the roofs. More architecture and structures will start to change based on how society sees PK. If it's spun the wrong way and becomes criminal or competitive, which is criminal, it'll have an effect on the environment that way. It already has."*

This example demonstrates how power moves in order to answer its potential subversion. Power can and must "shift from one [disciplining code] to another" to subsume practices by which its efficacy is threatened (Lefebvre, 1991: 162). Recoding in the form of chicken wire barricades and glass-laden rooftops demonstrates power's need and ability to "never allow itself to be confined" so as to be able to adjust to behaviours counter to hegemonic production and maintenance (Lefebvre, 1991:162).

A hegemonic deployment of power, such as mixing broken glass and mortar, further explicates power's use of architecture to discipline individuals' perceptions of the range of available spatial practices. The result of this interplay, between power's attempt to control space and practitioners' attempts of personal freedom is what de Certeau (1984)

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refers to as a "truth value" of space (p. 99). A truth-value of space, a *truth* of ways of being in space, develops, as de Certeau (1984) explains, individuals' "epistemic modalities;" how subjects come to know and interpret the ensemble of possibilities for spatial the practices (p. 99). The construction of an epistemic modality - knowing *who* I am based on *where* I am or knowing where *to go* based on where I *can go* - highlights the importance of an epistemology of doing with regard to understanding parkour as this approach is centred on knowledge being locational, situational, and positional. As a kind of pedagogy of space, epistemic modalities become so normalised they reduce and limit the creativity and improvisation needed for the production of more emancipatory urban spaces.

Parkour is a continuous change in spatial location and therefore is a constant change in traceurs' relation to space. Parkour requires an expansion of traceurs' epistemic modalities. As a traceur my subjectivity, and my power to act (agency), are informed by my spatial location and the produced meaning (representation), of the space. My body takes on different meaning and thus enacts different modalities in the overlapping of myriad spaces. These spaces, too, are not demarcated as little islands of space but also reflect meaning and produce representations of each other. Further, these spaces not only reflect my subjectivity they also re-inscribe my relation to the architecture in my occupancy or absence of those spaces. I learn, or know, how to move and where I can move based on who and where I am in relation to architectural space.

Traceurs develop expanded and more nuanced epistemic modalities. Parkour's alternative perception of architecture challenges attempts to homogenise experiences of city space and as a result homogenise spatial practices. As Par-ker comments:

> *"5 or 6 people see the exact same thing but you see it differently. Your perceptions are based on ability…based on your level. So an obstacle, like a building, is about your perception. So with parkour, I guess I can adapt to situations and be different than most people."*

This progress however, is still tethered to a spatial order, which "organizes an ensemble of possibilities and interdictions," for example, possible places in which one can move or a wall that prevents one from going further (de Certeau, 1984: 98). As one traceur explains:

> *"the structure is the move. Location dictates your movement. Location in terms of where you are or where you're from will influence the type of flow and the techniques they throw" (Cat).*

Cat continues, stating:

> *"If structures are tightly knitted the flow is different. If its 50 or 60 feet apart you develop more cardio whereas if you're doing short jumps you have a tighter flow and its based off your terrain and your vision of it. Indiana: not a good place for parkour. It's real spread out and around here you have to seek places out. We'll check out a place and the structure isn't strong enough to support you. But in the U.K. the architecture is built better and will hold you. Here you jump up and reach out to get a hold and the brick comes off in your hand. It doesn't allow people to experience PK in the U.S. like they do overseas because of so much space between us. You have to drive for a while to find something you can play on."*

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The traceur's acts of bricolage are situational, spatial, and contextual and in many ways dictated by the built environment. Engaging architecture through bricolent activity improves traceurs' epistemic modalities.
The spatial order, however, reciprocally informs which obstacles are repositioned as opportunities. Different obstacles lend themselves to a differently developed traceur. Johnny, one of Cat's friends, further explains,

> *"This gives people different development and lends itself to different training and a different training mind set. You develop based on what's around you and that develops a certain mindset. It's like why everybody wears different clothes in different areas. So, if you're used to being in flat spaces you're going to do more running because you're trying to fill the space with movement, but, if you're in a tight knit space it allows you to do more kongs, monkeys, and jumps. That develops your body different and your vision too."*

Here we see the conception of freer engagement with space, expanding epistemic modalities, is produced dialectically with the space in which one is enmeshed. Parkour in a more dense urban space develops the traceur's spatial sensibilities differently than parkour in a less dense area, in this example, Indianapolis.
The traceur's body, too, plays a significant role in how she or he develops a vision of the line in the built environment.

> *"Different body types" one traceur reveals, "dictate the moves" (Collin).*

He further states:

> *"Someone who's 6'4" can't take the path the same way as somebody who's 5'2" so a different body type has a different attack method. For example, taller people a lot of the time might take a higher line" (Collin).*

The physicality of one's body informs how she or he uses architecture in parkour. Simultaneously the architecture informs how she or he uses the body. The series of moves one conducts is "based on your body…it causes you to be more self-aware because you have to be aware of your body like you're using it to solve a problem" (Amy). These comments reveal the intricate balance between the body and architecture as each plays a central role not only in the traceur's development but also in her or his conceptualising the body's role in epistemic modalities.
In my development as a traceur I have found that perhaps parkour's greatest act of freedom is in the ways that it redefines and repositions social relations. Parkour reframes the building or boundary in which one self-checks her or his identity. Buildings become opportunities to act and a tool of traceur agency. This reframing, for many traceurs, allows parkour to be a practice, which produces themselves and others as a community. TooAmy, a leader of many of the parkour jams, positions the development of traceurs as a development in a

> *"family…it [parkour] is very social and supportive and everyone supports you in your progress."*

Another traceur, Billy, buttresses this feeling commenting:

> *"parkour has really made me open to different people and different ideas. Parkour is about gathering and moving and helping each of get better."*

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Reframing the viewing mechanism (architecture) into an opportunity to develop family and become open to new people and different ideas creates urban architecture as a potential space of support and new social relationships. Jamy, an experienced traceur, finds this coming together to be emancipatory:

> *"people now days have lots of social pressure and people don't do things because of judgment…but with parkour it's like you're free of all that, it's like I fit in because I'm able to adapt and get better."*

In being free of social pressure, traceurs challenge the mirrored image of the 'Other' as they also challenge their prescribed reflection.
Architecture as a viewing mechanism (re)produces self and Other, however, parkour perturbs this effect on the relationship between architecture and the body by reproducing spaces of equality, appreciation, and community. As traceurs come together they produce a new set of social relationships that architecture tries to condense. It is through parkour that traceurs create emancipatory social bonds. As Cat explains,

> *"the travel is the bond."*

The ability to appropriate spaces and social relationships toward more communal and equal sensibilities provides a sense of agency. This sense of acceptance and community is reiterated by Cat who states:

> *"parkour is something everyone can do. You look at it and think all they're doing is running and climbing and jumping. I can run and jump and climb. That's all. Keep it that simple."*

TooAmy agrees. She states,

> *"parkour is non-judgment and non-judgment builds trust. So, people can communicate more freely not only in parkour but in other things in life as well."*

In expanding the nature of social relationships and centring them on parkour, this art has value outside of corporeal connection of body and building. Parkour helps traceurs reshape the understanding of self and others and facilitates the (re)production of more emancipated spatial practices and relationships.

Operational Logic and the Optical Knowledge of Space

For de Certeau (1984), the rationalising of how we use space, through discourse and practice, becomes hidden as operational logics. Operational logics are manifested through "ways of using dictated by a dominant economic order" (de Certeau, 1984: xiii). Appropriate ways of using the objects of place and of using the body in space are imposed by relations of power, always social, who determine the "types of operations and the role of space" (de Certeau, 1984: 30). For de Certeau (1984) the types of operations consist of strategies and tactics, or different ways of operating, which he describes as "instructions for use" (p. 30). Strategies are able to "produce, tabulate, and impose these spaces" informed by the operational logics wherein they take place (de Certeau, 1984: 30). A strategy is a rationalisation seeking "first of all to distinguish its 'own' place…the place of its own power and will, from an 'environment'" (de Certeau, 1984: 36).
Architecture can act as a mirror to our subjectivity in a way that creates what de Certeau (1984) calls an "optical knowledge" of urban space (p. 93). In other words, individuals perceive power's representation in architecture and their access or denial to space and

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the range of available uses therein. Over time, traceurs acquire a *parkour vision*, which challenges the optical knowledge prescribed in architecture. As TooAmy eloquently describes:

> *"I compare it to taking a painting class. You have to mix all the colours and shades and if you do it long enough you start to see all that in your environment. The more you practice, the more you do it [painting], and the more you know how to do it, you develop it in your mind. Everywhere you go you see it. Like the painting class, you're learning that ability to notice opportunity in your environment. From PK you learn how to see the obstacles differently."*

Once you commit to the act of parkour and you grab the building, you feel something has changed. You have, perhaps, felt concrete before but not in the sense of doing something out of place, like you might get caught in some violation. In one of our jams I described this as walking into your roommate's bedroom when she/he is not home. The space has not changed but you become acutely aware of its rules even if those are not formally stated.

This is, perhaps, the key insight offered by parkour: this vulgar gripping (quite literally) of the power of discourse, and at once, in the act of bricolage, fore fronting the operational logic – the expected ways of using space per the dominant economic order. In parkour,

> *"everyone has a different perception of their line. So parkour teaches you a vision of the obstacles and how to see your line" (Par-ker).*

This constitutes an optical knowledge of their own which leads to different spatial engagements. Traceurs challenge a normative optical knowledge, a visual representation of power, through corporeal connection to architecture, an embodied agency. When we vault a stairway, for example, it has no power in its physicality. Power is produced in the stairway through use. The structure has the power to prescribe but not to determine as architecture "reproduces itself within those who use the space…within their lived experience" (Lefebvre, 1991: 137). Traceurs, then, redefine architectural space through a redefinition of appropriate use. As one traceur explains,

> *"normal society is taught that a wall is supposed to keep you out, unless you're criminally minded. People will see it as a barrier. With parkour you start to see walls that you can look at differently, it's not a barrier anymore" (Chief).*

Normal society, as he states, creates ways of operating or instructions for use, for example, the wall being designed to keep you out.
In the parkour flow the architecture and the body are redefined not in their physicality but within their connection. Johnny indirectly explains the traceur as bricoleur:

> *"I think architecture has limited us. We learned in my psych class it's called functional fixedness where you see the object for what it's supposed to do and when you do something different with it you change its purpose. In parkour you are changing the purpose of the obstacle because you're doing something different than its purpose like a gate or wall."*

The traceur as bricoleur at once recodifies the meaning of both body and the obstacle. The functional fixedness of the gate or wall, as he explains above, has a meaning as a barrier. That meaning is produced through use as a spatial practice. Walking through the

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gate for those who have access as well as keeping out for those who do not, those uses re-inscribe or (re)produce the meaning of the gate and the bodies conforming use to the constructed meaning.

Conclusion

The body and architecture are produced in and among the material relations producing urban space. One might say that the parkour flow is produced within a flow: capital flow. Bodies and buildings have a material existence or physicality. Each exists as producer and production of space. The body and the building take on meaning through the spatial practices that constitute one another. Their meaning is reflected and internalised in their relationship. Buildings reflect meaning onto bodies and in this relationship meaning rebounds, reflects, and constitutes subject and space for these cannot be understood as mutually exclusive.

The relationships and the meanings produced therein are in constant dialectic struggle with the lived practices of individuals in social relations inherently imbued with power. Parkour can be used to understand the relationship between architecture and the body as it engages the spatial practices that produce meaning, bodies, and buildings. Through its very exteriority of appropriate use of the body and of architecture, the practice of parkour lends insight into how each produce one another through discursive and material practices. This exteriority positions parkour as an act of freedom, but also as an emancipatory way of being, in urban architectural space.

Thus, parkour is not only a tactical use of strategic architectural space through bricolent appropriation but is at once a tactical (mis)use of my body as a strategic site of power. As I develop as traceur-tactician I develop the skills to make tactical (mis)use of my body. Through the parkour flow, with each successive bricolent maneuver over one obstacle to the next, I am simultaneously enacting bricolage against my subjectivity by manipulating or recasting constraining discourses that constitute my body. Parkour, in its expansion of dominant discourses, can be seen as an action on the actions of power. Traceurs, through freer engagement of architectural space (and their bodies) do not liberate themselves from power but alter, upset, and challenge its ability to define them.

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The regaining of public spaces to enhance the historic urban landscape

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Abstract

Open spaces in the urban landscapes suffer from deterioration caused by man that leads to two major outcomes: on one side they are abandoned because of newer contemporary needs, on the other hand they tend to be "cannibalized" in the attempt to satisfy our society. This has caused a progressive retraction of urban open spaces that have become residual spaces with no shape and no name.
This course of crisis has damaged the identity of places and this is more acute in historic urban landscapes that are recognised as cultural heritage and world heritage. The historic urban landscape approach suggested by UNESCO recognises public spaces' importance for society and promotes the acknowledgement of public spaces and their dynamism aiming to the integration of preservation, social development and economic targets.
To understand how "historic urban landscapes" are taking care of their public spaces, a few Management Plans of UNESCO's World Heritage cities have been compared. Only Italian UNESCO sites with an "urban complex" characterisation have been considered, this means a limited part of a city with homogenous characteristics from a spatial, historic and cultural point of view. We have focused our attention on the specific interventions for the management of open spaces, in order to identify the major targets and their executive tools, projects and actions.
In the light of the above-mentioned analyses, we propose some strategies to fight the decline of public spaces (streets, squares, gardens, etc.) and to enhance these spaces with great attention, trying to improve their fruition and comfort according to their historic and cultural values.
The need to identify design strategies to enhance public spaces within the historic urban landscape is included in the research and test activities carried out in the UNESCO site of Mantova and Sabbioneta. This site is an excellent area of applicability because of its urban shape, molded in years by the Gonzaga family. Together with the UNESCO Mantova e Sabbioneta office, we have involved citizens in the requalification design to activate regaining process and test the applicability of our analyses in the city of Mantova, a very articulated and complex reality, starting from the fruition of its places and according to its morphological, environmental, cultural and perceptive aspects.

Keywords: public spaces system; urban design; management plan; enhancement of cultural heritage; historic urban landscape.

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Introduction

The cultural debate about European and Italian towns (Romano, 1993; Clemente, 2001) has shown that public spaces – streets, squares, gardens, etc. – are a symbol of the "*civitas*", the hub of shared life and the key of the town. Public spaces date back to the beginning of human society: according to Gehl, first came '*life, then spaces, then buildings*' (Gehl, 1987).

Starting from XIX century public spaces have fallen in crisis because of society's way of living changes and needs: nowadays public spaces are the '*theater of modern world ripped contradictions*' (Schiaffonati, 1994: 105) and, according to Gregotti, they are '*privatized, depending on the market, downgraded, abandoned and no more the hub of society*' (Gregotti, 2002: 29). From literature the decline of public spaces can be summarised in a few steps. First, the principles of neoliberalism have exacerbated inequalities and segregation, therefore weakening the social living mixité and privatising both common goods and public spaces. Then, Public Administrations have slowly dropped their capability to organise public spaces able to please everyone's rights and needs. Finally, the growth of the urban intricacy has increased traffic, mobility and equipment needs too (information, communication and other facilities as garbage management, etc.) - public spaces have been gradually obstructed with objects (signs, parking meters, garbage bins, etc.), worsening fruition condition and not respecting places' identity.

This course of crisis has damaged the identity of places especially in the historic urban landscapes that are recognised as '*cultural heritage*' (D.Lgs. 42/2004; European Landscape Convention, 2000), '*common heritage of Europe*' (Faro Convention, 2005) and '*world heritage*' (UNESCO, 2011).

To understand how historic urban landscapes are taking care of their public spaces, the proposed survey has compared Management Plans of Italian towns that are enrolled in the UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL). The review has been limited to Italian UNESCO sites because, according to literature, Italy is the urban peninsula '*par excellence*' (Daverio, 2010) and, furthermore, it possesses the greatest number of historic urban landscapes registered in the WHL that follow specific national guide lines to draft their Management Plan.

The comparison of Management Plans has shown that most of the sites recognise the importance of requalification and maintenance of open spaces, but a programmatic line to requalify public spaces is still lacking. Hence, starting from the analysis of plans adopted by the cities, we have identified seven general strategies that should be considered when designing activities and actions to regain and requalify public spaces. The proposed approach has been applied to the UNESCO site of Mantova and Sabbioneta, where a bottom-up process has been activated to involve city users in the regaining and care of their public spaces.

The rest of the article is organised as follows: "Background and Related Work" section describes the meaning of the historic urban landscape according to UNESCO and presents the comparison of Management Plans. Then, section "Proposed Strategies for Regaining Public Spaces" pinpoints a programmatic line to regain and requalify public spaces, detailing the proposed strategies, while in "The UNESCO Site of Mantova and Sabbioneta: a Case Study" we summarize some actions tested in Mantova to involve citizens in the regaining of public spaces. Finally, we conclude the article discussing the results and proposing further research activities.

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Background and related works

The new definition of "historic urban landscape" given by UNESCO in the Vienna Memorandum goes beyond the notion of "old town centre": the urban area is now considered as the result of the historic stratification of values, cultural and natural characteristics (UNESCO, 2005). This whole is also formed by its open spaces, green or not, its topographic and hydrologic aspects, including visual perceptions and relations (UNESCO, 2011).

According to UNESCO Recommendations, approaching to the historic urban landscape means to preserve the quality of its "human" aspects, through a sustainable use of open spaces, by recognising their dynamic nature, and by supporting their social and functional diversities. This approach gives the opportunity to integrate both the purposes of conservation of urban heritage and the aims of both social and economic development. Once acknowledged that public open spaces have their own identities and their requalification passes through integrated processes based also on the conservation of the existing buildings, we can move to an analysis of some Management Plans of UNESCO's World Heritage cities. These plans are fundamental documents as far as conservation and enhancement are concerned, and give tools for a more effective design of open spaces. Since programming and monitoring sites' management was fundamental, in 2002 UNESCO obliged new candidates to present an adequate Management Plan; in 2004 the cities already awarded were asked to present the same documentation too. At the moment it is difficult to understand the real diffusion of this tool at worldwide level because a census is missing. Even at a European level the situation is quite heterogeneous, mainly because a number of different characteristics can be identified from country to country. We focused our analysis on Italian cities, where Management Plans are quite common: about 60% of the sites have adopted these tools, the majority of them have started the design while about 4% is still waiting to begin with the procedures (SITI, 2012: 38).

Availability and clarity of this documentation have been major criteria in the choice of potential case studies. We considered only UNESCO sites with an "urban complex" characterisation, this means having a limited part of a city with homogenous spatial, historic and cultural features.

Forty-eight Italian sites have been classified according to their location, the dimensions of the preserved area, the criteria for application, the specific types of sites. Going beyond the UNESCO mapping which identifies cultural, natural and mixed sites, a synthetic definition has been applied to each site to exclude those without the typical "urban complex" characteristics. The result is that only fourteen of the 51 Italian UNESCO sites preserve urban complexes: Historic Centre of Rome, the Properties of the Holy See in that City Enjoying Extraterritorial Rights and San Paolo Fuori le Mura; Historic Centre of Florence; Venice and its Lagoon; Historic Centre of San Gimignano; City of Vicenza and the Palladian Villas of Veneto; Historic Centre of Siena; Historic Centre of Naples; Ferrara, City of Renaissance, and its Po Delta; Historic Centre of the City of Pienza; Historic Centre of Urbino; Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and Other Franciscan Sites; City of Verona; Late Baroque Towns of the Val di Noto; Mantova and Sabbioneta (Table 1).

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Sites	*Date of Inscription*	*Area*	*Management Plan*	*Core Zone*	*UNESCO Criteria*
Historic Centre of Rome, the Properties of the Holy See in that City Enjoying Extraterritorial Rights and San Paolo Fuori le Mura.	1980 (1990)	Lazio	Not available	1485 ha	(i)(ii)(iii)(iv)(vi)
Historic Centre of Florence	1982	Toscana	2006	505 ha	(i)(ii)(iii)(iv)(vi)
Venice and its Lagoon	1987	Veneto	2012	5500 ha	(i)(ii)(iii)(iv)(v)(vi)
Historic Centre of San Gimignano	1990	Toscana	Not available	14 ha	(i)(iii)(iv)
City of Vicenza and the Palladian Villas of the Veneto	1994	Veneto	2007	334 ha	(i)(ii)
Historic Centre of Siena	1995	Toscana	2011	170 ha	(i)(ii)(iv)
Historic Centre of Naples	1995	Campania	2011	1021 ha	(ii)(iv)
Ferrara, City of the Renaissance, and its Po Delta	1995	Emilia	2002	46712 ha	(ii)(iii)(iv)(v)(vi)
Historic Centre of the City of Pienza	1996	Toscana	2005	441 ha	(i)(ii)(iv)
Historic Centre of Urbino	1998	Marche	2012	29 ha	(ii)(iv)
Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and Other Franciscan Sites	2000	Umbria	Not available (2010)	-	(i)(ii)(iii)(iv)(vi)
City of Verona	2000	Veneto	Not available (2005)	453 ha	(ii)(iv)
Late Baroque Towns of the Val di Noto (South-Eastern Sicily)	2002	Sicilia	2002	113 ha	(i)(ii)(iv)(v)
Mantova and Sabbioneta	2008	Lombardia	2006	175 + 70 ha	(ii)(iii)

Table 1. Italian urban complex registered in the World Heritage List.

We have focused our attention on the specific interventions for the management of open spaces, in order to identify the major targets and their executive tools, projects and actions to reach the desired goals. All the suitable Management Plans have been analysed, with the exception of Venice, for its extraordinary quality of "lagoon-city", and the Val di Noto, for the difficulties in identifying its urban dimensions within the extended area formed by the eight preserved districts. Last but not least, the sites of Rome, San Gimignano, Assisi and Verona have not been analysed because their Management Plans were not available. For those "mixed" sites where natural (Ferrara and its Po Delta) or architectural (City of Vicenza and the Palladian Villas of the Veneto) elements are involved, only the specific part of the documentation about the urban complex has been evaluated.

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The Management Plans' actions of the remaining eight plans have been grouped into categories to better identify the design area for open public spaces: participated design/planning, quality of the street furniture, maintenance of public spaces, accessibility and sustainable mobility, usability and safety of spaces, cultural aspects, technological aspects, services in the old town centre, and governance policies.

Participated design/planning

The majority of the analysed sites still involves private citizens only for the participated design/planning: horizontal subsidiarity, based on the principle that our cultural heritage is a "common good" that must be preserved by everyone, it is still very far from being applied. Only three sites over eight involve private citizens in the management of public spaces (Ferrara, Pienza and Urbino) through a number of periodic events where people can discuss.

Quality of the street furniture

A common feeling is that the quality of public spaces must be improved through the modification of the street furniture (Ubertazzi, 1994), renewing paving, benches, lamps, vegetation and poster designing. In nearly every case, specific guidelines have been provided (color, style, etc.) as well as regulations for equipping public spaces, normally "attacked" by elements such as chairs and tables, which are typical of food services, in a proper way (Siena Management Plan, 2011: 72).

Maintenance of public spaces

Maintenance services for public spaces are still very dependent from maintenance services for edifices and memorials: working on an existing building gives the opportunity to renew a part of paving or to restore monuments, which are usually situated in squares. About every site we have studied needs to be looked after and cared for, but only three cities (Vicenza, Siena and Urbino) have adopted a maintenance plan for facades and street furniture.

Accessibility and sustainable mobility

Most of sites agree upon how accessibility to the city and its historic centre should be improved in order to avoid traffic and the consequent noise and environmental pollution. Parked cars compromise the perception of the city and obstruct the pedestrian flow, causing problems to commercial activities too. A number of cities imagine easy-to-access "park and ride" systems, reduced private mobility thanks to sustainable lines, cycling lanes for slow mobility, major connections between the core zone and the buffer zone. Half of the sites encourage the requalification of some routes (even pedestrian ones) to remove "interruptions" within the city, as well as a shuttle system in order to connect the parking areas to the pedestrian areas. As far as this last point is concerned, only three cities (Vicenza, Siena and Urbino) offer special rates to promote the use of public transport and shuttles.

Usability and safety of spaces

The adequate usability of public spaces is generally considered a common goal: six sites over eight are determined to monitor the decline of some specific areas (situated both within and outside the core zone) and to requalify squares, natural territories and

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symbolic gardens of the city's identity. Half of the sites provides tools to improve the buffer zone from the environmental and architectural points of view, and in order to increase the city's security through the study of street lighting: this, of course, also reflects on the citizens' perception of public spaces. Only Florence, Vicenza and Naples perceive the need for a better use and sense of the city gates.

Cultural aspects

The cultural aspect in the design of public spaces is very relevant: this is the reason why the majority of the sites tend to reintroduce the historic viability through itineraries focused on the city's past. Not only posters, but also old axes connected to specific monuments (Basilica, walls, etc.) underlie the regeneration of this system. Furthermore, three sites over eight extend their itineraries' cultural values to the rural environment (Ferrara, Pienza and Urbino).

Technological aspects

New digital technologies are fundamental to improve the citizens' perception/usability of public open spaces, but only three sites (Vicenza, Siena and Ferrara) have adopted smart tools (QR code, App, audio-guides, etc.) to free overloaded areas from exceeding furniture. Only Naples takes advantage of these technologies to develop the site's accessibility. For a number of sites the technological aspect is limited to the realisation of a web site offering pictures and suggested itineraries.

Services in the old town centre

As stated by the Management Plan of Urbino, repopulating the old town centre is fundamental in order to requalify the residential area and its inhabitants. If we fight against depopulation, we have the opportunity to rebuild a society, where citizens take care of their city. One of the major targets for most of the sites is to make their centres more attractive by improving the service industry at all levels (shops, cultural events, orderly street furniture, etc.), by investing not only in the existing commercial networks but also in small shops and antique activities, by reactivating older promenades. Other actions are more focused on solving specific problems such as inconveniences caused by construction sites (Vicenza), collection of rubbish (Siena, Naples and Urbino), delivery of goods (Florence, Siena, Naples and Urbino). There are other strategies which have been adopted by half of the sites we have analysed such as the recycling of abandoned spaces and buildings for housing innovative and cultural events, the deep study of information-points and their location with a view to services like the well-known bike sharing, car sharing, luggage shops, taxi areas, etc.

Governance policies

Eventually, it is important that every action inside the Management Plan, and generally every project, has its own time schedule containing both the involved players and the potential financiers. These specifications can be found in nearly every Management Plan we have analysed but only the half of them considers negotiation talks between parts and a consequent adaptation of the city plans after the registration to the WHL. Furthermore, only Vicenza has developed a document for planned preventative maintenance of its public open spaces.

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Proposed strategies for regaining public spaces

According to the proposed analysis of Management Plans, most of the sites agree on the importance of open spaces requalification and maintenance. Nevertheless, these activities are disconnected and not integrated into urban processes: public open spaces may (or may not) find a placement within the Management Plan strategies, but it depends on its redactor's sensibility, since general rules for approaching these plans do not exist.
It is necessary that all the components of a city "work together" so that the design of public spaces, which are part of the cultural heritage, contemplates both their social and economic functions, as well as their objective qualities.
The approach to technological and environmental design goes beyond what can be defined as a "sector-based vision": it consists of "more complex approaches, whose aim is to rule the invisible" (Gambaro, 2012: 47-49). This method is essential in order to analyse wider environmental processes (Gangemi 2001), by considering the immaterial traits of the design and its social-economical sustainability (Schiaffonati et al, 2011:11).
To enhance the historic urban landscape a systemic approach is needed: a design conceived through separated single elements is not enough. An interface between a project and the other is fundamental in order to improve the quality of the urban structure starting from its own and environmental traits. In this way, the core zone will regain its "image" (Lynch, 1960) and the design will involve also the buffer zone.
Here we propose a programmatic line, consisting of seven strategies that should be followed when designing new actions for regaining public spaces.

1. The identity of the city and systemic vision

The contemporary city must act on the basis of a strategic vision of its own development by promoting the respect for its identity, by protecting its cultural heritage and by reusing its disused areas. A participative approach able to involve all the social classes is needed for farsighted governance.
This is true especially for the system of public spaces. Every "space" is a potential "place", that is why it is precious and must be perceived as a high-quality architecture with both a visual and an emotional impact.
Even though we are talking about a systemic approach, a little autonomy must always exist in the design phase. This "freedom" produces a coherent system of different interventions whose fulfilment is not strictly connected to the modification of general, financial or social parameters.

2. The system of open spaces as a "skeleton"

The design of the system of open spaces is not limited to the improvement of the street furniture: its target is to trigger a regeneration of the places, which are the "bones" of this "complex organism". We are not talking about a trivial sequence of spaces (football fields, streets, squares, gardens, etc.) but a "skeleton", filled by all the empty spaces, which connects the urban centre to the surrounding areas (Peraboni and Corsini, 2011: 31-37).
The design must start with a deep analysis of this complexity in order to understand how the urban landscape has evolved in time. Other purposes are to know the morphological and functional peculiarities of the place, its polarities, its services and possible connections.
Even if in most cases the general urban quality has got worse in these last decades, there are a few examples that have to be taken into account, such as Barcelona and Lyon,

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where the major polarities have been perfectly integrated and connected to the "bones" of the open spaces.
Through structuring the public spaces, it is possible to preserve their networks (cycling lanes, promenades, greenery, mobility, etc.), to improve urban accessibility and sustainability, to give prominence to less known realities situated in the town centre.

3. The environmental components of sustainable open spaces

Design strategies must facilitate urban and social sustainability by preserving the natural environment, by enhancing the qualities of the historic urban landscape, by limiting man's activities and overexploitation of natural resources. The usability of open spaces is increased if urban environments are comfortable, the climate is appropriate, the pollution (noise, air, etc.) are under control.
The design of elements connected to sensory perception helps in restoring a territory's cultural identity: visual and auditory attracters must be highlighted in open spaces to improve the system's accessibility and the user's orientation, the sense of touch may ease the materials' perception, smells shall make places more or less pleasant.

4. Orderly, "free", safe and comfortable public spaces

Public spaces are the historic places of the community and of the urban life, thus why they must be safe, comfortable, accessible, attractive and free to use. The design is bound to study the "flow system" paying attention to itineraries, materials and street furniture by favouring the pedestrian point of view, by making risky places safer, by installing different paving materials according to the users' needs, by scheduling the spaces' maintenance, by improving the street lighting and the town's cleanliness, by making the cities accessible to disabled people.
Nowadays urban spaces are overcrowded with road signs, billboards, tables, beach umbrellas, chairs, benches, etc.: specific regulations, focused on "subtracting" rather than "adding", are needed in order to "free" and uniform these spaces, putting them in order.

5. Culture as a "plus"

Cultural and formative aspects are important in order to increase the territory's awareness and to ease communication among the involved key players. The urban identity must be enhanced starting from the historical background of the city (Peraboni and Corsini, 2011: 141-147): it is not only the result of consolidated processes, but also the evolution of circumstances and the creation of stories and relationships.
Restoring the cultural aspects of a city and of its public spaces, by operating on the historic viability and the ways to use it, is fundamental. That is how the route interprets the spaces of customs, by narrating the presence of the past, assuming a dialogical value (Jappelli, 2012: 11). Itineraries may be various (historic-cultural, cycle-touristic, naturalistic, spiritual, wine and food, etc.), but they have to be realised not only through posters and signals but also by starting a requalification process of the chosen path (paving recycling, removal of asphalt and sidewalks to highlight the pedestrian purpose, specific lighting, replacement of inadequate street lights, new street furniture, reuse of abandoned areas, etc.). New digital technologies (QR codes, Apps, audio-guides, projections, etc.) may ease the perception and the usability of the areas crossed by the itinerary.

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6. The historic centre as a setting for functional diversity

An attractive city offers its users a number of possible activities in a high-quality setting. Contemporary societies are complex and unstable: social and economic conditions constantly change and historic towns become historic centres without inhabitants (OWHC, 2013).

It is necessary to define the complexity of urban functions (commercial networks, small shops and antique activities, cultural events, bike sharing, car sharing, luggage shops, taxi areas, etc.), by ensuring that old and new districts work well together. The challenge is to manage the relations at different levels and to avoid the isolation of single functions (OWHC, 2013).

7. Open spaces as common goods

Citizens' involvement is essential to define the future urban landscape and to design urban projects that suit to local realities and respect the traditions and skills of the communities (OWHC, 2013).

Citizens must be educated on the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity: public spaces are common goods born from partnerships and sharing. In the future, these spaces will be managed through an cooperation among the citizenry, the administrative office and the other institutions located on the territory. We are talking about a long and articulated process that needs alternative economic rules and new social mechanisms. In the meantime, it is possible to promote the sense of awareness and to sensitise the community in taking care of its own city. Because of the intrinsic value of the urban landscape of a WHL site, a few more devices are needed: a simplified maintenance manual for low skilled people, a cooperation agreement (Comune di Bologna, 2014) to regulate the citizens' participation to meetings, scheduled classes for protecting both the volunteers and the monuments.

The UNESCO site of Mantova and Sabbioneta: a case study

The need to identify design strategies to enhance public spaces within the historic urban landscape is included in the research and test activities currently considered for the UNESCO site of Mantova and Sabbioneta.

This site is an excellent area of applicability because of its urban shape, moulded over many years by the Gonzaga family. This feature is also one of the major reasons why Mantova has been admitted, together with Sabbioneta, to the World Heritage List in 2008 and it becomes Italian capital of Culture in 2016. The "Gonzaga-theme", a symbol of Mantova's cultural and social identity, has become so important that, in addition to the enrolment to the WHL, a specific cultural district has been created in order to finance the research activities. This cultural district, named "Le Regge dei Gonzaga", is a network of municipalities that are close to Mantova and endowed with a Gonzaga mansion (that is the meaning of "reggia", *pl.* "regge"). Its target is to coordinate the preventive and planned conservation of these buildings.

The city can not be merely seen as a heap of significant monuments but rather needs to be considered as a living organism (HerO, 2011). That is why the current research activities are focused on beating the "single monument" approach in favour of a systemic method where the city, its layout, its connections, its empty and open spaces are treated as an organic whole.

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Thanks to the project named "(O)URS 2.0 – Our Urban Regeneration Space 2.0", that won the ideas competition attended in Mantova "La cultura come bene comune" (Culture as a common good), we have been able to examine in depth the role of public space as a common good (TEMA, 2015).
The project (O)URS 2.0 consisted of three phases: identification and analysis of public spaces to regain; city users' needs examination talking of public spaces' usability, accessibility and equipment; development of the citizens' *desiderata* to write a document with the designing directions.
Together with the "UNESCO Mantova e Sabbioneta" office, ten Mantuan historic public spaces have been selected, and for each of them we have organised some events called "Take care of your city step by step". During these events citizens were guided to understand the importance of public spaces and how to regain them using co-design tools. These *ad hoc* tools were "Vote your Space", "Help us to analyse this Space!", and "How would you prefer this Space?". In the first step, citizens could choose their favourite space on a poster, then they were allowed to add, modify, or remove equipment icons inside the space model in order to indicate potential criticalities (vegetation, benches, mail boxes, telephone boxes, street lightning, waste bins, etc.) and, finally, everyone was invited to write down possible ways to approach the design of the area or a few tips for taking care of it.
The most important achievement of *(O)URS 2.0* was not the requalification design but the activation of a participative bottom-up process aiming to make citizens aware of the criticalities of public spaces: by involving the city users we had the opportunity to regain and take care of these spaces. Practically, thanks to the cooperation among different key players, it was possible to halve the costs by activating an "operative" network among schools, universities and institutions.

Conclusion

The proposed strategies are a first step to move toward public spaces' requalification in historic urban landscapes. The continuance of the survey has highlighted that regaining is only a step to requalify public spaces: the test activities applied to the site of Mantova and Sabbioneta and to the cultural district "Le Regge dei Gonzaga" have shown that it is necessary to identify a programmatic line to help Public Administrations to requalify public spaces in relation with their territory. Specifically, the areas of intervention for requalification both at local and wide level are fruition, identity, environment and digital tools.
Ongoing works are devoted to study the requalification of public spaces to enhance the territory: overcoming urban borders of single historic urban landscapes and exploiting public space system to connect these realities (urban, rural, natural, etc.) will make it possible to value the territory and thus creating the *'Diffused UNESCO City'* (Giordano, 2015).
The "Diffused UNESCO City" concept was born following and overcoming the historic urban landscape approach bringing on two research occasions: all 'historic centres' can to be considered like historic urban landscapes even if they are not registered in the World Heritage List; furthermore the UNESCO town should not only manage what is defined as 'core area' or 'buffer area' but also enclose all that portrays the identity of the territory.

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In the future, we plan to test the "Diffused UNESCO City" application through the requalification and regaining of public spaces: a few strategies ascribable to a systemic vision to evaluate cultural, landscape and environmental heritage as a *unicum* through cooperation as a model.

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Piano at the ground level

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Abstract

From observing the current dynamics of cities and the development of contemporary architecture, great criticism arises in response to the creation of iconic buildings as formal experiments that do not contribute to the local experience. Motivated by this criticism, this paper aims to analyse and understand the importance and the participation of architecture in the construction of a better public realm. The analytical method seeks to understand, evaluate and manipulate the main attributes of a public space based on the features that make it a platform for public life. The analysis focuses on the public realm in three areas of study- the space resulting of the interaction between the buildings, the interstitial space and the constructed spaces. The projects chosen to analyse consisted on iconic buildings by the architect Renzo Piano, due to his international recognition - a body of work shaped by the contexts in which they operate. The projects are situated in global cities and propose new configurations of public space: Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris; Potsdamer Platz, Berlin; and Saint Giles Court, London. The analysis seeks the features that make architecture successful in the sense that it aggregates people and creates interesting spaces that favour human permanence; the paper evaluates whether the projects of Renzo Piano display these features. Each project has its own particularities. Starting with the dimensions, each project contributes to the public space at a different scale. Nevertheless, the variables analysed were the same for each context, and the effects were considered regarding the proportions and the programmatic possibilities offered by each. After understanding the site and its history, the study of the public life and its local attributes, this paper highlights the strengths and weaknesses of each building and how they contribute to the specific place. The interpretation of the results took into account not only the present, but also the lifetime of each project, raising some potential problems or successes for the future. It is possible to conclude that the three projects contribute positively to the public space, stimulating urban improvements and constitute good-practice examples, each at a different intensity.

Keywords: architecture; public space; pedestrian; insertion; Renzo Piano.

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Introduction

From observing the dynamics of the city, some criticism arose with regard to the creation of iconic buildings as isolated forms that render little contributions to people's experience of a certain site. Since the architecture of the streets, urban blocks, squares and its relationship with the pedestrians can influence public spaces the present research intends to evaluate emblematic contemporary projects in terms of their participation and importance for building a better public space. In order to do that, we look for the features that make such projects successful, by aggregating people and creating interesting spaces that favour permanence.

A growing concern with the presence of architecture in the urban context can be observed nowadays amongst scholars. Constantly analysing the resulting spaces in the city and seeking to make the cities attractive to their inhabitants, they say that the architects should try to create places that are not only visually attractive, but also respond efficiently to the needs and aspirations of the people who use those spaces.

Holanda (2010: 28) defines architecture as an independent variable: a "place enjoyed as a means to satisfy functional, bioclimatic, economic, sociologic, topologic, affective, symbolic and aesthetic expectations, based on values which can be universal, or pertaining to a group, or individual". By identifying the aspects that characterise architecture and the many kinds of performance before social expectations, it is possible to analyse the quality of the resulting spaces.

This raises a very important question: what makes a building belong to the site where it is? What can the architect provide to the society in order to construct cities for people? In the present paper, the focus is the city's configuration, its performance and how it affects the pedestrians in particular. Thus, being properly placed at the ground level and responding to the flow and needs of people that use the space are strategies that make architecture better fit the urban context.

In order to analyse the architecture within the framework suggested by Holanda (2010), the paper considers functional aspects (related to activities) and sociologic aspects (related to the presence of people in public spaces).

Method

The present paper applies the method developed by Tenorio (2012). The aim is to analyse how new buildings can influence public life in the resulting urban spaces. A brief description of the method and its phases of application are presented below.

A. Information about the object of study

In order to gather information about the project and the surrounding area, data for understanding the history of the neighbourhood and the changes the project brought to the region is collected. In addition, information about the architect's expectation when conceiving his projects allows us to evaluate whether these expectations came to life. How does the architect suggest that the dialogue between building and public space take place?

B. Survey and evaluation of public life: subjects and activities

According to Tenorio (2012), the evaluation of the public life of the place where the object of study is located makes it possible to say whether it is successful about attracting

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the presence of people. The definition of 'success' in this particular case refers to the number and variety of people and activities present.
Unlike what it is proposed by Tenorio (2012), for whom the characteristics should be measured *in loco*, the present paper analyses public life based on the memories of people who have been to the site, according to Lynch (2010). The population sample available for an interview was outsiders, a group of Brazilian tourists, from both genders, who were asked to register their memories about who used and how they used the public spaces they visited.

C. Evaluation of public space: Configurational elements/Local Attributes
Regardless of the results obtained for public life, it is necessary to analyse the variables of configurational elements that influence the maintenance of public live, positively or negatively.
The items analysed refer to local attributes, since the focus of this work is on performance of the building within the public space immediately surrounding it. These items are: (1) Location: the place must be a passage to another site, being positioned at, or close to, well connected lines within the city's street system. (2) Limits and dimensions: the space must have clear limits, and dimensions in consonance with its characteristics. Alexander et el. (1977: 518) claims that a positive outdoor space – "the one that has a distinct and definite shape, as definite as the shape of a room" – makes people feel comfortable and, therefore, use them. (3) Types of buildings: the surrounding buildings must be of different types, have different characteristics and display a variety of people and activities. (4) Doors and windows: the limits of the place must have several doors and windows facing it, which according to Jacobs (2009) provide informal surveillance and increase the sensation of security. In addition, according to Tenorio (2012), the limits must have mild borders - or soft edges, as mentioned by Gehl (2006) - elements that favour the transition and interaction between public/private, preferably at the same level, keeping people at the public space. (5) Level: the site must be at ground level, following the topography, thus allowing accessibility and favouring the visualization of activities. Whyte (2009: 58) stresses that plazas that are sunk or higher than a foot must be avoid because they tend to be dead places. (6) Access and circulation: the place must be accessible for public and non-motorized transport, offer good conditions of access and circulation for pedestrians. (7) Activities on the limits and surroundings: they must be varied and well distributed, spatially and temporally.
The analysis was carried out by filling out the tables proposed by Tenorio (2012), and each item was answered by using a colour scale, going from red to green, indicating the worst situation and the best performance respectively. The justifications necessary were taken from studies of the graphic material and literature available about the site; from *Google Street View* for surveying the field and pictures, videos and maps available online; from axial maps of global integration; map of convex spaces including the openings to public space (doors). These last two maps are resources from the Space Syntax (Hillier & Hanson, 2003).
After the evaluation of the configurational elements of the site and the public life, it was possible to conclude whether the project contributes in configuring a successful public space, and what were the characteristics that foster this success. Finally, we concluded that the architect's expectations came to life when his work was taken over by the inhabitants.

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Case study

The study examines three works: Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris; Potsdamer Platz, Berlin; and St Giles Court, London. Each Project has its particularities and contributes to public life in a different scale. Centre Georges Pompidou, as a single building, St Giles Court, as a set of buildings and Potsdamer Platz, as a set of blocks. The variables analysed were the same and the effects were considered within the proportions and possibilities of each site.

Figure 1. Beaubourg.

Figure 2. Potsdamer Platz.

Figure 3. St Giles Court.

Source: fondazionerenzopiano.org (1 and 2) and archdaily.com (3)

The three works are located in centres of global cities, and they are a symbol of a proposal for a new configuration of the public space. The Italian architect Renzo Piano, chosen due to his vast architectonic production, extensive available bibliography about his work and international recognition, designed the three selected projects.

According to Buchanan (1993), Piano produces an architecture shaped by the site where it is located, by the program that it serves and by the historical moment when it is built, in terms of the technology available. Moreover, the author states that his architecture does not impose on the site, but rather responds to it, adopting some local characteristics and intensifying others, by complement or contrast. For Piano, it is important that the architecture does not fragment the city, and this is the reason why he tries to make it intensely integrating, making it a part of that period of time and that site, participating of the social life and the surrounding nature in many ways.

Therefore, we intend to verify if the buildings are well placed in the urban context and understand how architecture influences the public space, looking for the characteristics that make his projects successful or not.

Centre Georges Pompidou | Paris, France | 1971-1977

A. Information about the object of study

Georges Pompidou Centre, also known as Beaubourg, is located in *Marais*, 4th *arroundissement* of Paris, a privileged area for art lovers, with numerous art galleries and museums, in addition to hotels, boutiques, restaurants and cafés. The area was designed

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after a contest, whose aim was to bring culture to a more popular level (not being restricted to the elites), and today the region is home to the second greatest collection of modern art in the world. The museum was named after the then president of France, who sought to make art more popular. The wining proposal was expected to be a building not only capable of offering leisure and cultural activities, but also a space to produce culture. The intention was to create a building, which was an extension of the public space, represented mainly by the square in front of it. In addition to the expressive-symbolic meaning, Beaubourg was a great addition to the region, and became an active instrument of urban and social functions.

B. Survey and evaluation of public life: subjects and activities

Out of the questionnaires handed out, 20 were answered between 2006 and 2012, 7 of which were pertaining to visits made on summer time, and 13 in winter.

Most of the people interviewed considered the place very active, with a well-balanced gender presence. They indicated the predominance of groups formed by young white students and tourists, middle-class or upper middle-class people. However, the groups present did not intimidate other groups; hence, their presence did not interfere negatively with the quality of public life.

Pompidou and its surroundings can be considered a place of passing and permanence according to most of the people interviewed, which also identified that a number of people remained there for a reasonable amount of time. Most of the people interviewed identified passive and active activities on the borders of the site. They remembered cultural activities, concerts, people interacting and showing affection and joy.

C. Evaluation of public space: Configurational elements/Local Attributes

1. Location	1.1	In regard to global integration		The place is at an integrated street
2. Limits e Dimensions	2.1	Clarity of borders		Very clear borders
	2.2	Contiguity of limits		High contiguity
	2.3	Separation between public and private spaces		Very clear
	2.4	Dimensions		Consistent with its features
3. Types of buildings				Great variety
4. Doors and windows	4.1	Blind convex spaces		Few
	4.2	Number of doors		Many doors are opened to the site
	4.3	Relation between public and private		Direct relations
	4.4	Mild borders		Highly present
	4.5	Windows		Many windows face the site
5. Level				At ground level
6. Access and circulation	6.1	Public transport		Easily accessible
	6.2	Pedestrians and cyclists		Easily accessible
	6.3	Connections		Adequate to the limits
	6.4	Circulation		No obstacles or hindrances, meet the requirements of accessibility
7. Activities	7.1	Variety		Great diversity
	7.2	Spatial distribution		Well distributed
	7.3	Complement		They complement each other well
	7.4	Distribution over time		Great

Table 1. A Summary of the evaluation of configurational elements for Centre Georges Pompidou. Source: adapted from Tenorio, 2012.

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(1) Pompidou is in the central region of Paris, very close to the biggest and busiest subway station of the city. We can say the building is centralised, well connected and integrated to the urban context. Analysing the traffic demand in the surroundings, it is possible to observe that, even in days with less traffic, the street du Renard/Beaubourg is intensely used, being considered a place of daily passing.
(2) Beaubourg square, in front of Pompidou, is represented by a minimum of convex spaces, consistent with the *in loco* perception. A sequence of traditional Parisian facades, clear, tridimensional and contiguous elements configure the square. The separation of public and private space is clear. The dimension of the square is of a large area (more than 8000m^2): one comes from small convex spaces, the narrow streets of the old Parisian neighbourhood, and arrives at a large square, created to receive visitors and make the transition of scale between different buildings. This square is part of the architecture of the building, since it is responsible for its connection with the city and the pedestrians.
(3) Amidst traditional typological solutions, Pompidou broke paradigms with its innovative concept, and contributed to a variety of types of building in the region. The building is placed in a neighbourhood predominantly occupied by 18th century mansions; however, different buildings are also present: Atelier Brancusi, IRCAM, Saint-Merri Church and a Sports Centre. The plots of land vary in size, but the blocks are regular, with diversified internal patios, enabling different occupations and values.
(4) Although the surroundings have many openings, such as doors and windows facing the public space, the building itself has very few doors and this does not positively contribute for the public space. The panoramic escalators are the representation of Pompidou's windows to the public space. The visitor has their attention caught when making his way up; his eyes are taken from the local to the urban scale. The public/private transition is clear, and it happens in the balconies of restaurants or doors and with well-established limits, when it comes to a non-commercial activity. The borders are mild and present several elements that encourage the permanence of people and make the transition from public to private space.
(5) The difference in level between the local streets and the square that gives access to the building can be considered well planned, since its presence does not make the space inaccessible. The transition is gradual, so both the access to surrounding buildings and to the Beaubourg is at ground level, with no hindrances. The result of this level difference is a set of step forming a grandstand, a place intensely used for several activities.
(6) The access to public transport is varied and efficient. The main access streets all have segregated cycle facilities. In addition, there is a bicycle renting station in Beaubourg Square and other five stations close by. The access of pedestrians is easy due to the variety of transportation available, and it is a priority in the region: Beaubourg square and some other surrounding streets are exclusive pedestrian zones. The connections are direct, at ground level, and meet the accessibility requirements.
(7) The limits and surroundings of the place feature a great variety of activities. It is visible, however, a decline in the activities of commerce in *Rue Renard*, facing the blind facade of the Pompidou. The activities and the movement of people predominate in Beaubourg Square, in front of the main façade. On this side, the activities are well distributed, complement each other well, and keep the site active during all periods of the day.

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In conclusion, the building is part of the city, the pedestrian values and promotes the maintenance of public life, with proper physical structure to develop several social, cultural and artistic activities. It is possible, therefore, to consider the project a positive contribution to its urban context.

Potsdamer Platz | Berlin, Germany | 1992-2000

A. Information about the object of study

During the twentieth century, Berlin underwent two possible extreme scenarios for the development of a city. It had been the center of European cultural and social life but it was also a city destroyed by war. The Potsdamer Platz had played an important role in history, being the center of cultural life in Berlin before the World War II devastated the city and the Wall divided it.

After German reunification in 1992, the German company Daimler-Benz organised an international competition for the general planning of the Potsdamer Platz. The challenge was to rebuild a part of Berlin in 5 years. Reconstruction would be symbol of the consolidation and reunification of the city. The winning design by Renzo Piano was the one that included the construction of a new square, *Marlene Dietrich Platz*. Considering the square a key element in the development of the dynamics of urban social life, this element constitutes the cornerstone of the project.

B. Survey and evaluation of public life: subjects and activities

Of the questionnaires distributed, 13 were answered based on visits that occurred between 2007 and 2013, out of which 8 were in the summer and 5 in winter.

Most people consider the place very active, with well-balanced of gender and age range presence. The indicated groups were: young and old, tourists and locals going to work, of both genders. Thus, the predominant groups do not intimidate to the presence of other groups, without any restrictions and contributing to the variety of people on the site.

The Potsdamer Platz can be considered a place of passing and permanence, according to the interviews. As for duration, the responses were balanced in the 3 options featuring longer periods of time. More than half of respondents viewed and remembered passive and active activities taking place on the site and its borders. Most respondents believe that the activities were motivated by the presence of people on the site and they remembered people observing, interacting and even showing affection and joy.

C. Evaluation of public space: Configurational elements/Local Attributes

1. Location	1.1	In regard to global integration		The place is at an integrated street
2. Limits e Dimensions	2.1	Clarity of borders		Very clear borders
	2.2	Contiguity of limits		High contiguity
	2.3	Separation between public and private spaces		Very clear
	2.4	Dimensions		Consistent with its features
3. Types of buildings				Great variety
4. Doors and windows	4.1	Blind convex spaces		Few
	4.2	Number of doors		Some doors are open to the site
	4.3	Relation between public and private		All direct relations
	4.4	Mild borders		Present
	4.5	Windows		Many windows face the site

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5. Level				At ground level
6. Access and circulation	6.1	Public transport		Easily accessible
	6.2	Pedestrians and cyclists		Easily accessible
	6.3	Connections		Not very adequate to the limits
	6.4	Circulation		No obstacles or hindrances, meet the accessibility requirements
7. Activities	7.1	Variety		Great diversity
	7.2	Spatial distribution		Very well distributed
	7.3	Complement		They complete each other very well
	7.4	Distribution over time		Great

Table 2. A Summary of the evaluation of configurational elements for Potsdamer Platz. Source: adapted from Tenorio, 2012.

(1) The Potsdamer Platz is located in central Berlin, where well-connected streets predominate. Even on days with less movement, the access roads to the site are considered very busy. Thus, it can be considered well integrated into the urban context and a place of daily passing.
(2) It is represented by minimum convex spaces consistent with the perception in loco. The Platz is composed of small local streets and a larger main street. The limiting elements are clear, three-dimensional, and continuous and follow a well-defined design. The configuration of the street is clear, and the facades of buildings create a linear, continuous and dynamic scenario. The public / private separation is clear and straightforward, consisting of well-defined limits.
(3) Renzo Piano made the master plan and developed 8 buildings. The others were works of other architects within the parameters established. The variety of types occurs due to the shape of the plots and the difference in the land use established, since these variables lead to a different program of needs and different solutions for each.
(4) The Alte Potsdamer Strasse has no blind convex spaces, and you can see that the buildings designed by Renzo Piano have a greater number of doors to the public space than the others. The transition from public to private is clear; the limits are tri-dimensional and well defined. The path offers a series of distractions to pedestrians, with mild borders for the public / private transitions. The borders can be restricted to the pub tables, but the place features lots of windows and storefronts. This fact contributes positively to the quality of public space as a whole and distracts pedestrians, keeping them in the public space.
(5) The buildings designed by Piano take into account a direct connection with the public space, with access at ground level, without hindrances or obstacles. It is also possible to observe how the passers-by use the level difference in the Marlene Dietrich Square, which becomes the same level of the surrounding buildings. Besides of working the level differences as an element to increase accessibility and free circulation, the result is intensively use by the visitors, as an open bleacher.
(6) Access by Public transport is varied and efficient. The place is easily accessible by bike; there are cycle lanes on the main streets leading to the site. There are no cycle tracks or lanes on inner streets, but the place features a supporting infrastructure that contributes to such use. Finally, the access roads are wide and prioritise vehicle over the pedestrian. The connections with Alte Potsdamer Strasse are the best possible options within this reality, with the presence of traffic lights to control the flow or underground passages at the ground level. If the pedestrian was priority, this situation could be better. In any case,

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the connections of the place with its limits are frequent and occur safely, and they meet all accessibility requirements.
(7) The limits and the surroundings of Potsdamer Platz feature wide variety of activities: commerce, restaurants, cafes, hotel, residences, offices, and cultural facilities. These activities are well distributed throughout the complex, complement each other well, and keep the place busy both during the day and at night.
It is possible to attest that the complex is accessible to pedestrians, well located, offers varied public transport, it is safe and presents a wide range of activities in its surroundings during the day. Therefore, we can conclude that the project proposed by Piano for the city contributes positively to the urban context.

St Giles Court | London, England | 2002-2010

A. Information about the object of study

The mixed-use complex Saint Giles Court is part of a complex urban network, composed of medieval streets, modern buildings and traditional blocks. It is located at Camden, an area famous for having been one of the worst slums in London. In the early 50s, a corporate building with the same name was constructed there. At first, its presence did not contribute to the development of the area.
In 2002, however, St. Giles was indicated as an area of recovery under the Strategic Plan of London for the development of the city, and Renzo Piano was called in to create a new project. The challenge was to conceive a building that could increase the number of activities and foster public life in the region. Thus, the original intention primed with the mixture of land uses and diverse activities. The project is made up of complex volumes, similar to the surrounding buildings. Piano decided to place the buildings around a central patio, composed of activities for the general public, such as stores and restaurants. The central square is composed of many openings that aim at inviting the pedestrians to come by, creating a new route in an already consolidated urban context.

B. Survey and evaluation of public life: subjects and activities

Out of the 18 questionnaires applied, only 5 were actually answered, referring to visits made during the period of 2011 and 2012. Thus, 13 people visited the city after the building was inaugurated (05/2010), but they did not recognise it, which shows that the place has not yet been consolidated as a tourist attraction or a route between two other touristic sites. Amongst the answers obtained, 1 person visited the place in summer and 3 in winter, and the fifth person visited the place several times, since she lived in London. According to the answers obtained, the place is busy, with a balance in gender presence; however, there is little variety in age range and social class. In spite of this apparent unbalance shown by the answers, most of the people interviewed believe there was not a prevalence of certain groups at the site. The prevailing groups were: adult males, possibly entrepreneurs, which can be positive for the public space in workdays, but can be negative in the after hours, since the place becomes empty. All the people interviewed claimed there were people passing by, but few stayed longer. More than half of the respondents said there were activities happening at the site and in its surroundings. Most of them identified the presence of passive and active activities.

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C. Evaluation of public space: Configurational elements/Local Attributes

1. Location	1.1	In regard to global integration		The place is at an integrated street
2. Limits e Dimensions	2.1	Clarity of borders		Clear borders
	2.2	Contiguity of limits		Low contiguity
	2.3	Separation between public and private spaces		Very clear
	2.4	Dimensions		Consistent with its features
3. Types of buildings				Great variety
4. Doors and windows	4.1	Blind convex spaces		Few
	4.2	Number of doors		Few doors open to the site
	4.3	Relation between public and private		All direct
	4.4	Mild borders		Exist
	4.5	Windows		Many windows facing the site
5. Level				At ground level
6. Access and circulation	6.1	Public transport		Easily accessible
	6.2	Pedestrians and cyclists		Easily accessible
	6.3	Connections		Adequate to its limits
	6.4	Circulation		No obstacles or hindrances, meet the accessibility requirements
7. Activities	7.1	Variety		Great diversity
	7.2	Spatial distribution		Well distributed
	7.3	Complement		They complement each other well
	7.4	Distribution over time		Great

Table 3. A Summary of the evaluation of configurational elements for St Giles Court. Source: adapted from Tenorio, 2012.

(1) St Giles Court is located in central London, where well-connected streets prevail. Through the analysis of local traffic, it is possible to conclude that the area is well integrated to the urban context and is a place for daily passing.
(2) The place is represented by convex spaces, consistent to the perception in loco, according to its function and hierarchy in the urban context. The limits and surroundings are clear, tri-dimensional and continuous. The separation between public and private spaces is clear, however, the facades make a non-linear and fragmented scenario. There is variety in size and the complex characteristics of urban fabric in that region provide a non-linear and fragmented configuration, hindering the definition of a prevailing route.
(3) The pre-existing buildings present varied typologies and it is possible to see the presence of new and different constructions. St Giles Court encompasses a set of standard buildings that stand out from the other surrounding buildings. The shape and content it houses are different from the surroundings, which is a positive factor for the region.
(4) The ground floor of St Giles Court has few doors, which results in convex spaces without a direct influx. However, as the building is made of glass, the transparency provides visibility to the activities taking place inside, which makes it a distraction to pedestrians. The number of windows in the building analysed and its surroundings is high, so the facades are not blind, although they lack doors. St. Giles building, whose atrium is very busy, with numerous tables and chairs, whereas the immediate surroundings are composed mainly of storefronts, mainly provide the mild borders.

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(5) All the area under the marquise and the internal side of the atrium is for the pedestrian. The sidewalk and the access are with no hindrances of level differences, at the level of the square and the access to the building.
(6) The access to public transportation is varied and efficient. Cyclists have cycle lanes in the main access roads and there is a bicycle rental station in the complex, and two others nearby, in a 300m radius. The access to pedestrians is easy thanks to the variety of public transport available and to the treatment; the level has received, with no hindrances or obstacles. The access is direct, and the connections are at ground level, meeting the accessibility requirements.
(7) The limits and surroundings of St. Giles present great variety of activities, but not a great number. The presence of residences, restaurants, cafes and offices in the building itself, and its proximity to commercial streets, tourist equipment and cultural facilities increases the dynamic characteristic of the region, keeping the place active most of the day. The activities are not well distributed spatially, since the access to them in not always facing the region under analysis. In addition, the activities offered at St Giles Court could be more diverse, since solely restaurants and cafes occupy the ground floor. It would be interesting to add other types of activities in order to increase the variety of people using the space, and for a longer period.
Taking into consideration that the surroundings by the time of the analysis had unfavourable conditions for the public life, St Giles Court complex is an important vector for the improvement of quality of public life in the public space at this area.

Conclusion

The analysis of public space near great, emblematic projects is a useful and accurate tool to evaluate contributions of these interventions in their respective urban contexts, and how architects proposes the transition of the building they project and the public realm. It would be interesting to make an analysis prior to the urban development and later re-do it at a fixed time intervals, in order to check whether the building has brought the improvements the architects had anticipated.
It is possible to conclude that the three projects studied contributed positively for the urban space. The extent of their contribution, however, does not depend exclusively on their physical attributes, but also on the quality of public life present in the context where they were placed, which can be a negative factor. Moreover, the time lapse since the construction of the building must be taken into account. The passing of time is necessary for a building to put down roots and truly become a part of the place. An example is St Giles Court, which presented the worst performance in the study.
It is the most recent building of the sample (inaugurated in May 2010), and the fact that very few people visited it in their recent trips to the city may be a sign that it has not yet been entirely embraced by the urban fabric, or it has not yet become part of an interesting path. The place is characterised more as an area of passing than permanence. The project is bold and it is what the region needed, something to make social life more dynamic, however it has not yet reached the highest point of its potential contribution to urban life.
Potsdamer Platz, which reached the second best position in the sample, is seen as a defining project for that region, since the area was completely rebuilt and placed in the urban fabric. The project, finished in 2000, has unity and adds to the positive qualities of

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the region, being intensely used by both local inhabitants and tourists, living up to the aspirations of Piano when drafting the Master plan.

Center Georges Pompidou, the project that received the best evaluation and best quality of urban presence, is also the oldest in the sample (1977), and it is completely integrated to the city. However, roots are not enough for a project to foster a good quality public space. The vitality of the region shows that it is important that the site continues to offer various activities and that it is constantly renewed, paying attention to the quality and maintenance of the physical space.

Piano believes that the work of an architect is unfinished, because human relations and the cities where they take place are in constant evolution. The architect plants something new, but its future cannot be foretold. Thus, the architect must choose a solid starting point for his project when stating values and ethics or consolidating intentions. Based on the analysis carried out, we can confirm that the starting point chosen by Renzo Piano for the conception of each of his three projects is solid. The three of them positively influence the surroundings and add something to the region. We can say that his work materialises his discourse.

> "*As an architect, I think that places influence every perception, every emotion, every human activity*".
> Renzo Piano, 1997

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Measure and proportion as keyword for qualitative town squares

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Abstract

The authors of this paper refer specifically to public space as that of the town square.
According to Italian tradition town squares have been clearly recognised since the Renaissance period.
There are several studies about meaning, perception, and the shape of public spaces such as squares but there is no research about their actual measures, proportions, and about the presence of some recurrent numbers.
This study develop a thematic synthesis about meaning, definitions and proportions before seeking similarity about spatial dimension using simple statistical instruments.
The study comes from a pedagogical exercise, undertaken in the last three years in the Course of Urban Design at University of Pavia, where students developed 80 data sheets based on free web information measures of Italian and European squares.

Keywords: public space; landscape; contemporary city; urban project; urban regeneration.

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Introduction

The town square is a central place in citizens' minds; it is a place full of cultural and social meanings. It has settled historical signs and founded the values of civilization, of meeting, spirituality of the religious space, political and administrative power, stage of identity and sense of belonging to a community, which allows everyday demonstration of the power of "civitas".

> *Public squares are one of the significant public spaces in an urban environment. Urban squares are open public spaces, which reflect the cities' identity and the communities' cultural background* (*Murat*, 2013).

The specific function of the square does not automatically define a spatial form. Each different function can be expressed in many different forms. Except new designed ones, squares changed their function along the centuries. Each development testifies that the archetypes are structural; they are spatially and not functionally determined.

> *Squares are living organisms in continuous change with the variation of socioeconomic conditions and technological tendencies.*

Main definitions and approach to the study of squares

Since the classical period there have been several studies by famous scholars that have identified categories and construction characteristics of the squares. From the semantic point of view we can recognise different definitions such as on the formal, symbolic and perceptive, social and aesthetic level.

From the social and the aesthetic one Palladio stated that the square is a place where people can gather to carry out business; it is an essential and useful place to their different purposes and needs.

Another scholar who worked on the topic, on social and aesthetic level, is Marco Romano. He defined squares as the realisation of a civic desire to emphasise the symbolic importance of socially recognised and relevant behaviour and feeling, connected to a consolidated collective theme with a recognizable architectural appearance. (Romano, 2004)

Collective themes, concerning thematic roads and squares, each of which has its own name and its own way of being recognised, are the demonstration that "civitas" try to achieve its property as a symbol of art. These urban elements, with their symbolic meaning, are able to connect different parts of the city from the most significant to the disqualified suburbs.

Marco Romano (2004) defined as thematic squares: the; main square, market square, convent square, greenfield of the fair, church's square, monumental square and the national square. All of these squares were conceived to respond to specific needs through their functions.

The symbolic meaning of collective themes persists even if their original social meaning has declined, so the main square can maintain or assume the role of political heart although the town hall buildings moved to another place.

From the symbolic and perceptive point of view Camillo Sitte (1889/1981) defined the Square as the result of many individual actions, a slow collective construction, a complex stratification of different languages and a choral monument. Moreover, he added that the

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square should be studied as a work of art, using the same parameters and regulations that come from the study and the result of some creative actions.
From the formal point of view we can underline Krier, Sitte and Zucker.
Sitte (1889/1981) defined two types of squares: the deep type and the wide type. The character of either is determined by the characteristics of the dominant buildings.
Paul Zucker (1959) also outlined different types of urban squares; he indicated different types of squares in visual and perceptive dimension:

1. The closed square is characterised by self-contained space and by a complete enclosure;
2. The dominated square is characterised by one individual structure or a group of buildings toward which the open space is directed and to which all other surrounding structures are related;
3. The nuclear square is characterised by space formed around the centre;
4. The grouped square is characterised by the combination of spatial units. A sequence of squares, different in size and form, could develop in only one direction, thus establishing a straight axis.
5. The amorphous square is different from the ones above mentioned.

Krier (1979) had also a physical approach of urban space and defined three major shapes (squares, circles and triangles) that might be modified through angling, segmentation, addition, merging, overlapping and distortion.
Lastly, Kevin Lynch (1960) identified the cities and the urban space through five elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks; both of them relating on the physical shape and the symbolic aspects.

Proportion and relationship

Along the history of architecture, proportion has always been the key to define an "ideal harmonic space" and scholars have been studying it in horizontal and vertical ratio.
Vitruvius (15 B.C./1960) wrote in his treaties that the width is obtained by assigning to it 2:3 of its length.
Palladio (1570/1997) fixed seven different ratios that should be followed: circular one, 1:1, 1:1.25, 1:1.414, 1:5, 1:1.667, 1:2.
According to Palladio, also Alberti (1755) defined the ratio of 1:2. (Fig. 1). (Moughtin, 2003). Sitte (1889/1981) argued that the width should not be greater than three times the length.
Sitte (1889/1981) wrote that the height of its principal building is the minimum dimension for the square, and the absolute maximum is the double of its height.
For Zucker (1959) the spatial impression is a product of the individual sizes of adjacent houses, of higher and lower eaves, of the relationship of length and breadth, of the location of the monuments and fountains and of variations in the architectural treatment.
Zucker (1959) argued the maximum building height should be that on which its architectural features might still be visible from the floor of the square, giving a height/length ratio of between 1:4 and 1:6.
Kevin Lynch (1981) suggested dimensions should start from 12 meters to 24 meters along each side, and go up to 100 meters for large squares (Carmona et. al., 2003).

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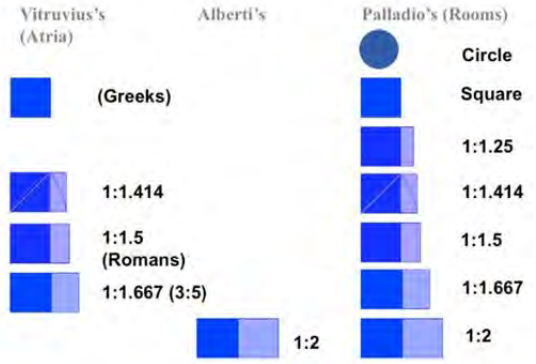
Alexander (1987) suggests a maximum of 22 meters for small squares, while Gehl (2011) suggested a dimension of 30-35 meters for the optimum size of a square in order to enable people being able to recognise the other people in the space from one side to other.



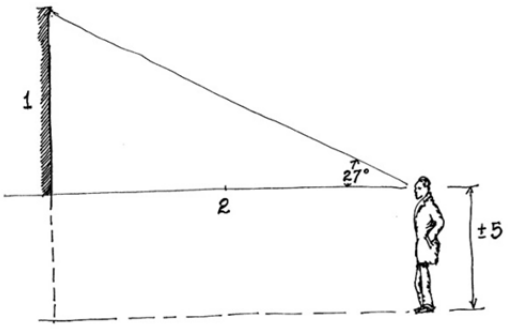


Fig. 1 (on the left). Horizontal relationship. Source: http://londonsquares.net/design-issues/
Fig. 2 (on the right). Vertical relationship. Source: http://londonsquares.net/design-issues/

So when determining the size of an urban square, visual perception should also be taken into account (Murat, 2013). According to the most theorists the maximum angle, at which a building can be seen clearly is 27°, or at a distance which equals about twice its height. (Fig. 2).

Methodology and sources

During the course of Urban Design (4th year of the Master Degree in Building Engineering and Architecture, Faculty of Engineering, University of Pavia – Prof. Roberto De Lotto) in academic years 2010/2011 and 2011/2012 the study of open spaces were oriented to look into the dimension and the proportion of several open spaces in Italy and Europe.
Students were advised to look up open source information to define measures of selected spaces. Measures concerned plan measures and the height of the surrounding buildings.
The schedule that students have used to complete each data sheet is shown in Table 1.
To get the measure of the plan, the most employed instrument was Google Earth (with its instrument "ruler").
To get the measure of the heights of the surrounding buildings students used bird view (of Live Maps) and street view images; in some cases some buildings were already modeled in Google Earth 3D and students could download the file.
This kind of measuring could not provide precise size but the error was accepted considering the main aim of the work, which is the definition of proportions of real spaces. Indicatively the average error is about the 5-10%.
All information were collected in 80 datasheets and available at the website http://urbanisticaunipv.wix.com/delotto
Following is a example datasheet.

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Name and number of students group	**Google earth image** Localization (Fig. 3)
Address and name of the square	
Square plan - Size (lenght, width, perimeter, area) (Fig. 4)	
Cross section and Transversal section (Fig. 5-6) - Height of building; - Presence of portico; - Roof (such as pitched roof or flat roof).	
Other informations - Measure on plan and section (Figg. 7-8) - Views indications (Fig. 9) - Google earth panoramic photo (Fig. 10) - References	

Table 1. data sheet

All the selected public spaces are historical squares that during the centuries have had several changes, adjustments, and modifications both in the shape and in the surrounding buildings. Present situation is not the result of a specific project but the result of a historical stratification, which Alexander (1987) calls "organic growth". For this reason, for instance, it is very difficult to have uniform sides of building built with the same height. Therefore, the height chosen for the ratio is the "average" of elevated buildings.

Figure 3. Localisation
Google Earth image
Source: http://urbanisticaunipv.wix.com/delotto

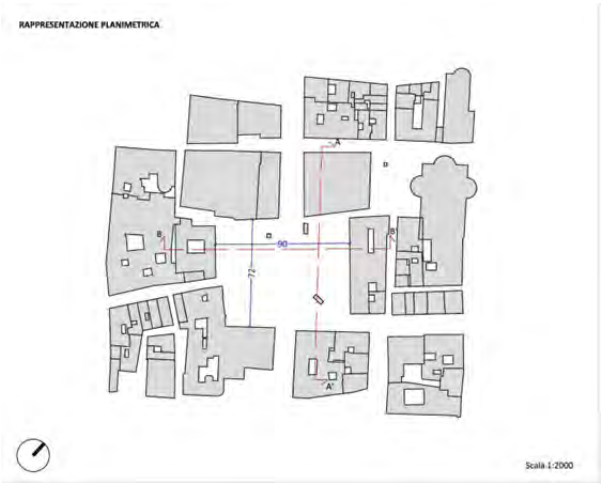

Figure 4. Square layout
Source: http://urbanisticaunipv.wix.com/delotto

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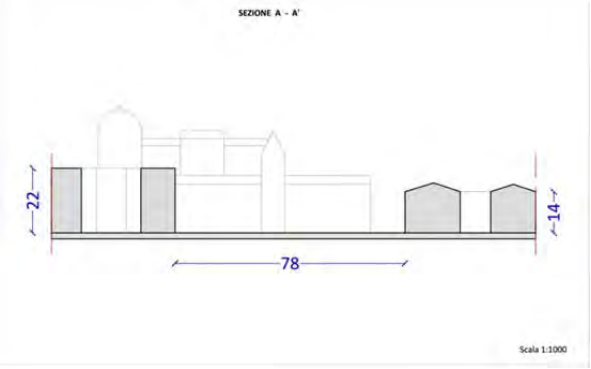

Figure 5. Cross section
Source: http://urbanisticaunipv.wix.com/delotto

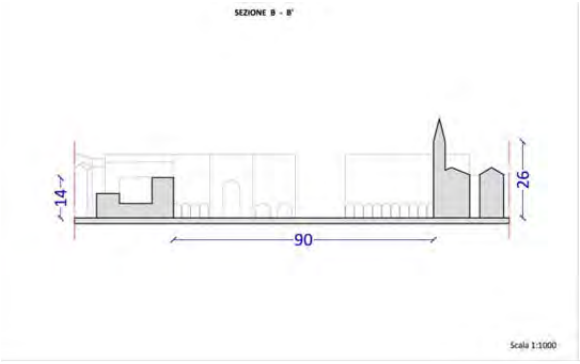

Figure 6. Trasversal section
Source: http://urbanisticaunipv.wix.com/delotto

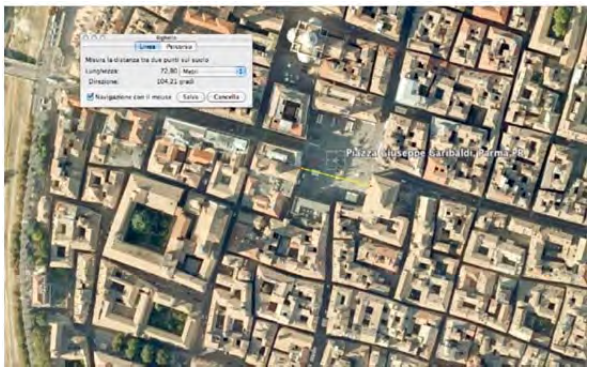

Figure 7. Measure with rules
Source: http://urbanisticaunipv.wix.com/delotto

Figure 8. Measure with rules
Source: http://urbanisticaunipv.wix.com/delotto

Figure 9. Views indication
Source: http://urbanisticaunipv.wix.com/delotto

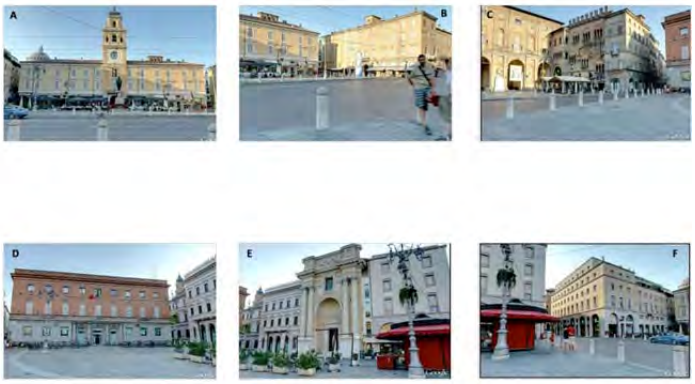

Figure 10. Views of the square
Source: http://urbanisticaunipv.wix.com/delotto

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Data treatment and results

Starting from this data set, all information was treated and analysed with the aim to verify whether the classical proportions were recognisable in present squares.
After the effected modification along the centuries, recurrent proportion might be the same at present. Following Sitte and Zucker definitions, only closed squares were considered. At present authors could work on 27 squares chosen from 80 open spaces that have been analysed and measured.
In the following Table 2 there is list of considered squares with dimensions and some basic proportions.

City	*Square's name*	*Lenght [mt]*	*Width [mt]*	*Area [sqmt]*	*L/W*	*Hl [mt]*	*Hw [mt]*	*L/H*	*W/H*
Bruxelles	Grand Place	110	57	6.270	1,93	24	22	4,58	2,59
Catania	Piazza Duomo	73	65	4.745	1,12	20	28	3,65	2,32
Dublin	San Patrick Square	145	76	11.020	1,91	26	12	5,58	6,33
Firenze	Piazza della Repubblica	90	80	7.200	1,13	28	26	3,21	3,08
Firenze	Piazza Santa Croce	103	48	4.944	2,15	14	19	7,36	2,53
Glasgow	George Square	163	101	16.463	1,61	23	37	7,09	2,73
Lion	Place Bellecour	270	177	47.790	1,53	20	23	13,50	7,70
Lion	Place des Terreaux	116	63	7.308	1,84	30	26	3,87	2,42
Lisbon	Plaza Dom Pedro	196	92	18.032	2,13	28	18	7,00	5,11
Lodi	Piazza della Vittoria	76	76	5.776	1,00	14	22	5,43	3,45
Madrid	Plaza Mayor	130	95	12.350	1,37	22	20	5,91	4,75
Madrid	Plaza de Espana	236	112	26.432	2,11	117	27	2,02	4,15
Manchester	Alber Square	110	55	6.050	2,00	29	22	3,79	2,50
Mantova	Piazza del Sordello	150	57	8.550	2,63	26	17	5,77	3,35
Milano	Piazza Duomo	160	130	20.800	1,23	60	53	2,67	2,45
Modena	Piazza Grande	75	47	3.525	1,60	12	18	6,25	2,61
Napoli	Piazza del Plebiscito	170	170	28.900	1,00	45	26	3,78	6,54
Palermo	Piazza Pretoria	80	42	3.360	1,90	13	15	6,15	2,80
Paris	Place Pompidou	170	52	8.840	3,27	28	42	6,07	1,24
Parma	Piazza Duomo	55	55	3.025	1,00	20	20	2,75	2,75
Parma	Piazza Garibaldi	90	72	6.480	1,25	26	22	3,46	3,27
Pienza	Piazza Pio II	23	23	529	1	11	11	2,09	2,09
Stockholm	Stortorget Square	60	35	2.100	1,71	18	18	3,33	1,94
Torino	Piazza San Carlo	170	76	12.920	2,24	22	22	7,73	3,45
Trieste	Piazza Unità d'Italia	157	81	12.717	1,94	19	16	8,26	5,06
Warsaw	Rynek Starego Miasta	103	75	7.725	1,37	26	23	3,96	3,26
Venezia	Piazza san Marco	179	71	12.709	2,52	24	26	7,46	2,73
Vigevano	Piazza Ducale	155	47	7.285	3,30	10	10	15,50	4,70

Table 2. Data related to 27 European closed squares. Source: http://urbanisticaunipv.wix.com/delotto

Where:
- L is Length;
- W is Width;

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- L/W is Length/Width (shape ratio);
- Hl is the height of the highest building in the short side;
- Hw is the average height of the buildings along the long side;
- L/H and W/H are proportions;

In the following list, the only Pienza square was designed to be the quintessential of squares. The measures of all sides and heights of the buildings are proportionate with ratio 1:2.
Looking at the physical dimensions, a wide variety of measures and proportions are evident.
All data was analysed with simple statistical instruments.
First of all, the average values were calculated (Table 3):

	Lenght [mt]	*Width [mt]*	*Area [sqmt]*	*L/W*	*Hl [mt]*	*Hw [mt]*	*L/H*	*W/H*
Av	129,11	76,07	11.208,75	1,78	26,96	22,89	5,25	3,49

Table 3. Average values

The medium extension of the selected spaces is a little more than a hectare; the shape ratio is about a rectangular shape, not far from 1:1,732 (1,732 is square-root of 3).
The proportion on the longitudinal section is close to 1:5, the proportion on the transversal section is almost 1:3,5.
Looking at the average value there are not so many relations with the classical numbers that theorists defined in their treatises but in Zucker's ones.
Looking at the Standard Deviation (the variation or dispersion from the average value) and the Coefficient of Variation (also known as Relative Standard Deviation; calculated as ratio between Average value and Standard Deviation and it is the measure of frequency distribution, a sort of dispersion of the average value) it is clear that the dissimilarities are very widely distributed (Table 4).

	Lenght [mt]	*Width [mt]*	*Area [sqmt]*	*L/W*	*Hl [mt]*	*Hw [mt]*	*L/H*	*W/H*
Av	129,11	76,07	11.208,75	1,78	26,96	22,89	5,25	3,50
SD	56,32	36,08	9.996,13	0,63	20,38	9,09	3,09	1,52
CV	0,44	0,47	0,89	0,36	0,76	0,40	0,55	0,44

Table 4. Standard Deviation (SD) and Coefficient of Variation (CV)

For example, the average longitudinal proportion is close to 1:5 but with a Standard Variation that is the 55% of this value. So it can't be statistically considered as a recurrent value.
On the transversal proportion there is a lower error, but it remains about the 44%.
So author applied the analysis to more narrow application sphere.
First of all the squares with a length equal or superior to 150 meters have been excluded together with Pienza (a very small square). Table 5 shows results.

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	Lenght [mt]	*Width [mt]*	*Area [sqmt]*	*L/W*	*Hl [mt]*	*Hw [mt]*	*L/H*	*W/H*
Av	94,40	62,73	6.125,20	1,55	21,47	22,89	4,62	3,11
SD	25,47	16,36	2.823,58	0,40	6,15	4,21	1,38	1,11
CV	0,27	0,26	0,46	0,25	0,29	0,20	0,30	0,36

Table 5. SD and CV in smaller squares

In this case, the Coefficient of Variation is sensibly minor than in the previous example. Except for Area (46%) this value is between 20% and 36%, mainly between 20% and 30%.
It means that average proportion values for such squares are more credible. Longitudinal proportion is close to 1:4,5 (may close to 1:4,47, we argue that 4,47 is the double of square root of 5 – but this kind of conjectures have infinite possibilities) and transversal ratio is around 1:3.
These values are different, and lower, than the plain average ones. In the widest squares, considering that the height of buildings does not vary so much, the lengths have strong influence. It means that the square are lengthen rectangle.
Ordering the main list by the value L/H, two squares have very high values (Table 6):

City	*Square's name*	*L/H*
Lione	Place Bellecour	13,50
Vigevano	Piazza Ducale	15,50

Table 6. L/H highest values

Removing from the list these two squares and calculating Average, SD and CV the values do not change significantly (Table 7).

	Lenght [mt]	*Width [mt]*	*Area [sqmt]*	*L/W*	*Hl [mt]*	*Hw [mt]*	*L/H*	*W/H*
Av	122,69	73,31	9.952,69	1,73	27,88	23,38	4,97	3,29
SD	50,62	30,94	7.220,27	0,58	20,84	9,07	1,87	1,30
CV	0,41	0,42	0,73	0,34	0,75	0,39	0,38	0,40

Table 7. SD and CV in squares with more homogeneous L/H

CV in proportions records remains high, while the average values are not so different from the plain statistics.
Considering a more narrow set, and excluding all the squares in which L/H is equal or higher than 6, the results are (Table 7):

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	Lenght [mt]	Width [mt]	Area [sqmt]	L/W	Hl [mt]	Hw [mt]	L/H	W/H
Av	110,44	75,06	9.556,88	1,51	32,50	23,44	3,75	3,28
SD	52,47	36,01	8.375,55	0,51	25,38	9,32	1,14	1,36
CV	0,48	0,48	0,88	0,33	0,78	0,40	0,30	0,41

Table 8. SD and CV in squares with more homogeneous and smaller L/H

The longitudinal ratio is lower (as easily predictable) but CV does not vary significantly.
From all these attempts, it is obvious that the dispersion of the values does not depend on specific dimensions; so the average record is not as significant.
Also considering only Italian squares without Pienza (Table 9), there is not a significant homogeneity in the distribution of values.

	Lenght [mt]	Width [mt]	Area [sqmt]	L/W	Hl [mt]	Hw [mt]	L/H	W/H
Av	118,87	74,47	9.529,07	1,73	23,53	22,67	5,96	3,41
SD	44,43	34,17	7.216,85	0,72	13,31	9,71	3,26	1,17
CV	0,37	0,46	0,76	0,41	0,57	0,43	0,55	0,34

Table 9. SD and CV in Italian squares

Discussion and conclusions

In the introduction and in the first chapter of the paper, the issue regarding the meaning and value of city squares in respect of the whole city life has been presented throughout the review of many relevant scholars, who faced the argument along centuries of history of architecture and urban projects.
From the social, symbolic, aesthetic and perceptive points of view, scholars underlined that there is a tight connection among the space (that forge the square), the buildings (that define the square's shape and its civic meanings) and the value that citizens confer to it during the evolution of the city.
Moreover, the formal and spatial aspect was approached as a key point to address the physical issues toward a successful transmission of urban qualities. This research aimed to find out an "objective" mix of measures and proportions from common individual senses. Essentially this issue is same as the relation between shape and function (or meaning), and it passes through all architecture history.
Another aspect emerges from the review of scholarly writings: the historical stratification and the uniqueness of collective spaces. A square is the result of a cooperative action diluted along the centuries and very often it is does not come from a detailed project, considered as precise act of will. In the same time, following Romano's approach, the common intention of "civitas" and its continuous acting was guided by a kind of aesthetic rule, even if it was applied to small parts of the whole space and it may regard only buildings and their very close spatial jurisdiction.
Analysed squares were selected with a morphological criterion and they were founded in very different historical periods in European context. In selected cities the most recent

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structural interventions vary from XVI to XX century, crossing very different cultural developments.
For these last two reasons, it was foreseeable that in considered squares measures and proportions might vary a lot.
Collected data and their elaborations demonstrate that, along history, formal criterion lost their dominance to define the public space in spite of the meaning and collective value that the "civitas" attributes them.
Statistical analyses results demonstrate that classical proportions are untraceable in actual squares. On the contrary, many squares studied present with Zucker's proportions (1:4 and 1:6).
So, from the collected data, perceptive theory seems the only formal rule present, which has guided the realisation and transformation of the squares.
Considering the small number of examples analysed, presented elaborations may not have a statistical relevance. There is an interesting indication in Table 3 about the average value of L/W (squares' shape in plan) that is close to 1:1,732 (square root of 3), but it is true that Standard Deviation and Coefficient of Variation indicate that this value is highly variable.
In other words, this analysis does not exclude the possibility to find recurrent proportions in closed squares. So the first further next step of presented research is to measure more examples.
Another next step is a more detailed definition of the specific characteristics of the squares basing on their main theme. In presented list there are mainly church's squares and monumental squares, but they are mixed together. Maybe, persistent proportions (or measures) may occur for specific themes.
A further next step of the research is to analyse and measure new designed squares in existing contexts, trying to find out the recurrence of specific proportions.
This study may help designers and scholars to define a new set of measure and proportion that, with the appendix of real spaces, can help decisions in spatial aspects.

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The void and the memory. Ludovico Quaroni's competition project for the Tobacco Manufacturing and the Navile Park in Bologna (1984). An urban figurative regeneration

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Abstract

The Ludovico Quaroni's competition winner project for the urban park of the Tobacco Manufacturing and the Navile dockyard, although unrealised, still represents a sort of conclusive point of the search path (he died in 1987) of one of the most prominent characters of the Italian architectural scene – and not only - of the 20th century. Furthermore, the high number of contenders to the competition's first stage (139) made the contest itself an extraordinary occasion of rethinking an important part of the city of Bologna, a somewhat hybrid part located on the verge of town historic centre and its first expansion and offered the chance of challenge for the mostly Italian architects. The Quaroni's group was composed by many others architects including important authors of the reconstruction projects of Bologna in the years following World War II; their proposal aimed at bringing order in a non-connected urban context filled with many fragments of historical memories of the site. The process of spaces redefinition, as in the beginning projects of the architect's career, is conducted with the tools of the "design" (as used by Manfredo Tafuri, 1964), as an instrument of territorial and urban areas re-composition, undertook through the conservation of trails, overlapped by a new system of episodes, keeping the idea of fragments, responding to the competition requirements. In fact, the project balances the new parts in strict relation with the pre-existing elements of the historic town centre, considering the tangible and material dimensions of the city. Such a new system is governed by a clear scheme of structured elements based on the project of void, provided with a clear formal image, whose final outcome is a figurative regeneration. In this idea and formal organism Quaroni developing many of his design principles, gives a personal interpretation to the contemporary issue of regeneration empowered by those reflections that had just entered in the much wider debate in the mid-eighties, about conservation and sustainability of historic centres and the natural environment. Notably, this issue is dealt with in a cultural environment such as the one of Bologna, a city that gave much to the debate on conservation of old towns (see the Cervellati plan); a discussion founding the Italian experience of the 20th century and particularly of its second half. From this point of view, the contribution of architects from Bologna at Quaroni's project has therefore probably accounted for the special sensibility shown by the project on those matters. After giving up on Quaroni's plan Aldo Rossi was chosen by the Municipality to develop the project; his ideas confirm, although with different outcomes, an approach based on the value of the conservation of memory and the use of clear forms as means of urban regeneration.

Keywords: public spaces system; urban design; management plan; enhancement of cultural heritage; historic urban landscape.

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The project for the urban area of the Tobacco Manufacturing and of the Navile Park in Bologna is one of the latest works of Ludovico Quaroni[1], who has notably developed much of his final activities in this city[2].
Paolo Portoghesi considers the project as the proof of "an unpredictable second youth" (Vincenzi, Veggetti, Zanna, 1985: 11)[3] while Giuseppe Ciorra underlines how it is part of a review process of "self-recognition"; either way the project seems to be an overhaul of the use of historical forms that Portoghesi himself sees as successfully deployed both in the project in object and also in the competition for the Opera of Rome (1983), his other coeval important work.
At the appearance of these projects, the architectural criticism focused on the post-modern or post-ancient (Ciorra, 1989: 57) nature of Quaroni's latest works, though there is no intention to participate in the debate on style, rather a will to continue the exploration concerning the universality of forms and the rethinking of the concept of "monumentality". After those remarks, once the area of the competition is rebuilt, reconsidering the project of the Tobacco Manufacturing and of the Navile Park helps in unpacking how the complexity of the interpretation of Quaroni's thoughts is overlapped with the difficulty that architecture faced, at that time, in finding solutions[4] for the issues brought up by new urban contexts. Based on the correspondence between the author's work and Italian architecture development on the base of Tafuri's book (1964), this reading allows for interpretation of some of the themes from a period that still lacks a definitive verdict from historiography, from the point of view of the final production of a key personality of the 20th century Italian architecture.
At the other hand, it can also see an inverse relationship that explain some contradictory aspects of Quaroni's productions, that define his singularity in the architecture scene also recognisable in the project for Bologna, as the effect of the transition of the mid-eighties. In fact, the architect's continuous research on method based on the "systematic doubt" (Dal Co, 1987: 15), applied on the themes that emerged at the end of the Seventies, show the evolution of some argument of the previous decades, in particular, in this case, it refers to the strategies of urban renewal based on the strengthening of the residential and cultural vocation of the historical centres against the directional functions, strictly connected to environmental issues and energy saving after the second oil crisis.
For these matters and for the large participation of many of the main architects of the moment, the competition represents an important event to measure the development of the Italian architectural culture of the project and the role of the "last" Quaroni in this context.
The competition area lay at the margin of the city located inside the 16th century city walls, of which a small part remains. Far from the traditional image of the Bologna city centre, this zone more closely resembled the idea of suburb due to the fragmentation caused by urbanisation resulting of multiple layers stratified over the centuries, none of which significant enough to strongly inspire the new project.
In the Middle Age the area was vastly crowded by monasteries – mostly destroyed by Napoleon's edicts – and by green areas – some of those still existing - located inside backyards or in interstitial spots close to the city walls.
Furthermore, the area hosts important presences of the historical city system of water; it is crossed by the Cavaticcio canal and by the Navile creek, opened in the 12th century, that could be sailed to reach Ferrara and the Adriatic basin. The natural environment was also conditioned by this presence of water, which encouraged the birth of many hydraulic

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plants. Inside the city walls connected to existence of this important canal, Vignola built a city harbour in 1589, which was later buried according to the Regulatory Plan of 1889; some of whose buildings can still be seen such as: the bakeries, the former Slaughterhouse and the Salt Warehouse along Via Pietramellara. In addition to this, the productive vocation of the area was notably increased at the beginning of the 19th century with the realisation of the Tobacco Manufacturing industrial plant, which defines the entire complex as a closed citadel.

The final shape of the area, as it appeared at the times of the competition, was due to various later processes of abandoning and demolition caused by unfinished disembowelments provided for by the Regulatory Plan of 1889 and by the bombing of the Allies during World War II.

Finally, after the war the neighbourhood was characterized in the Reconstruction Plan as service area where it built the Indoor Sport Arena, located at the crossroads of Via Lame and Via Riva di Reno, and a relevant instruction structure, while the private residential edification generated highly crowded buildings around. Significant to note that, although the area has increased its services and activities until today[5] of territorial level those make it used and vital, it conserves this fragmentary aspect and, crowned by tall buildings and surrounded by major traffic arteries, the character of an enclosed area to be discovered, still remains.

The competition of ideas, launched by the Bologna Municipality in 1984, was developed in two stages, an interesting procedure, albeit unconventional, chosen in other urban contests[6]. There were 138 participants[7] in the first stage to which is required to apply a curriculum vitae and an illustrated dossier with the architectural designing program for the area. The jury panel consisted of members of the Public Administration and important figures such as, among others, Roberto Gabetti, Paolo Portoghesi and Umberto Eco; in the second phase they chose 15 projects and asked each of the chosen groups to develop in details the proposal. Projects submitted focused on the park and its contradictions – too small for a real urban park, too big for being a garden; furthermore, the competition specifically addressed: the development of cultural structures, sport and social facilities, natural environment, the restoration and re-functionalization of the former Tobacco Warehouse and of the others buildings, and more, the planning of new buildings and parking lots.

Starting from these requests and the state of the area, the designing of a new part of the city became the chance to work on architectural fragments, aiming at composing a new harmonious and uniform organism, paradoxically offered from the total lack of attractivity, as previously described.

As will be seen in detail in the following description, the solution proposed by Quaroni's group, composed by Aldo Aymonino and other young architects from Bologna - Giampiero Cuppini, Stefano Piazzi, Claudia De Lorenzi, Stefano Sarti, Luigi Tundo, Claudio Baldisseri, Giuseppe Cicognani - was established on some aspects such as: the reflection about the tangible dimension of the area, the value of the traces of the past, its relation with historic town center, the role of the drawing as an instrument of re-composition and, at the final, the specific meaning given by Quaroni to the public content.

Precisely in relation to these aspects, the project for the Tobacco Manufacturing is fully coherent with Quaroni's whole production, including works very different among themselves such as the Tiburtino neighbourhood (1954 realization), the competition

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project for the residential complex in the Barene of San Giuliano in Venice (1959) or the macro-structures of the Sixties and of the Seventies.
The common driver of the architectural production is, in fact, the research, lead with different instruments and methods, of an unitarily tendency according to the original principle of the city: a city that is considered as an art work, as a "marvelous" (Quaroni, 1967: 144)[8] and utopic city from the past, when the urban structures were clear and unified.
The same clarity of the plan can be obtained, in the new project, with a design highly readable and recognisable. Design is at the same time the outcome and the instrument of the investigation (to be understood in the meaning of drawing), as Quaroni himself states many times in his theoretical production and also in practice. The architect thus makes immediately clear his intention of obtaining a clear framework: "Quaroni's design was already made" (Stefano Piazzi, interview, April 30, 2014). Nevertheless, the design does not generate a sign, which integrate landscape, architecture and functions, differently from roman architect's previous works, such as the project for Rome Office District (1967). In Bologna, after almost twenty years, the purpose of the design is more focused on building an image and defining the relationship between singular parts in the area and between the area itself and the city, always in an autonomous status.
Through this methodological way, and not as a conservative one, the project purposes the aim of the urban regeneration, to be understood as a figurative-regeneration. "We thought that the chance was too important, and that the relicts were too disarticulated and casual to be taken in consideration" (Vincenzi, Veggetti, Zanna, 1985: 392). It meant that the traces from the past were too weak to induce a conservative approach[9], which was chosen just for some remnants: the bakery, the building of the Salt Warehouse, the former Slaughterhouse and the 19century hangars.
In fact, in the preliminary draft submitted for the first stage of the competition – substantially unchanged in the second phase – the projects consisted in an articulations of figures: geometrical elements chained one to the other in a string that goes from Via Riva di Reno to Via Pietramellara, crossing the space and connecting the Tobacco Manufacturing front with the industrial buildings that needed to be conserved. This progression of forms is obtained with basic shapes: the square for the Museum plaza; the circle for the space where to plant trees; the triangle that should host the herbs garden; the long straight body of the artisan shops, parallel to the triangle side that defines the north-western front of the creek.
In order to recover the water elements previously part of the area, the project aims to rebuild the waterfall of the Cavaticcio: it would flow into the rebuilt dockyard, on which western side rests the headboard of the building of the artisan's shops. The north-western side, instead, is defined by a body of residential buildings.
The oriental prospective is defined by a colonnade with the typical shape of Bologna porticos; the other side is characterised by a series of bodies disposed in comb-like rows in respect of the main body, that face the irregularity of buildings on that side. Finally, the volumes of the former Salt Warehouse, of the bakery, of the storehouses and of the plants along Don Minzoni Street are restored for a functional usage, keeping their shapes and volumes.
The project shows furthermore that the figures design internal spaces defined by fences or excavations, so it works on the void.

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It is interesting to note how the theme of the empty spaces is actualised when the growth in population number in those years urged a consequent need of green areas and free sports, such the ones above described; void (Silvia Morselli, interview, April 30, 2014) became therefore necessary and defined the whole life of the area even before of the competition.
The occupation of the central area – an approach chosen by most solutions submitted to the competition – is here opposed by the idea of building on the perimeter, a "lining" (*fodera* in Italian) as Quaroni himself called it (Vincenzi, Veggetti, Zanna, 1985, vol.1: 477), made up mostly by the fronts of existing buildings by a new body of residential buildings and by simple walls surfaces to be built, together with frameworks for plant-growing. The "lining" represents the architectonic curtain of the rear of the park and must be therefore studied with a particular attention (notably, Quaroni himself draws the views), in order to recall the traditional city architecture made of exposed bricks. The outcome is a contrast from the popular language and the noble intellectual codes of the design drawing. The idea of having an harmonious front facing the urban variety – here perfectly represented internally by the variety of the park and externally by the borders of the city – is considered by Quaroni innate in Bologna, traceable in the long running porticos in front of the houses or in the facade of the Palazzo dei Banchi in the city major square.
This reminiscence of an urban historical image of the city (later this fundamental aspect will be more thorough) make those abstract shapes real facts, not only signs.
This is also possible reserving great attention in the project at the intersections of the forms in the plan with the city lay out. The project focuses, for instance, on the continuity of the axis that connects Largo Caduti sul Lavoro with the area of the Indoor Sport Arena, proposing a path similar to that of the "rambla" and putting in this spot the ramps to descend to the parking.
The trees fence somehow becomes the junction point of the path, already included in the 1889 Bologna Regulatory Plan as part of the wider connection between Lame and Marconi streets – nowadays useless because of the existence of the block confining with Castellaccio street[10]. Furthermore, in the project, the reopened canal can be crossed through a bridge, located on the extension of Marghera Street. The will of a seamless unity with the existing urban texture is shown as well in the recovery of historical bodies: the building of the Tobacco Manufacturing on Riva di Reno Street becomes the filter between the park and the city, while the former Slaughterhouse is the element that drives the structuring to the area around Lame gate.
The connection among the parts of the city – through the proper positioning of the new bodies - permits to give a personal interpretation to term of "conservation", in this case related to the urban texture. This approach is very far from the one of the previous and parallel intervention in Bologna historical centre done by the Municipality following the Cervellati's Plan, naturally to be compared.
Quaroni's group project is not based in fact on morphological and typological investigation searching for founding matrix for the new intervention. Nor does it base the planning on the integration of the pre-existing elements. "A roman outcome" (Stefano Piazzi, interview, 30.04.2014: referring to contemporary searches of other architects coming from the school of Rome, such as Carlo Aymonino[11] or Costantino Dardi).
A new image made of universal types: the square, the "Rotonda", the wood. Nor "formal synthesis nor assembly" (Terranova, 1985: 31), nor overlapping as in a collage, as seen in some works of Colin Rowe or James Stirling.

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The project is not either a mere composition based on analogical principles such those of Aldo Rossi – an author that is however important to recall, because of his ties with Quaroni and particularly with the project for the Tobacco Manufacturing.
In 1993, Aldo Rossi's project refers to "a composition with city elements" to form a big urban architecture, in spite of just a single episode – that in his views gives the idea of the city magnificence. Rossi's starting point is therefore close to the one of Quaroni, especially in his usage of the types of the historical city to compose, through single architectures, a new organism measurable with the scale of the city. The outcomes of Rossi's project are very different those from Quaroni, that presents a centrality of issues like memory and urban scale, both strictly connected.

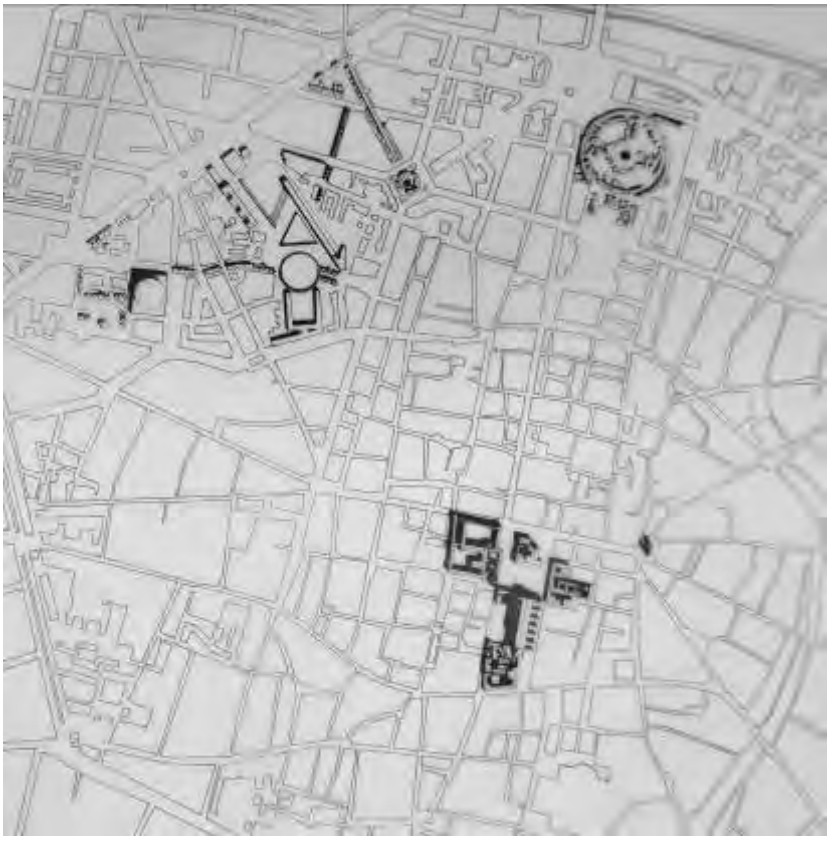

Figure 1. Drawing of competition. New project vs old town.
(Courtesy of Stefano Piazzi architect. Aspilt Studio, Bologna).

Continuing to discuss our author's proposal, in the formal approach previously explained, made of geometry and rigors, Quaroni is inspired not only from the ancient city, but also from a 19century manner to search a clarity of the urban texture, such that of the Italian towns after the Unity in 1861, that would also affect the area object of the Plan of 1889 to be completed. Similarly to the XIX century city, the project gives the idea of an urban complex designed at the same time empirically and concretely, in particular looking for the correct measure for this shapes.
In the fringed borders of the area, "finding a size" (Stefano Piazzi, interview, April 30, 2014) becomes a methodological fact and a reason for the whole intervention.

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Following an analysis driven for "progressive genres" (*generi scalar* in Italian)[14], as Quaroni himself called it many times (see for instance Terranova, 1985: 22), the new design seems to communicate the idea of an overall consistent with the size of the city that could be seen from distance at the scale 1:5000, as shown in the plan of the competition (Fig. 1). The urban appearance of the new part of the city can be assimilated in particular to the size of other public places of the historic city as Major Square and the Montagnola Park. Getting close to scale 1:500 (Fig. 2), instead, the dimension of the designed figures show its autonomy.

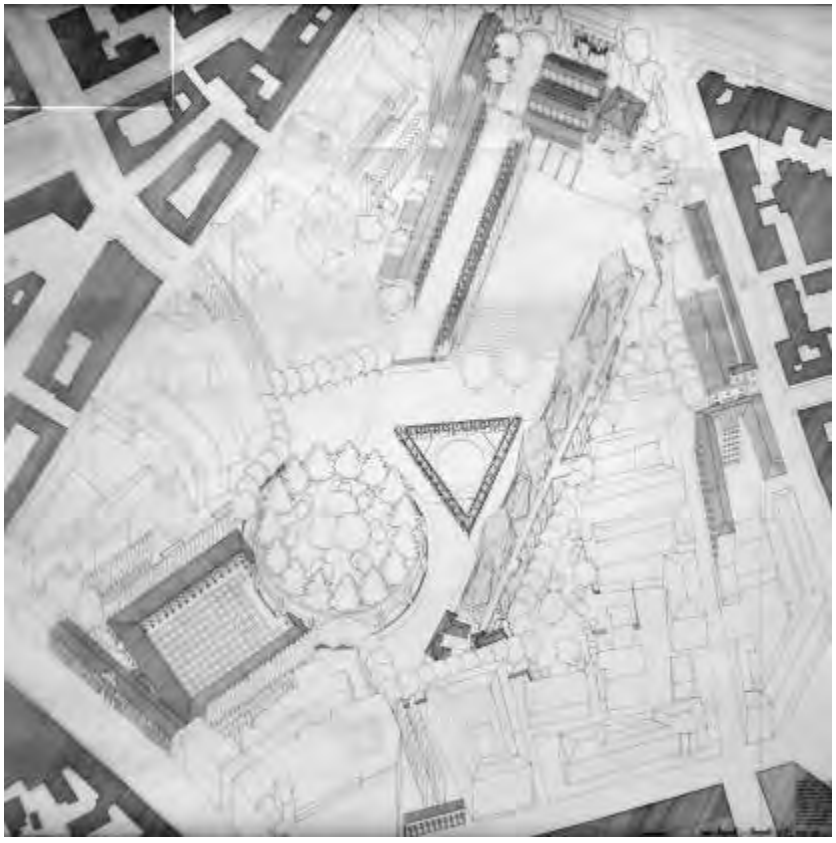

Fig. 2. Competition drawing. Axonometric view of the project.
(Courtesy of Stefano Piazzi architect. Aspilt Studio, Bologna).

So the plan has to be read on two different layers: one uses sizes that are proportional to the city scale; the other uses sizes proportional to the extension of the area (8 hectares) "evocative" of an unit of measurement belonging to the chosen architect staff imaginary. The memory, for instance, of some "patrician villas of Northern Italy" that give the "intermediate" size "between that of the park and those of the gardens with a 19th Century style" ("newly 19th century", Vincenzi, Veggetti, Zanna, 1985: 392); solving the ambiguity of dimensions previously mentioned.
Sizes therefore, does not refer here to something already existing in that same place – if there is any connection, it should be with the gardens existing in the area from the Middle Age - but measurements rather recall universal objects from architecture history, believed able to respond to some instances of the project. The contextualisation is therefore to be seen as "extracting from a place its will of shape, unique, although

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through an interpretation that can be deeply modifying" (Terranova, 1985: 31). In a similar way, the reference to a picturesque garden results useful to reach an integration between building and green spaces, and communicating an idea of nature if there is not any previous example in this part of the city.
This cultural reference become practical guidelines in design, seen in the recovery of the late-sixteenth century principle to let plants grow without pruning, updated to contemporary knowledge that harness the greater variety of known species.
The dialogue - or the "symbiosis", as Quaroni himself calls with an organicist reference – between nature and buildings goes on along the perimeter as well, on that "lining" (*fodera* in Italian), differently this time from the historic sub-urban villas.
The idea of space, its suggestions and instruments, always come from history, adapted to the place and to the present times. Quaroni states in his lessons[15] that the image of a building is not a model, but rather a combination of influences. He also says that the image can be inferred from other shapes belonging to other times, changing their final purpose while keeping the same marks – a process that relate to technological progress as well.
Historic city provides at the same time evocation and unit of measurement.
It is clear that it is a completely different approach from the search of a postmodernist style.
A last theme that emerges reconsidering this important design and debate occasion, concerns the value attributed to idea of "public", still deriving from the Quaroni's continuous swinging between the real and the imagination[16] as the fundamentals of architecture that interest also the functionality of buildings and spaces.
Similarly to the double-layer scale of dimensions, the range of activities in the area of the project is thought both at a neighborhood and an urban-territorial level.
In the first stage of the competition, the functional program (indicated by contenders rather than by the Municipality) figures a "museum square" in the four-sided portico: it is a series of little places for the botanizing plants variously organised and where exhibition of Natural History should be held. Those places should be stirred with "very little museums" (Vincenzi, Veggetti, Zanna, 1985, vol.1: 476) where everyday crops and handcraft should be shown, together with the techniques to produce them. The circular fence is thought for growing trees, while the triangle should be filled with grass and herbs, as those of the ancient monasteries of the area, once again connecting a generic reference with a specific one. The former Slaughterhouse and the Salt Warehouse would become places for indoor sport activities, fulfilling the desire of facilities for spare time and combining it with the historical vocation of the place.
The project also figured a planning of events and activities, from shows to educational programs, for youth and kids – a planning guaranteed by the involvement of the Municipality institutions in the management of the area on the model of the "Vallée de la Jeunesse" in Lausanne (1964). The area should also offer daily services and functionalities for those living nearby: elderlies, women with children and youth.
The plan does not undergo major changes in the second stage; nevertheless, the final proposal redefines some functional aspects. The Manufacturing building, for instance, become an info-point in direct connection with the four-sided portico – that instead remains the place of little museums of handcrafts and materials where youth could learn their art from the older artisans.

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The courtyard surrounded by porticos allows activities to be mixed up, divided between ground and first floor, between east, west and north wings, underlining the multiple-functions of basic geometrical shapes. The inside of the courtyard, overawed by a big potted orange plant, should host concerts and open air shows for the youth. The Rotonda, a big thick walled fence opened on ground floor by arcades, is the junction point of the complex characterised by "tall trees", while the Nymphs triangle is thought for intimate and lonely walks. Its perimeter is made of a 'berceau', a portico with barrel vault covered on one side with climbing plant recalls Mediterranean gardens, and extended in a wisteria portico, located in front of the houses; the two elements together build a piece of the urban street that keeps a strong sense of nature nonetheless.

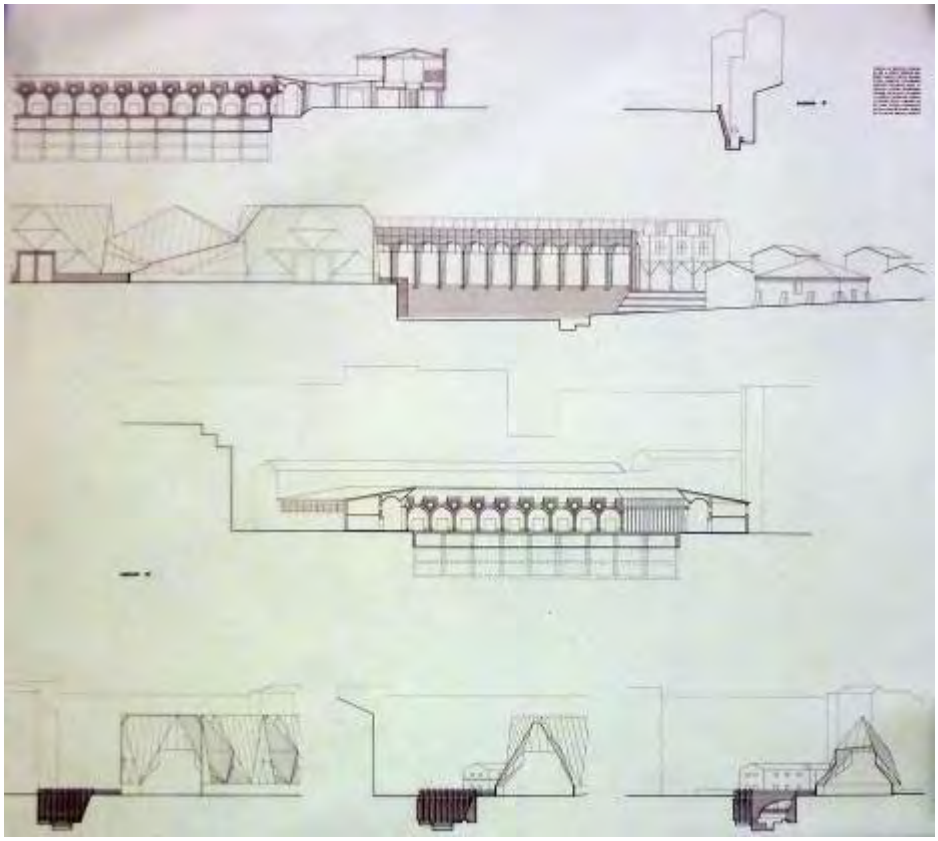

Fig. 3. Drawing of competition. Sections on "Serra", "Darsena" and "Quadriportico". (Courtesy of Stefano Piazzi architect. Aspilt Studio, Bologna).

The real new element though, is the Greenhouse replacing the artisans' shops, which arose in the second stage of the project. It is made from a sequence of eight window-modules shaped as Archimede's cuboctahedron polyhedron, an image of a big geometric exercise, tridimensional, multifaceted and transparent, a clear reference to the glass architecture of Paul Sherbart as underlined by Paolo Portoghesi (Vincenzi, Veggetti, Zanna, 1985: 11) and to "the elegance of some vegetable forms", as say the same Ludovico Quaroni (Vincenzi, Veggetti, Zanna, 1985: 392).
The lightness of this glass Greenhouse is balanced by the mighty arcade walls on the opposite side of the canal, in a continuous alternation from lightness to solidity, of nature and artificiality (Fig. 3). Inside, some sectors are freely walkable; some others are service

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areas for the park while an independent cafeteria is located in the headboard of the dockyard. The rest is occupied by a Vegetable museum. In this space, the fragmentation of the sectors also allows a variety of uses of the linear body. Industrial buildings located north are kept and intended for sport and fun activities. The bakery hosts "The motion house" with gyms and theatres; the hangars of the former Slaughterhouse become the place for restaurants and bars. Behind those should then raise the "Walls theatre" and the skating rink, while the former Salt Warehouse (Fig. 4) should host a centre for elderlies, with areas for consulting papers and videos and exhibitions.

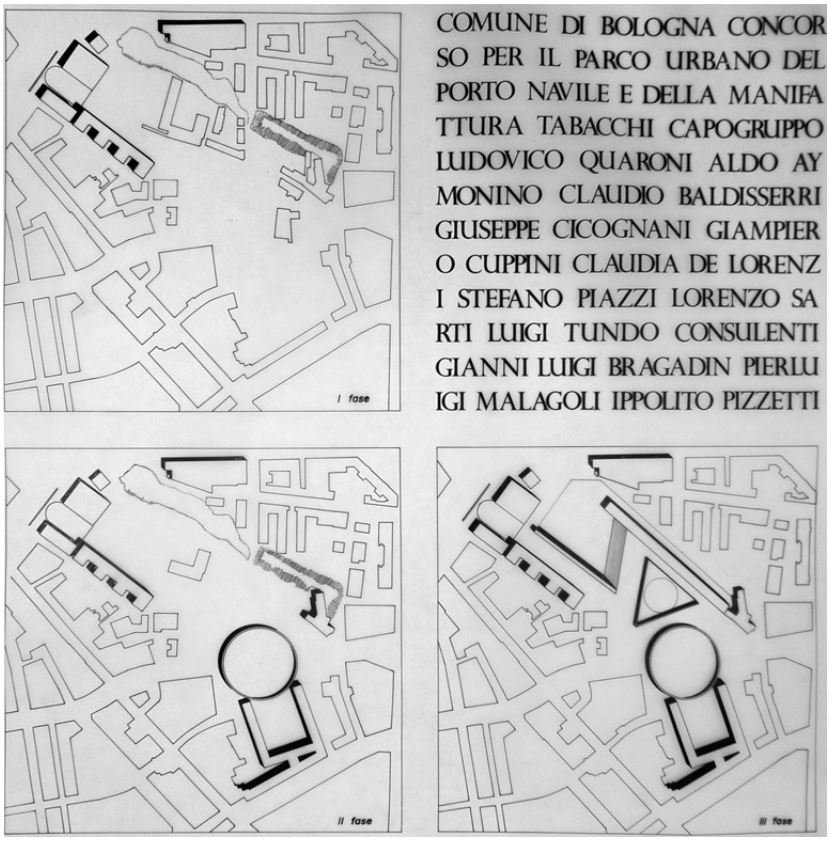

Figure 4. Competition drawing. Phases of the realisation.
(Courtesy of Stefano Piazzi architect. Aspilt Studio, Bologna).

The actual dimension of the project lies in thinking as well at the managing aspects of the process, which implies thinking of everything that comes after, not only for users (Quaroni, 1977). Hence the indication on a multi-phase realisation of the different structures composing the project (Fig. 4). First, should come the building of the houses and the recovery of the bakery, of the Salt Warehouse (Fig. 5) and of the hangars. Then, in a second phase, the renovation of the Tobacco Manufacturing building, the making of the four-sided portico; last, the Greenhouse. To sum up, the project shapes model both a "tangible city"[17] and the spaces of a "city for human".
Purposes become life, places have names and well-defined users; it's possible to know at What time of the day or of the year any place should be used and what its relation is with other parts of the city and with the city institutions, as Umberto Eco tries describing the

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project taking the side of the citizen (Vincenzi, Veggetti, Zanna, 1985, vol.1: 29-32), imaging which activities and what kind of life could be developed in the area.

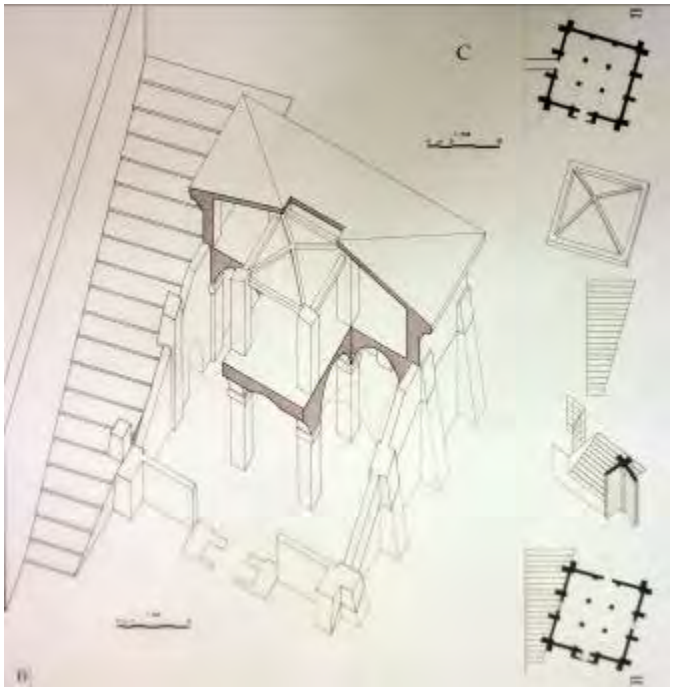

Fig. 5. Competition drawing. Project of the restoration of the former Salt Warehouse. (Courtesy of Stefano Piazzi architect. Aspilt Studio, Bologna).

Fig. 6. Aldo Rossi's drawing for the new project.
(© Eredi Aldo Rossi, Courtesy of Fondazione Aldo Rossi).

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This makes obvious the collective dimension of an imagination that is at time evocative and tangible, comparable with the rest of the city, precisely what is thought to be the correct interpretation of public value of the project.
The architect seems to try to make real what he had previously often written about the historic city (Quaroni, 1981: 264). The importance and the interest both in the private and in the public sphere have to be wide and extended never constricted in mere individualism the first and in ideology the latter. Doing so, the compenetration of the two spheres makes the city, or at least a part of it, harmonious and balanced.

Fig. 7. The Navile Park in Bologna today. View from the entrance of Mambo Museum. (Courtesy of Fabio Mantovani photographer).

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank architects Stefano Piazzi and Silvia Morselli for the interesting talk about the history of the competition and for the drawings provided.

Notes

(1) See the registers of the fundamental biography on the author, such as Ciorra (1989: 168), that provides other works from Quaroni, useful to strike a balance of the author's overall production. See also Quaroni, *Il mio modo di essere architetto*, in Terranova (1985).
(2) We are referring to the enlargement of the cemetery in Sasso Marconi. See G. Gresleri (1987), Ultima lettera a Quaroni, in *Parametro, 156*, p. 2.
(3) A "joke-project" regarded by Bruno Zevi as part of the senile work of the architect, recognized by Quaroni himself as a mature project. Zevi's comment and Quaroni's following reflections are covered in 'Parole agli studenti di Ludovico Quaroni', *Domus 689,* p. 12.
(4) The point has been investigated by M. Zardini (Vincenzi, Veggetti, Zanna, 1985: 26), who underlined the different methodological approaches emerged from the projects that reached the second stage of the competition. Such a methodological variety, according to Zardini,

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highlights both the richness of the architectural research at the time and the difficulties in dealing with the new urban binding. In the same text G. Campos Venuti points out how such way of investigation became a morphological inquiry, that can be traced in the new regulatory plan of Bologna (*Gli scandali sono necessari*, p. 27).

(5) See footnotes number 13.

(6) See comments from Roberto Gabetti (Vincenzi, Veggetti, Zanna, 1985, vol. 2: 33-35) and Giorgio Trebbi (same text: 445-476). The competition was considered at its conclusion as a good chance for an investigation on the city; this evaluation, though, changed radically given the following circumstances. A report, ten years after the end of the competition, was given by Alemagna, Bottino (1994). The final outcome of the project for the Tobacco Manufacturing with its long history - remarks from the Superintendence, the drop out of Quaroni's project, the draft of project from the Municipality and the final appointment of architect Aldo Rossi, left out from the first stage of the competition – testify the continuous uncertainty of such competitions, despite good preconditions.

(7) All of most important architects of the time enrolled in the competition. Among most famous groups, those of Costantino Dardi, Aldo Rossi, Ignazio Gardella, Leonardo Benevolo, Vittorio De Feo, Gianfranco Caniggia, Andrea Branzi, Franco Purini, Marco Porta, Carlo Melograni, Alessandro Anselmi, Adolfo Natalini, Ugo La Pietra. Groups that reached the second stage of the competition were those of: Anselmi, Battisti, Benevolo, Ghio, Ferrara, Gardella, Billi, Caniggia, Dezzi Bardeschi, Mazzini, Nicoletti, Pastore, La Pietra, Purini e Quaroni. The groups of Capobianco, Chiodini, Cinti, Dall'Erba, Ricci, De Pas, Gabrielli, Lenci, Melograni, Natalini, Roggero, Sironi deserved instead a mention from the jury panel.

(8) Quaroni's reflection on this aspect, although less ideological, remain the utopic contents of the previous decade until the end of the Seventies (a time close to the Tobacco Manufacturing project). These utopic aspects are among the most interesting in the theoretical production of Quaroni. M. Tafuri (1964: 15) acknowledges that his continuous methodological experimentation is firmly opposed to the ideological stillness of other works of that time.

(9) It is important to underline how the requirements of competition cleared that a conservative approach was not needed for the urban renovation – orienting therefore the choices of Quaroni's winning project. Nevertheless, the lack of a conservative approach became afterwards an obstacle to the realization of the project itself, causing at the end its discard. Stefano Piazzi recalls how Quaroni's group later tried to adapt the project to the remarks of the Superintendence (the updated project can be found in the Stefano Piazzi's archive in Bologna). Nevertheless, the nature itself of the project was so uniform that later adjustments were very hard to introduce. See also Alemagna, Bottino (1994).

(10) A need that is still actual, as pointed out by architects Silvia Morselli and Stefano Piazzi (Interview, April 30, 2014).

(11) See C. Aymonino (1988). *Piazze d'Italia. Progettare gli spazi aperti.* Milano, Electa.

(12) Due to the discard of the winner project, that of Quaroni's group, Aldo Rossi is asked to design a project for the area to transform it in a cultural pole. See A. Ferlenga (1999). *Aldo Rossi. Opera completa II. 1988-1992,* Milano, Electa, pp. 128-131. The project focused on the northern part of the area and intervened on existing buildings. Aldo Rossi held just a super visioning role and the project was effectively made by Bologna Municipality Office, on the occasion of the moving of some important museums of the city (Gam, Morandi), universities (Communication Sciences Department) and cultural centres (the library of the Cineteca of Bologna and the Lumiere cinema). In 2011 the Cavaticcio park was also completed.

(13) In the preface of Ludovico Quaroni's book, *La torre di Babele* (1967: 16), Aldo Rossi wrote a comment that appears useful in approaching this project: "This project of a modern city (the one that Quaroni is describing in the six essays of the volume), made of parts and monuments seamed in a homogeneous design, all planned in its multiform aspects where – as

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in every collective event - personalities with their experience and myths are to emerge – represents an alternative, an alternative to ugliness, to short-sightedness, to exploitation, to any kind of limits of our cities" (translation from Italian to English by the author).

(14) Quaroni developed seven scales of intervention, from the design of settlements for 50-100 inhabitants to the regional and national planning. Each one is tied with the other six ones through integrated scales of intermediate design: architectural, micro-urbanistic, urbanistic, district, regional, national (Quaroni, 1996: 148 – translation from Italian to English by the author).

(15) *Ibidem*.

(16) See, among Quaroni's last works, the proposal for Rome presented on the occasion of the XVII Triennale of Milan, with the meaningful title *Le città immaginate. Un viaggio in Italia. Nove progetti per nove città*. The project works on the image of the historic city, transforming the Vittoriano in a ruin, deprived of its monumental idea and its celebrative function, but re-given to the citizen through a new use.

(17) Quaroni deals with this subject in various occasions. Precisely, the architect considers the term "city" as indicating three things: the social-urban structure, the urban-tangible structure and the overlapping of the two - a difference between the classical separation between "urbs" and "civitas" (Quaroni, 1996 - translation from Italian to English by the author).

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Designing the city from public space. A contribution to (re)*think* the urbanistic role of public space in the contemporary enlarged city

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Abstract

Considering the tendency for expansion, diversification and fragmentation of the present city´s urban spaces, and considering that in the last decades public space lost much of the formal and functional attributes that it held in the past (in the historical city), the main problem that we currently face as architects and planners, seems to be how to articulate and (re) build (new) public places that materialise, in a qualified manner, the collective experience (the new ways of living, social interaction and displacement) of the "newer parts" of the city, and that simultaneously incorporate attributes that transform them into memorable and perennial spaces - landmarks of the city that is to come.

The recent practical and theoretical outputs contradictorily appear to demonstrate a relative devaluation of the structuring role of public space, especially in those less consolidated parts of the city. Regarding the architectonic and urbanistic practice, we conclude that, in a time of mediatisation of architecture (in particular by the enhancement of the image and of iconographic values), the construction of the city and the materialisation of public space expresses, in many cases, generic and epidermal responses with visible consequences in terms of urban structure and perception of the city. Regarding the theoretic outputs, the insights also do not appear, in general, to contribute towards a theoretical framework committed to a consistent practical knowledge, or the resolution of the key issues and challenges that the city faces today.

Taking into account these considerations, and starting with a brief diagnosis that will focus on the major "weaknesses or controversies" that we identify in the theoretical discourse on the city and on public space, this paper will seek to focus on the importance of the urbanistic vocation of public space by identifying three main issues or key purposes to think and retrieve the public space project in the contemporary city. The three key purposes that will help us to recognize the strategic importance of public space in the contemporary European "enlarged city", and that will be analysed by using a case study, are:

- the public space as an ordering element of "new urban expansion";
- the public space as a factor of reconstruction of the "city without a plan";
- the public space as a (re)structuring element of the "metropolitan city".

Keywords: public space; landscape; contemporary city; urban project; urban regeneration.

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Introduction

This article presented under the title "Designing the city from public space. A contribution to (re)*think* the urbanistic role of public space in the contemporary enlarged city" is, fundamentally, a reflection on the plausibility of the project of public space to constitute itself as an instrument and factor of structuring and designing of the city.

In relation to this issue, we can see different approaches. On the one hand, we identify a trend that faces the project of public space as "medicine for all ills that the city suffers", which we can see reflected in a theoretical discourse and in a professional practice (the last one mainly surrendered to the seductiveness of fashions and architectural icons).

On the other hand, it is possible to recognise another approach based on a critical understanding of the role of the project of public space, which drifts from the recognition of the subjectivity and arbitrariness that many recent interventions in the city and public space translate (and which require a disciplinary refocusing on the problem of public space design).

A third understanding of this topic can be recognised on the devaluation of the role of the project and of the urban importance of public space in the current city, assuming it as a generic and diffuse entity. This understanding converges with extra-disciplinary approaches (especially those arising from humanities and social sciences, but also from the visual and performing arts) that explicitly or implicitly, "invoke" the loss of urban and architectural vocation of the public space, which consequently leads to understand the project of public space as a "impossibility".

In terms of theoretical discussion, we can find the origin of these cleavages, both in a certain emptiness or loss of disciplinary identity that affects architecture from the second post-war period (which it is not indifferent to the cultural crisis that is clearly mirrored in the urban strategies and policy management of our cities), both in the loss of influence of the paradigm that dominates the design and project of public space - embodied in the Barcelona model - which lasted until the mid-90s.

Simultaneously we witnessed in the last decades the assimilation and integration of extra-disciplinary contributions in the public space discourse, mainly in an abstract and reductive manner, submerging the criticism, the "theory" and practice around the public space and the city in a kind of Babel, prevailing a speculative "abstract" discourse. In our view, these speculative and "abstract" discourses do not seem to construct a solid theoretical basis, capable of serving a consistent practical knowledge, and capable of solving the key issues and challenges that the city currently faces.

This paper appears, therefore, amidst a crossroad of concepts, contradictions and uncertainties (concerning the city and public space) that tend to weaken the disciplinary point of view, not only the theoretical and practical knowledge (regarding architecture and urban design), but also the role of the architect and architecture, in the materialisation of the common collective habitat, particularly in those less consolidated urban areas, in which the intervention of architects and urban planners is surely decisive in the structuring of today's cities.

But our approach to these topics do not deny or refuse the greater complexity and greater uncertainty with regard to city and public space's construction processes and dynamics; on the other hand, this reflection takes into account, at its base, a set of disciplinary premises or assumptions that frame not only the objectives and our observation point, but also allows us to rank the priority of the problems and to prioritise the theoretical and

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methodological issues.
As an initial proposition, we assume that the urban project and public space design must be firmly anchored in the idea of "built matter" - endowed with purposes and accurate and meaningful shapes - that we continue to link with the concept of public space.
Secondly, we believe that on the basis of "projects and programs of urban reconstruction" in the enlarged contemporary city, public space (understood either as a singular space in the city, either as an urban system) continues to have a central role to play in the "design of the city" and can provide structure, shape and identity to dispersed and disqualified urban sectors.
The third proposition that guided this paper is thus reflected on the need to consider interventions that (starting from a global perspective) can develop and materialise a detailed scale, overcoming the abstract visions and working methods of planning.
These hypotheses, or beliefs, put us on the trail of authors, architects and planners such as Carlos Marti, Vittorio Gregotti, Oriol Bohigas, Manuel de Solà-Morales or Joan Busquets, who claim, not only in theory, but also through the design practice, the importance of expressing purposes, "ideas of architecture" and "ideas of city", according to our own discipline criteria and attributes.
This paper takes as a specific field of research the Portuguese reality, considering that the Portuguese context - its scale and its idiosyncrasies - is not invulnerable to the change of paradigm and the contradictions and weaknesses pointed above, concerning the role of public space, and in particular the role of urban design in the context of recent changes.
The delineation of a possible "map of key design approach issues" emerges as the central aim of the paper, a "map" capable of giving consistency to the project practice, considering the public space (new or reclassified) as a factor of rebalancing / restructuring of a city that grew fragmented and discontinuously during the second half of the twentieth century.
Besides this general objective, this paper aims to:

- Assess the relevance and capacity of the (designed) public space to solve concrete problems and its ability to assign structure, identity, and a symbolic and formal order to the above mentioned urban sectors, fulfilling at the same time the desires and uses that the contemporary society claims to public spaces;
- Assess whether current strategies and design methodologies and the new public space configurations of the recent city (in many cases linked to infrastructure, mobility systems, or community facilities), (yet) may or may not take into account architectural and urbanistic criteria (structure, scale, shape, use) that were the basis of the design of public spaces of the *canonical city* (where we can recognise an identity, intensity of use, which we do not found in the new parts of the city);
- Inquire about the cultural, social and economic circumstances, in which the practice of the public space project is today inscribed, in order to understand how can we consider the project as an ordering tool (able to qualify the experience of perception, and readability of urban space) and, on the other hand, as a factor of consistency and integration of the different disciplines and interests (often conflicting) that converge in the public space.

1. The "loss" of architectural and urban vocation in the construction of public space

During this time of uncertainty, when we hear about the imminent *death of public space*, of

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the *retreat towards the private*, of rising *fear and insecurity instilled by the city*, it comes as altogether surprising – even paradoxical – the sheer number of studies and interventions that focus exactly on *public space* as their specific field of action. Perhaps it could then be argued that never before has as much been *required* and *expected* from public space; never have so many *interventions* and *requalifications* been effected as public space; and certainly never much *thinking* and *theorising* addressed public space.

Conversely, this paradoxical reality hints at a set of contradictions, which, we believe can become significant to the discernment of prevailing key issues, intersecting within a broader reflection on public space design, urban design, and architectural practise.

For instance, the *lack of consensus* bred amongst the different disciplines that effectively *build* public space (architecture, landscape architecture, engineering) remains paradoxical, as to what *meaning* should be assigned to this space, its *shape*, and what *role* might public space play in city-building today.

Enforcing adulterated values and concepts, whilst namedropping *politically correct* slogans – "ecology", "environmental", "sustainability" –, most of the latest public space proposals (and particularly those of the last two decades) seem to follow *design recipes – generic* strategies that present, largely, a blatant spatial and figurative *standardisation*. Moreover, these guidelines entail a simplification or outright dismissal of urbanistic and architectural methodologies and criteria, which were historically held as fundamental to the conception of public space.

Likewise, the enforcement of dissonant programs, that are ill fitting in their surrounding urban realities (either due to their *artificial complexity*, *strictly-functional* design guidelines, or *marketing-oriented* intents, prompted by the ever-increasing demand of entertainment and comfort by the user), characterises an overall generic method of building public space today.

In this sense we will agree with Manuel de Solà-Morales, when he criticises this approach as "(…) a new form of autonomous professional practice, which sees the precinct where the work is to be done as a free range in which zero-elevation architecture might be invented, an unconstrained exercise, in which – relatively – low-cost forms and images can be explored in freedom that could not exist in construction that is constantly submitted to the much stricter requirements of the programme, costs, functions, structure and client"[1].

With its conception seemingly void of strategic insight, this *designed public space* often results in an unarticulated arrangement of isolated parts – usually self-referential, structurally fragile, undefined in use and scale – leading to the diffusion of meaning and legibility of public space and urban form, detaching it from the tectonic and urban condition that we typically assign to that space.

This *feebleness,* which is diagnosed as inherent to this public space, attunes to the non-sustainability of long-term urban design decisions, given the complex interplay of power relations and stepped decision-making processes that make up the management of the city of today. According to Nuno Portas, our time is one of amplification of technical solutions and cultural patterns, which in turn compromise a technical, cultural, and disciplinary consensus in the establishment of architectural and urbanistic models to city-(re)building; this is particularly relevant to the relationship between the public space's outline and urban fabric, which is decisive to a coherent urban layout[2].

These mounting inconsistencies, induced by a loss of architectural and urbanistic insight into planning public space, turns the greatest part of the recently built *public space architecture*,

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into a multi-referenced and diffuse *entity*, devoid of a discernible typological or spatial matrix, and ultimately unable to express civic, aesthetic, functional and social meanings.
While it is true that this *dismal diagnosis* can – and *should* – be nuanced according to each situation in its singular context, we must also recognise that, considering its repercussions to the city, these different approaches to public space design, in our disciplinary area, fail to take into account the structural *support matrix* that, in the past, guided the construction of public space, ensuring its stability, permanence, and continuity.
Considering the enduring *urban deficit,* even in the city sectors we have seen growing in the last decades, and faced with the inconsistencies and unseemliness of these (new) public spaces, it becomes as necessary as it is urgent to question their outset purposes, design practices and methodologies, thus allowing us to implement a positive reaction to the problem of (re)building public space in the contemporary city.
This means that, given the present urban reality (as staged in most European cities), we believe that it becomes significant to wonder: how feasible is it to shape the city nowadays? In what way can we or should we act, considering how challenging it is to control its overall shape and structure? What instruments must we wield to do so? What role does public space play, in a more desirable prospective process of city redesigning?

2. *Thinking* public space in the contemporary city

The need to think public space as the main pillar of city-building
Given the penchant for expansion, diversification, and fragmentation of the urban open space in the city of today, a critical issue seems to arise for us, architects and urban planners, as to how best to mediate coexistence amid the great diversity of our urban places; and thence, from our public spaces, materialise renewed social interactions and new ways of living and commuting.
Moreover, if the *designed public space* has indeed lost much of its historical formal and functional attributes, as previously stated, how then can we (re)build (new) public places that render the collective existence of a city, while simultaneously embodying attributes that may convert them into suitable, memorable, permanent spaces? Or, as Carlos Martí notes, how can we (re)build (new) public places as "landmarks of the city to come"?
Following Carlos Martí, these two issues relate to the incurring difficulty to describe the "public places of our time"; furthermore, they seemingly converge into one nuclear concern regarding the uncertainty of what is – or should be – the contemporary city. Believing these to be two facets of one singular problem, Martí notes that "(...) the presence of public places is what characterises the city itself and what makes it different from a mere settlement (...)"[3].
The need to consider the *idea of 'City'* as a mean to think public space becomes, in this way, quite decisive. From our point of view, and following Martí´s argument, it is only possible to meaningfully discuss public space by having it assuming a role and value that are interdependent of architectural and urbanistic attributes of the physical and cultural aspects pertaining to the urban context, in which it operates.
With this in mind seem the arguments of Jordi Borja and Oriol Bohigas even more relevant, as both authors underline the necessary challenge of "making city over the city" (by perceiving the present city as a set of potentially rebalancing social and territorial centralities), recognising the *recovery of the city*, *urban mobility*, *urban fabric*, and, aptly enough,

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public space, as main subjects to address in that challenge[4]. We are therefore interested in a *city model* that allows public space an *inter-mutual value*, so this might be a product of interdisciplinary action, and where *public space design*, *urban design,* and *urban planning* can be instrumental in its development.

The need to think and design the city and its public spaces from accurate scale referents
The lack of correlation between *scale referents* and assigned *fields of study* seems one of the most evident *methodological shortcomings* displayed in current theoretical approaches to *public space*, what can only produce studies and reasoning that are borderline with the abstract, generic, and inconclusive.
If we can agree that today's cities seem to share the same widespread symptoms, we believe that a more in-depth study of public space in the contemporary city must then be specifically framed within a pre-set reality and order of magnitude. This seemingly *simple premise* becomes decisive, given that most of the speculation and conjecture surrounding the debate of "public space in the contemporary city" tend to be based on assumptions that are only pertinent in very specific contexts (such as in large cities or metropoles) – as these conjectures turn to guidelines, they become the prevailing discourse, take on an official value, and ultimately impede more consistent research on public space.
In a time when it seems that the *concept of city* has broaden up, where the city itself becomes dissolved into the city-region, it is significant to note that the European territory is not composed of large cities or conurbations, but of medium to small-sized cities. For this reason, the pre-set of an *order of magnitude* (and, thus, of a concrete field of study) is in itself a powerful statement of principles, regarding the value (the premise, the objective, the intent) afforded to what we perceive as a *city* or *public space* today. We believe this assertion to be crucial if we intend *public space* to partake in the debate of urban issues – a debate in which remains pertinent to think *city* and *public space* on criteria of form, structure and meaning.

The need to think and design the city beyond its consolidated limits
Yet, predictably, the contemporary city – even the medium-sized one – breeds such an array of issues, that their very complexity and diversity provoke equally complex and diverse opinions in its *public space*. We believe that the main concern should relate to the ascertainment of the *sector* or *sectors* of the city where intervention on public space becomes urgent or problematic.
As Nuno Portas notes, in the numerous requalification and regenerative interventions of the 80s and 90s (targeting central and preeminent areas of the city), public space is given a key role, perceptibly holding a certain *status*. On the other hand, this same *status* is not apparent in those interventions developed in the limits, in the outskirts of the emerging city, i.e., in the open and discontinuous city, where we sorely lack, in number and quality, urban concepts and strategies, that may help define consistent paradigms by which to act.
We believe this to be a consequence not only of the lack of a more comprehensive and integral city-wide proposal, but of the likely resistance, in architectural and urbanistic disciplines, in complying with any necessary and inevitable losses and paradigm shifts, that come with the transition to a more heterogeneous and open urban reality.
We are thus in need of models and strategies by which to think and act upon the outmost, less consolidated urban areas, which is where the 'future of the city' takes place nowadays,

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and where reflections on the conceptualization and materialisation of the public space become increasingly demanding.
We do recognise, additionally, that the current theoretical debate on the city and public space (within our discipline) has often been swayed by the bipolarization between the *good* and *bad* city, between the *good* and *bad* public space, which usually leads to strict and dogmatic assertions regarding the interpretation and ability to intervene in the city, and design its public spaces.
Therefore, it is not uncommon to find polarized viewpoints, between those who call for a mimetic (albeit uncritical and reductive) return to the more *legible* and *reassuring* types of the traditional city – the public space characterised by a *nostalgic* and *outdated* architecture, preached and enforced in the *new urbanism à la Krier* (as Nuno Portas remarks) – and the proponents of a *city without form*, *generic* and *indomitable*, that denies public spaces their *ordering vocation*, their ability to commit standards of clarity, order, and hierarchy to urban space.

Public space as *a design problem: the need for purposes, while intervening in the city from public space*
As Bernardo Secchi rightly points out, "(...) the image of the contemporary city is a city that already exists, but is waiting for a project."[5] By developing this idea, Carlos Martí suggests that this *project* is not only an inquiry into the meaning of things, but also an intellectual procedure, allowing us to operate on the world whilst understanding it[6].
Following these arguments (and recalling those aforementioned, urging a *strategic significance* and *concrete city size* as premises in interpreting and planning public space), we believe a more rich and operational research of urban reality to be possible, granted we can select those spaces, places, and projects that are adept to condense the urban design issues that affect the city as a whole.
For an increasingly comprehensive, accurate analysis and intervention in the public space of the contemporary European city, we would propose as a *starting point hypothesis* the pressing need to further investigate, selectively, those areas of the city (perchance of different scale, form, and use) that allow us to perceive them as prospective ordering elements of urban form, and potentially significant spaces in a collective experience of the city.
This hypothesis must therefore be understood as a comprehensive *analysis matrix* that is also selective or multi-targeted, allowing for the identification of '*vectors'* and '*topics of analysis'* that we deem relevant to a *re-valuation* of urban insight in the projects of public space[7].
From this set matrix, we simultaneously recognise both the recurrence of the same invariable themes, and the contemporary city with its different parts, as *projects in themselves*, apt to be tackled as specific and concrete problems within a different reality (like Bernardo Secchi and Carlos Martí suggest); therefore, we believe that a clear distinction of three main purposes or problems for public space is fundamental:
- the public space as an *ordering* element of urban expansion;
- the public space as a *reconstructive* element of the unplanned city;
- the public space as a *restructuring* element of the metropolitan city.
These three purposes (which are attuned to more operative topics of analysis, and specific project-related issues) are not established just as statement of principle, in recognising the

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importance of public space in the current city; they also allows us, from the outlook of design and analysis, to individualise and clarify the assorted roles that, in our view, public space can or should fulfil.
Furthermore, in terms of methodology, we believe that it is important to distinguish the intermediate urban design scale as the more consistent and appropriate approach, while intervening in the city through public space[8]. As stressed by Manuel de Solà-Morales (when highlighting the long tradition of urban design), this approach consists in operating "(...) *from the geography of a given city, on its requests and suggestions, and, with architecture, introduce language elements that shape the site* (...) *it is also working inductively, generalizing the particular, the strategic, the local, the generative, and the model*"[9].

3. Designing public space of the contemporary enlarged city. A paradigmatic example: the Metro do Porto project

Now that we identified the key issues and purposes that we believe are crucial to *think the design* of public space in the contemporary enlarged city, we are able to point out concrete examples, which aim to make our interpretation grid, and also the reflection undertaken so far more understandable and operative.
We could address these issues separately, using different examples; however we have chosen to recognise these urbanistic purposes for the public space project, integrated into a single one - the 1st phase of the Metro do Porto project (coordinated by Eduardo Souto de Moura 1999 and 2008) - which largely agglutinates, on its proposal, the three abovementioned main purposes.
This proposal refers to a metropolitan scale intervention, which consists of a set of (re) designed public space projects which, in the medium and long term, share the recognition of the structuring importance of public space in the central and peripheral city, and reveals the opportunity to regenerate some sectors of the city and allows to (re) design the city outside the so-called *traditional city*.
This means that we are before a set of interventions that underline the possibilities and responsibilities that a conscious and consistent control of the disciplinary tools of architecture and urbanism may acquire in the (re) structuring (and transformation) of the city and territory in their unstable and less structured sectors.
From a more particular view, this project allows us to highlight the potential of these (public) spaces, that are endowed of an infrastructural base, in defining the morphology of the city and its less consolidated public spaces, by rescuing a previously absent social, architectural or even landscape dimension.
While integrating other undertaken or planned urban projects for the city, the *Metro do Porto* project was set up as a potentially "re-structuring" and "repairing" system, which comprised nodal points and linear centralities of varying importance. In this sense, it was able to enhance a wider urban transformation of the city, and made possible the recognition of a new civic space and of a new dimension to the whole metropolitan territory.
In order to put the origin of this intervention into context, it should be noted that the main motivation for implementing a project with such characteristics was due, in this case, to the need to solve structural mobility (and public transport) problems within the metropolitan area of Porto, which is largely dependent on private transportation. These problems have become worse over the past decades, with the exponential increase of the use of the

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private car, causing difficulties in traffic movement and parking, both in the city centre, and in the city's main accesses and exits.
However, the intervention of the Metro in the Porto Metropolitan Area demonstrates, very clearly, not only the ability of this mobility network to confer (from a strategic and functional point of view) some "territorial balance" to a polycentric and dispersed metropolitan structure, but also shows a great potential for transformation and regeneration of the urban spaces that are crossed by this mobility network.
This urbanistic potential is undoubtedly related to the undertaken technical option (*light rail surface Metro* - tram) which thus offered the possibility of establishing links between distant and disconnected urban sectors, which, under the conception of an integrated urban project (the 70 km of constructed line, and the 69 stations built, give a clear idea of the magnitude and potential of the urban and territory spatial transformation within the Porto metropolitan area).

Fig. 1-2. Metro do Porto interventions in Maia. Eduardo Souto de Moura and João Álvaro Rocha
Source: author.

Therefore, it is possible to observe coherence and balance on the general characterisation of the reconfigured urban surfaces, which are perceived as parts of a common and comprehensive urban design that spreads across the enlarged city.
To some extent, this concern recalls the role of the ("domesticated") infrastructure as a fundamental tool for public space restructuring in the enlarged city, since, by proposing an overall design for the infrastructure, for the city and for the territory, the *Metro o Porto* intervention embodies a concrete and conciliatory response to a more fragmented and diffuse urban reality.
It can thus be said that this project clearly avails the benefits that are commonly associated with the implementation or conversion of an infrastructure (which are reflected in the possibility of redesigning parts of the city and of the territory, as it involves, in many cases, earthworks, resetting accesses, expropriations, etc.). That is to say, by acting as a *second nature*, the infrastructure of the light tram is able to polarise activity around it, and redesign, at a territorial and urban scale, the crossed public spaces.
In other words, unlike a substantial part of the road infrastructure that serves the peripheral areas of the Porto Metropolitan Area, the construction of a spatial system like

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the *Metro do Porto* confers richer and more articulated relationships among the different types of uses and urbanisation patterns of the territory (which in most cases are incongruously and sparsely disposed in the city), allowing for the strengthening, in some strands of the tram line, of new "canal areas", or *main structural axes* in the future Porto Metropolitan Area.

Fig. 3-4. Metro do Porto interventions at Matosinhos. Eduardo Souto de Moura and José Bernardo Távora
Source: author

The common design, and the constructive logic as key factors of public space legibility

Directly grounded on the constructive logic assumed by the infrastructure itself, the materialisation of the Metro project has, in our view, the virtue of introducing a "sober" and "coherent" lexicon and principles of design of public space in the city and in the territory.

Using "elements of urbanisation" endowed with a technical and constructive rationality (with the aim of achieving common and generalizing rules, and a formal stability in the design of public space - integrated in an infrastructural system), the *Metro do Porto* intervention creates a urban quality that spreads across the territory by resorting to a coherent and judicious *design synthesis* (based on a systematic repetition of standard elements, and on the use of noble materials, designed for heavy use, and to last in time).

The *Metro do Porto* interventions - essentially *designing ground* - therefore establishes architectural and urban design principles and methodologies that mainly articulate and promote functional and formal continuities. These principles imply that, as a rule, the problems are *solved*, in a pragmatic way, always having technical, urbanistic, and architectural and construction criteria (taking into account the design solutions that lead to a common and recognizable order) as a fundamental basis for decision-making and action.

The manifestation of beauty and urban consistency of the first phase of the Metro do Porto largely lies in this coherence, unity, solidity, urban significance and accurate characterisation of the redesigned public space.

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From this point of view, we believe that it was in the more indefinite or un-characterised areas where the intervention of the Metro *left greater results*; since it is in these areas that the elements that characterise the reclassified urban (public) space, acting as ordering *components* of (re)urbanisation, provide the structure and urbanity level that these areas were lacking.

Fig. 5-6. Metro do Porto interventions in Maia (Eduardo Souto de Moura and João Álvaro Rocha) and Vila do Conde (Eduardo Souto de Moura and José Gigante).
Source: author.

Final considerations: on the need to strengthen the consistency and objectivity of the design of public space

After about a decade since the completion of the first works, the analysis of the *Metro do Porto* first phase's interventions allow us to consider that the cities that integrate the Porto Metropolitan Area and the metropolitan area as a whole, underwent their greatest transformation, within the recent decades, with the "Metro operations".

The magnitude of change and innovation lies, above all, in the key role that disciplinary knowledge and architectural/urban design practice played in the guidance of the processes of construction /design of the contemporary city and territory, as we know it - increasingly fragmented in technically, politically and economically terms.

The (public space) project, sometimes regarded as "unnecessary" and "impossible," recovers a broaden legitimacy in the Metro do Porto intervention, which allows us to underline the need to provide (and claim) a further design approach consistency, that is able to centralise decisions regarding the project of public space; we are thus defending a design approach that leads to a spatial coherent synthesis, which, in most cases, we believe Architecture is most well suited for to perform (and overwrite the purely functional, opportunistic urban design approach, which is understood, in many cases, as a sum of several technical projects).

In this sense, the example of the *Metro do Porto* reattaches the public space project to the management and decisions of the city's building processes, surpassing the vision of public space as a mere exercise of an open space design (or as a response to a generic program of use or set of needs).

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This intervention demonstrates the need for a more consistent disciplinary commitment in the construction of public space, in order to recover "a culture of the project" for the city. Based on a more unitary and articulated vision of urban space, capable of restoring some of the features that can be associated with a "way of thinking and constructing" the open public spaces that lasted until the mid-twentieth century: simplicity and efficiency in the design of its components; sobriety in the definition of materials; regularity in formal and technical options, and, finally, but not least, the coordination of the other actors involved in the pursuit and respect for the established purposes.

In conclusion, it can be stated that in the *Metro do Porto*'s case, the *ground outcomes* demonstrate the ability for an intervention with these characteristics (which in its origin, relates to the design of an infrastructure that "supports movements" and seeks to improve the coordination of the flow of people and vehicles) to become a common urban reference that is already part of the collective memory and which was able to regenerate and articulate the urban complexity and diversity.

It is therefore crucial that the forthcoming projects for the whole Porto Metropolitan Area do not overlook the *Metro do Porto* interventions as an *urban re-foundation moment*; that is to say, it is important that the forthcoming projects should recognise the *structuring force* of the Metro interventions as a fundamental backbone that is able to positively promote the future development of the city.

Notes

(1) de Solà-Morales, Manuel (2010) "The Impossible Project of Public Space" in In favour of public space: ten years of the European prize (Magda Anglès ed.), Barcelona: Actar, p. 27.

(2) Portas, Nuno "Planeamento Urbano: Morte e Transfiguração" in Arquitectura(s): teoria e desenho, investigação e projecto. Porto: Faup publicações, 2005, pp. 64, 65.

(3) Martí Aris, Carlos (2012) "Lugares Públicos en la Naturaleza", Conference held at Faculdade de Arquitectura do Porto on November 18, 2002, polycopied author's edition, pp. 1.

(4) Borja, Jordi; Muxi, Zaida, *El espacio público: ciudad y cuidadania*, Barcelona: Electa, 2003, p. 57.

(5) Bernardo Secchi quoted by Carlos Martí in "Public Places", Conference held at the Colegio de Arquitectos de Madrid on April 26, 2001, polycopied author's edition, p. 1.
Joan Busquets supports this understanding of Bernardo Secchi, when he stresses the need to think the [master] plan as the "(...) *container project capable of providing an overview, but also of decanting consensus regarding basic criteria, that may be developed by interventions or projects of very distinct times, but able to open new procedures on unpredictable topics*" Joan Busquets (2004). "Presente y perspectivas del urbanismo", *Sociedade e Território*, n. 37-38, p. 52.

(6) Carlos Martí in "Public Places", Conference held at the Colegio de Arquitectos de Madrid on 26-04-2001, polycopied author's edition, p. 1.

(7) Mindful of this, Joan Busquets stresses the need to rescue the idea of "project, or medium-term vision plan" from the intervention on "some spaces, in certain systems, or on certain strategies," which, as he states, implies the necessity to study "almost everything" and extensively. This vision is, according to Busquets, directly related to the requisite of recovering the "(...) conceptual and abstract [determination] of the master plan, as a way to address the issue of urban form, without having to fall into the fallacy of designing all its parts (...)". Busquets J. (2005). "Entrevistas: 20 visiones" in *Papers. Regió Metropolitana de Barcelona,* n. 43, June 2005, pp. 26, 27.

(8) Joan Busquets is one of the authors who have more consistently upheld the "high degree of operability" of the intermediate scale urban project, as privileged instrument of intervention in

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the city. In his view, this instrument corresponds to a "(...) type of urban project that accepts working from the urban fragment, understanding that, from it, it becomes possible to tackle general questions of the city "facing"(...) varied programs where the idea of integration (between infrastructure and city, between public and collective spaces) becomes the fundamental concept". On the other hand, Busquets stresses the importance of the intermediate scale as the most apt in thinking on "inbetween relationships", as it ensures the recognition and enhancement of "propositional ideas in an abstract layer, making them adaptable to different programs and changes in the course of the project. Busquets, Joan (2004). "Presente y perspectivas del urbanismo", Sociedade e Território, n. 37-38, pp. 51, 52.

(9) de Solà-Morales, Manuel, (1987)."La segunda historia del proyecto urbano" *UR* n. 5, pp. 22.

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The over-familiar landscape that escapes to the absent-minded gaze

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Abstract

Public spaces constitute a relevant part of the landscape of the ordinary city. According to the European Landscape Convention, studies and designs of public spaces, in particular of open spaces, should appropriately focus on the different users who inhabit it and recognise themselves in these spaces. In this sense, close to the traditional studies on morphological characteristics, urban materials and equipment, it is useful to explore the performances of public spaces in innovative ways. This article proposes to come back to emphasise and highlight daily life, still today forgotten as a relevant component of a good design and planning of public spaces. It underlines the importance of the gaze on the everyday and ordinary for urbanism, through some introductory experiences of designed urban spaces and some concepts, such as 'practices' and 'way of uses'. Moreover, it offers a review of different lines of studies on public life and other research interested in daily urban practices. Among these, the article focuses on rhythm and chronographic analysis, which describe practices of use, urban populations and their rhythms of presence within places. In conclusion are presented some opportunities that an adoption of the proposed approaches to everyday could bring to a better management, maintenance and planning of public spaces.

Keywords: everyday life; urban rhythms; practices of uses; ordinary city; public life; phenomenological approach.

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Starting from daily life

In everyday life, the configuration of spaces and the practices of use are often unexpected and interwoven.

In order to explain this relation two different public open spaces are here presented. They are geographically very far but associated by a complex and interesting relationship between the design of physical spaces and their everyday use. Within these two open spaces the morphology of the ground and the design of the equipment play a fundamental role in the (designed and unexpected) use made by inhabitants in their daily routines and free time.

These two cases allow us to look at everyday life. As a matter of fact, according to Ralph Erskine "the so useful art of architecture achieves its greatest potential when it is most beautifully attuned not only to spectacular special needs but also to the undramatic and even intimate everyday needs of people when they are functioning individually or in groups. … It is the everyday situations that are important and that shape the major part of our lives and cities" (Erskine, 1986: 7).

Walking toward the Station: when the project of the ground goes along with practices

Piacenza is an Italian city in Po Valley; it hosts two small universities. Few years ago, the municipality has promoted a redevelopment of the square in front of the train station. The project gave priority to pedestrian in the space going from the rails to the urban park, going through the square and a main street (thanks to a movement of the ground and the use of a different material) and giving a new use to an old pedestrian underpass, with escalators. Without breaking or fragmenting materials and walkways, the "project of the ground" (Secchi, 1986) considers more important the pedestrian flows to and from the station, emphasizing both the feeling of continuity and the pedestrian movement; and creating two different ways to cross the street. Taking into account the numerous people crossing the street to reach the train station on the rush hour is a clear design choice. This choice improves the liveability of an intermodal urban hub: it promotes sustainable mobility and promenades before car use. The everyday practices of this place reinforce the project: people choose to walk almost every time at the street level, without even using the underpass. In order to reduce this practice, improving the use of the underpass and reducing the presence of pedestrian on the street, the Municipality decided to install a barrier all along the street, denying the idea of a physical and perceptive continuity. Since this decision was taken, pedestrians have started to cross the street toward the Station despite the new physical barrier and to move freely until today (Fig. 1).

Plunge into water: when equipment offers new uses

Turilandia and Santa Helena are two towns on the North-East of Brazil, stretched along the two opposite riversides of the Rio Turiçú. The two municipalities have interpreted in different ways the relation to the river, which is close to a bridge connecting the two cities. In the first case there is a green area bounded along the river by a wall allowing to sit, reach and overlook the river. The wall itself set the occasion to plunge into the muddy water, having fun and showing-off. In the second case the municipality design an urban street, Avenida Beira de Rio. This street connects the church square, which is facing the river through a small mooring and a gazebo, with some detached houses. The street goes under the bridge deck, occupied by some huts, such as small commerce and meeting points. The *avenida* has a stone central flowerbed and large sidewalks; a light handrail with wooden bench divides it from the river. The handrail and the beams of the

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bridges become a springboard. The street and the bottom of the bridge, instead of being urban fringes, are spaces for social life: shaded by the bridge, some young people spend time to relax, also showing them off during the tropical heat. The bench along the river became a meeting point. Also, the square hosts the stops of the motorcycles and their banquets thanks to a gazebo. Two moments of leisure partially designed and partially unattended, both encouraged by the morphology of the places, face each other on the two riversides in the meadow and along the street (Fig. 2).

Fig. 1 (on the left). Piacenza (Italy). January 9, 2017. h. 8:08 During rush hours, the commuters cross the street from the Station despite the physical barrier.
Fig. 2 (on the right). Santa Helena (Maranhao, Brazil). April 18, 2014. h. 14:42. In the sultry afternoon, the young people are discovering the new uses of the riverside street, such as plunging into water.

The two examples have some common aspects. Regarding the spatial solutions, they are the result of an intentional re-design of public space (ground, equipment and connections) and, after these interventions; they show that the practices of uses of the spaces in some moments can offer other perspectives of the proposed solutions. Methodologically, both cases demonstrate the need to combine the space and the practices of uses in daily life, for seeing and understanding their functioning and potentialities in social – individual and group – uses. Recognising specific practices and rhythms of uses in everyday life means to identify repetitions and discontinuities that generate sociality, because every social relationships – such as looking, speaking, meeting, having fun and etc. – are always space and time rooted. Nevertheless, looking at spatial-temporal practices allows observing also that in some moments human behaviours do not respect the order gave by the space; and the practices of uses superimpose a new dynamic of uses. So, the descriptions of the two different experiences underline the opportunity to pay attention to what is over-familiar, to what happens in the routines and in daily life, as useful methodology to understand how the collective space works in order to transform or maintain its suitably.

Open spaces as a stage for public practices

The observation of everyday life gives an interesting point of view to better understand the processes of open spaces as urban stages. From one side, this observation can become an important tool to understand urban changes and to define the questions undergoing these transformations (Bianchetti, 2003). On the other hand, and more importantly for urban design, it offers interesting elements of analysis even if not always taken into account in the design of places. As a matter of fact, this point of view is a way

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to modify and enrich the design process trying to "be closer to things and people" (Benvenuto, 1989); and thus, even more today, it can be a tool for urban design, keeping in mind that the transformations are gradually less the product of deeply living a place. When I talk about practices, I refer to the ways in which a city is inhabited, lived, experienced and transformed by its own inhabitants (Cellamare, 2008: 122); practices are "the collective, recurring and repetitive ways of doing (…) what people do intentionally. Without thinking about it, because you did it already like that and this is the way to do it, because everybody does it in this way (…) they are not isolated actions, neither combined (…) it is not a joint action" (Crosta, 2007: 87). Looking at places from the point of view of practices offers a vision from the inside, useful for the design, that complements more traditional point of views both from the top (using maps) and from the bottom (making field trips and visual observations). Moreover, it tries to understand how different persons live their context and it includes into the analysis contemporary multi-scalar ways of inhabiting places.

Starting from the practices means, then, to assume the inhabitants' point of view and to renew the attention toward the ways of use of the territory. As Patrizia Gabellini suggests, "the ways of use represent the relationship among populations, places and times". They represent "how people use different urban spaces, diverse facilities, and how spaces are used by diverse metropolitan populations", without forgetting the priority of town planning given the strong relationship between physical characterisation and anthropic behaviours. In fact, "space features (urban materials and functioning) influence practices (ways of use), but they do not determine them" and "the ways of use can have a repercussion on the facilities and their performances. There is always a gap among facilities, their performances and effective ways of use" (Gabellini, 2010).

In this article I argue that staying closer to people and things (like, for example, starting from the uses of physical spaces where facilities and the related utilisation are tested) means to propose a specific view on the territory. Such unconventional point of view implies that both descriptions and design of public policies focus on, and then affect, the "lived space", not the "perceived" or the "conceived" space (Soja, 1996: 74; Simeoforidis, 2002: 150). According to this perspective, time becomes an instrument to understand the lived space and vice versa.

Also studies and designs of public spaces, in particular of open spaces – that are a relevant part of the landscape of the ordinary city – could appropriately focus on the different users inhabiting it and recognising themselves in these spaces, as stated by the European Landscape Convention (2000). According to the European Landscape Convention, the landscape does not exist without people and society creating and recognising its identity. Accordingly, near to the traditional studies on morphological characteristics and on the amount of urban materials and equipment, it is useful to explore the performances of public spaces in innovative ways. The proposed approach invites us to increasingly refer to territorial practices and rhythms of use, that is a way to emphasise and highlight everyday life and ordinary city, not only by describing it but also through design and plan. Therefore, the article proposes to researchers and design professionals to focus again on the everyday, which has connoted all the 20th century (Secchi, 1999: 57), but has had not relevant effects on ordinary planning and design of our cities. Indeed, still today, the design of public open spaces frequently remains sectoral, such as actions on mobility or beautification, and uninterested to individual daily life and social behaviours in public spaces. Starting from these, the article draws from the Italian and international contexts both practices and literature.

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On one hand, the article aims at reflecting on the everyday as what is over-familiar in our urban landscapes and as what escapes to the absent-minded gaze. The introductive examples, result of visual observations, and concepts such as practices and ways of use, coming from literature, underline the importance of the everyday gaze for urban planning and design and of reaffirming the role of public spaces as stages for urban practices, both collective and individual.
On the other hand, the article aims at exploring what kind of approaches and tools have been developed in the last decades to ameliorate the interest on daily life in public spaces. Through a literature survey (urban planning and design, sociology and some encroachment in anthropology and geography), the next paragraph offers a review of the different lines of studies on public life and research on practices in open spaces and their diversifications in time schedules of uses. The following paragraph presents, in a tendentious way, the spatial-temporal approach developed by the Italian school of Politecnico di Milano, through a synthetic report of different European experiences and tools employed in research, public policies and didactical urban design workshops. The work ends with a reflection on the improvement in the toolkit for the rhythm analysis from Seventies on, and remarks the opportunities that the adoption of the different approaches proposed in the everyday and ordinary could bring to a better management, maintenance and planning of public spaces.

Different conjugations and approaches

Considering everyday urban practices, both in their recurrent patterns and for their extraordinary variety and vitality mean "grasping a phenomenology that cannot be known through theory or cognition alone" (Amin and Thrift, 2002: 9). Several lines of research have approached to this issue, some of which refer specifically to public open spaces. Sociology has gone deeper into the analysis of social behaviours and, thanks to the time budgets, has put a focus on the temporal dynamics of individuals at a quantitative level (Gershuny, 1999). In the last twenty years, this branch of investigation has built up a body of studies to measure the quantity of "average time" that people employ in different activities. Nowadays, comparative data (Eurostat) and studies are available for many European cities; yet, if on one hand these studies are effective to show the different average time availabilities of individuals at a macro urban level, and to draw profiles of time uses at overall scale; on the other hand, they are difficult to use within the design processes of specific places, either physical than social, because these data are only available in aggregate forms.
Another urban sociology's specific branch further explored the issue of practices related to time, starting from the concept of populations. The interest originates from a reflection about the divergence between the shrinking population of the metropolis, reported and measured by institutions, and the widespread perception of congestion and overcrowding of people in cities, for large segments of time. Guido Martinotti (1993) and his school (Nuvolati, 2003) have observed and delivered a classification of populations in relation to their temporary presence in places, and to the reasons of this presence: commuters, daily and weekly city users, seasonal tourists, businessman/woman, flàneurs and immigrants. This branch of studies, especially in Italy, has influenced the capacity of observing places starting from the presence of populations who inhabit and use the city and its services, thus taking into account opportunities and conflicts generated by the cohabitation of different populations during a given period of time. This approach began

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to be influential also on planning instruments at different scales, both in cities and regions where temporary living dwelling of places is significant but underestimated, or used in restricted sectorial context such as university cities, seasonal tourist destinations or nightlife areas.

More recent studies (Pasqui, 2008) have proposed an analysis of populations inhabiting the city precisely for specific practices happening there, in order to address more effectively urban policies and planning. Analysis and description of these populations still represent an open question, mostly developed in reference to urban mobility, through the innovative use of phone data (Ratti et al., 2006; Pulselli and Romano, 2009; Pucci, Manfredini and Tagliolato, 2015).

In urbanism, following a different path, Anglo-American approaches favour phenomenological descriptions of what happens in the public space, with an interest in spontaneous and informal uses as a key passage to realize an "everyday urbanism" (Leighton Chase, Crawford and Kaliski, 1999). The analysis of the temporary use of public spaces and of social behaviours in the real life and daily routines, or in other words, the social practices in public spaces, mostly open spaces, gives back a variety of activities, both dynamic and sedentary such as: informal commerce, recreational activities (for few minutes or for many hours, at a given hours or more spontaneously), production (in neglected spaces, or in community garden), celebrations or expressions of dissent, legal and temporary reuse of abandoned urban plots for common uses, urban grazing to take care of large public park, or, in some cases, temporary houses in urban fringe (Frank, 2012). If, on one hand, these activities reveal a non-permanent city, on the other side, to some urban planners, such as Margaret Crawford, they open-up new directions for urban planning, suggesting an incremental approach, that works with small changes collected until transforming big urban contexts. The action is made of small and temporary steps, whit particular attention with the respect to rules and their application, with the activation of processes socially and (in part) economically sustainable for public-private management of collective spaces. In such a discreet way the professional boundary of architects and urban planners has been overcome. Thus, they are responsible also for the management of space beyond its material transformation and they cover expertise regarding life in public space and spontaneous city.

In this direction sociologists, urban planners and journalists such as Jane Jacobs (1961) and William Whyte (1980), thanks to their anthropological and polyhedral attention to social life of urban spaces, have given a very relevant contribution to the debate.

Other schools of architecture and planning – particularly the Danish school of architecture and planning and a long tradition of North European (i.e. Ralph Erskine but also Giancarlo De Carlo) and North American urban studies (i.e. Kevin Lynch and Christopher Alexander) – re-read and design the "life between buildings" (Gehl, 1980). Following the effort to realize better environmental conditions, they observe, while happening, everyday phenomenology. This methodology of structured observation (differentiated analysis based on users, perception and appreciation; field trips as well as explanatory and focused use of photography; morphological analysis of public spaces as places for social and cultural exchange) and representation (such as through maps of people's behaviours, traces and diaries) (Fig. 3) works with specialised disciplines, such as sociology and psychology, to use sensorial factors (visual or sounds), mental reactions and people behaviours in open spaces in the city design.

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Fig. 3. Map of people's behaviours (standing and sitting) in outdoor spaces in different seasons: winter (on the right) and summer (on the left). Source: (Gehl, 1968).

Completely different efforts have been made by studies on diffused and sprawled city. They have put a stress on attentive observation of space in relation to social types. This point of view is related specifically to physical urban materials. It reclaims the tradition of morphological analysis considering it in more innovative ways. Researchers, planners and architects aims to discover, without detriments, the characteristics of the urban environment of contemporary cities, making important efforts to discover new housing phenomena, social and physical, and to highlight their territorial effects. The focus of this research is not the open space but the combination between urban materials and new consumption and life styles. Most of these studies describe new relational geographies between places and peoples. This approach, quite different from the others presented, proposes an analytical interest of the spatial and social phenomenology. In Italy and Europe, it has been developed in the Nineties (Indovina, 1990; Boeri, Lanzani and Marini, 1993; Secchi, 1994; Munarin and Tosi, 2001). Moreover, it has introduced an interesting perspective for the design of public spaces, regarding the "project of the ground" and the re-enhancement of the "welfare space". The "project of the ground" (Secchi, 1986, 2006) proposes the redefinition of the architecture of the "level zero" of the soil (Aymonino and Mosco, 2006) and it considers the continuity of the ground ensuring the needed connexions of the public city. Instead, the "welfare space" remarks the importance to rethink the physical component of public services, equipment and social-collective spaces useful to guarantee comfort, safety and wellbeing (Munarin and Tosi, 2009; Officina Welfare Space, 2012). These have guided diverse projects and realisations in European cities.

Lastly, rhythm and chronographic analyses of the Italian school emphasise the changing characters of the city. These works study the territory "from the bottom and from inside", starting from different time schedules of services and temporalities in the use of places, in order to understand who are the inhabitants, what are the activities they perform in the cities and when they happen, in relation to both private/public activities and open spaces. This point of view takes into account temporary and resident populations, mobile and permanent ones, or populations related to practices: the rhythm (duration and recurrence) characterises their physical presence into spaces. In this way the different and layered time of use shows vibrant lived spaces. The time-geographers of the Swedish School of Lund, starting from the studies of Torsten Hägerstrand in the Seventies (Carlstein, Parkes and Thrift, 1978), have been pioneers to reconnect individual behaviours in space and time. Also Kevin Lynch (1972) conducted an interpretative and

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advanced research to recognise spatial and temporal aspects of urban planning. In the Nineties, the School of Architecture and Society of Politecnico di Milano has developed and applied this approach to specific public policies and planning experiences (urban time policies), and it has tried to introduce it in the urban design domain, unfortunately with scarce results. It has been developed in different planning tools of Italian cities and in very few European cases (Bonfiglioli and Mareggi, 1997; Mareggi, 2011, 2012; Henkel et al, 2012). The following paragraph illustrates the ways to describe the space-time characteristics of open spaces.

The knowledge of practices and rhythms of uses contributes to investigate and to focus the project on performances and physical sensitiveness (in particular on space and time's measures of different human bodies). Furthermore, together with the previously proposed approaches, it brings into play a displacement of traditional architectural and urban analyses, just looking at places' character and consistency.

This overview of different variations and approaches to open space raise three issues. First of all, the presented review is a research domain mixing different disciplines and being at their intersections, even though a forceful contamination is very difficult to obtain. Secondly, these studies are offering valuable instruments for research and design, answering to instances also underlined by studies on the quality of life. These studies assert that territorial allocation and performance are not the only factors to consider when dealing with goods and services; what is important is their usability, what can be done (functioning) choosing among possible alternatives (capabilities) (Sen, 1993, cited by Nuvolati, 2007: 106). Urban quality is not only determined by physical conditions and supply of services, but also by the uses and conditions of use of the different subjects/users. Moreover, the interest in these studies is not only focused on spontaneous, informal and unauthorised uses of spaces, highlighting unexpressed needs unable to find answers in a given context of space and services allocation. On the contrary, the focus is oriented on simple and recurrent everyday activities (De Certeau, 1990), which is all what happens, which is over-familiar and common and which we perceive it without paying attention. These last issues are often neglected within the social and physical design of public open spaces.

For a study on territorial practices and rhythms of use

Practices and rhythms of use of public open spaces of the ordinary city are investigated in some experiences and tools employed in research, public policies and didactic urban design workshops. Some Italian municipalities have developed: chronographic maps with opening time schedules of public activities in all municipal area (Comune di Bergamo, 2006; Città di Bolzano, 2009) and with time schedules of prevalent use of open and collective spaces; maps of usability and accessibility of green spaces, as in Paderno Dugnano, or of open spaces in Rozzano (Mareggi, 2012); space-time studies on liveability of neighbourhood's square in Pesaro (Comune di Pesaro, 1999) (Fig. 4) and chronographic maps of circuits of frequentation of population in central urban areas such as in Busto Arsizio (Brioschi, 1997), Cremona (Comune di Cremona, 1999), Cologno Monzese (Zanettichini, 2011) or Gallarate (Mareggi, 2011). Maps of the use intensity of places are available for some coastal areas with significant tourist attraction such as in the Apulia Region (Mininni, 2010). Similar exercises have been carried out with students in the Urban planning studios at the School of Architecture and Society, Politecnico di

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Milano (Longo and Mareggi, 2012; Mareggi and Pucci, 2013), for which it has been prepared the following methodological note.

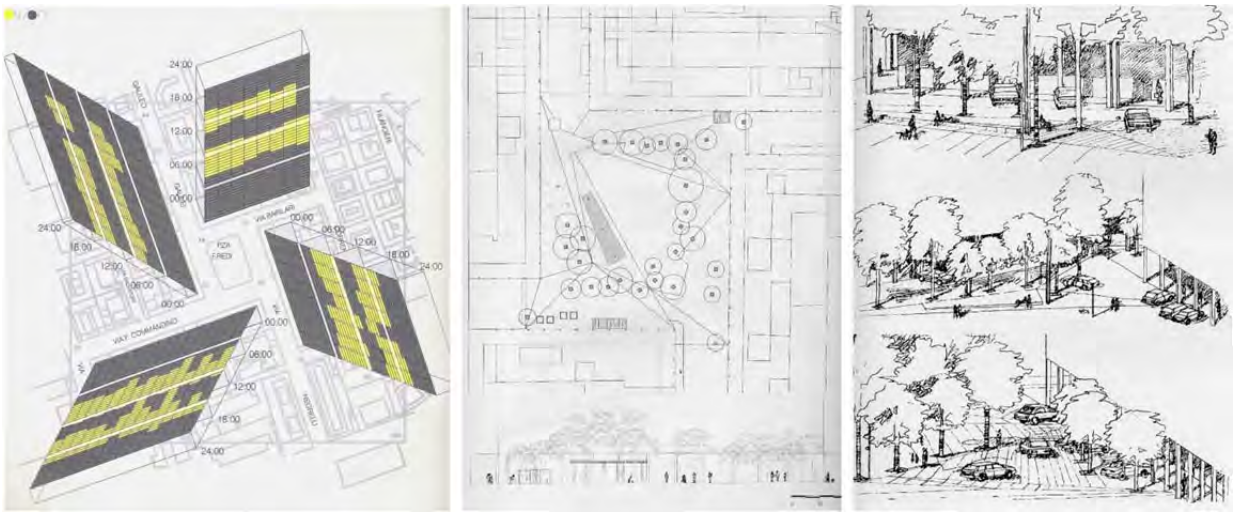

Fig. 4. Space-time studies and intervention of a neighbourhood's square in Pesaro (Italy): opening calendar of commerce and services (on the left), project (in the middle) and sketches (on the right).
Source: (Comune di Pesaro, 1999).

Specifically, during the phases of analysis and description, parallel to the design activities, the identification of who inhabits the considered places, when and in which way, is it accompanied by a morphological investigation of the context and the sites of intervention, by the re-enactment of the main historical and geographical characteristics of the territory.
The component of "who, when, whom" – together with forms and functions' analysis realised through on site surveys – enriches the bird's eye view of the city, based on the maps, with a bottom-up approach, looking at the context from inside and "being closer to things and people". More in detail, the observation and the exercises of description and design have been focused also on ways and rhythms of use of the territory.
The *ways of use* allow us to read social practices produced by the different populations in a given space. They show how people use and experience public spaces and services, and how spaces are used, perceived and transformed by different populations inhabiting and visiting the territory. The ways of use describe the relationships among populations, places, and times. Typical ways of use allow identification of specific urban landscapes. During the design process, to analyse and be aware of the ways we inhabit the places helps the designer to consider at the same time the users and their ways of use of spaces; furthermore, it enables to compare the physical features of a place with the real possibilities and constraints of urban materials, allowing or preventing everyday practices. All these can help the designer to underline potentialities and to re-signify spaces.
The *rhythms of use*, instead, aim to emphasise the temporal components characterising continuous presence, temporary frequentations and recurrence in the use of places by different subjects. The urban rhythm analysis focuses on three aspects. First, different populations inhabiting the territories are observed and analysed in relation to their continuous or temporary presence in a given place (residents, commuters, city users, tourists), in relation with different ages and periods of life (i.e. child, boys and girls, young

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people, young couple with children, elderly, grandparents with grandchildren and others) or in relation with specific practices of uses (for example, cyclists, motorcyclists, hikers, aggregates loaders, campers, bathers, canoeists, card players, skaters). Second, the located functions are specified with respect to schedules, calendars, opening/closing hours and their character of "obliged time schedule" of a territory (prevailing work activities as well as school hours), or because they can be chosen by the inhabitants (i.e. sports, cultural and entertainment equipment, commercial distribution, natural parks, thematic paths, events). Finally, the mobility network is investigated with respect to public transport timetables, flows of traffic, various forms and intensity of movements and rests, even walking and cycling, perceptions and distances in terms of time. This last element redesigns geographies of changing space-time relations, site-specific, and shows interesting potential connections for the project.

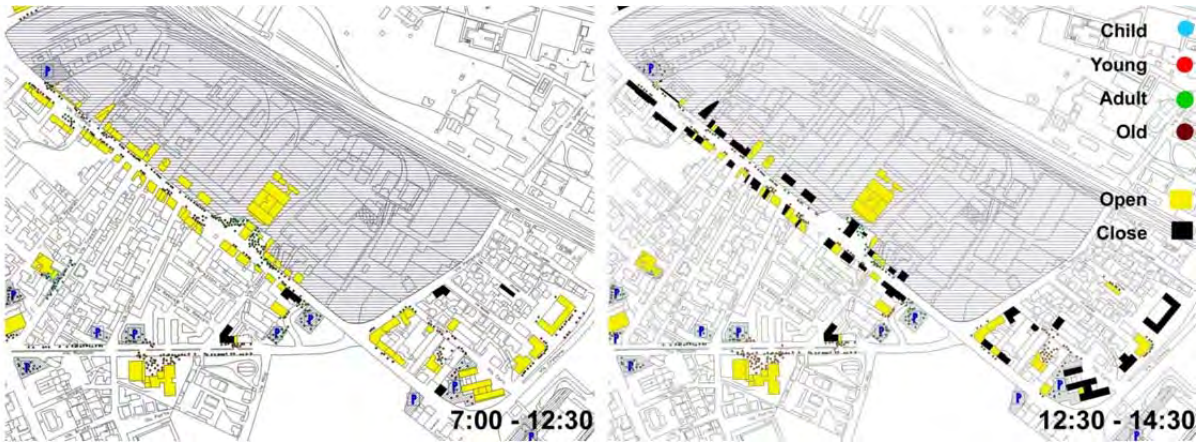

Fig. 5. Chronographic map of frequentation circuits of populations (different ages) around Emilia Street in Piacenza (Italy) in different moments: morning (on the left) and mid-day (on the right) of a working day. Source: (D. Casaroli, B. Siero, Politecnico di Milano, Piacenza Campus, 2008).

Thus, the description of practices and rhythms of use of open spaces implies to:

- Observation of those who frequents the places, which kind of activities they perform and in which moments, and, at the same time, to indicate the places, the circuits and the moments of higher/lower presence and density of use. These observation, based on site surveys and information collected with interviews and stories, are often complemented by official data such as resident population, commuters and overnight stays in tourist accommodation. In didactic exercises, sometimes population profiles with typical behaviours are drawn through maps, timetables and photos;
- Detection of functions and time schedules of public or collective services (and, in some cases, the workplaces) and time schedules of activities taking place in public spaces (both planned or informal). Information was obtained through survey of time schedules and direct visual observation of the practices of use in their real occurrence. These on site surveys need to be realised in different moments of the day/seasons or information can be collected through the inhabitants and visitors' stories or interviews. Among these functions, the identification of the 'attractors' is particularly interesting: when there is a presence and distribution of services and functions that attract or may attract a relevant number of people, according to their schedules and calendars of opening hours;

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- Specifying the main aspects of mobility, also pedestrian and bicycle, which are relevant in relation to project issues. These data are a collection of statistical information (such as origin-destination of workers and students), social surveys on mobility behaviours, stories of different typical mobility profiles, and mapped and counted individual behaviours (frequentation circuits of populations) through visual observation in different temporal phases (Fig. 5).

Usually, chronographic (also dynamic) maps, calendars (hourly, daily, weekly, seasonal, annual, long-term or occasional) and pictures are ways to present the synthetic description of the ways and rhythms of use of spaces (Fig. 6). They show the phenomenology of everyday life in the investigated open spaces. These representations often reveal opportunities, demands and implicit desires, expressed through the either recurrent or occasional actions of the different inhabitants.

These explorations of lived space enable the project of public spaces to: question directly the main subject who is the receiver of the transformative action; evaluate the different possibilities of use; articulate urban materials and levels of comfort; make readable and manageable the coexistence of potentially conflicting uses and populations; integrate in the design and planning physical interventions and policies for the space-time management.

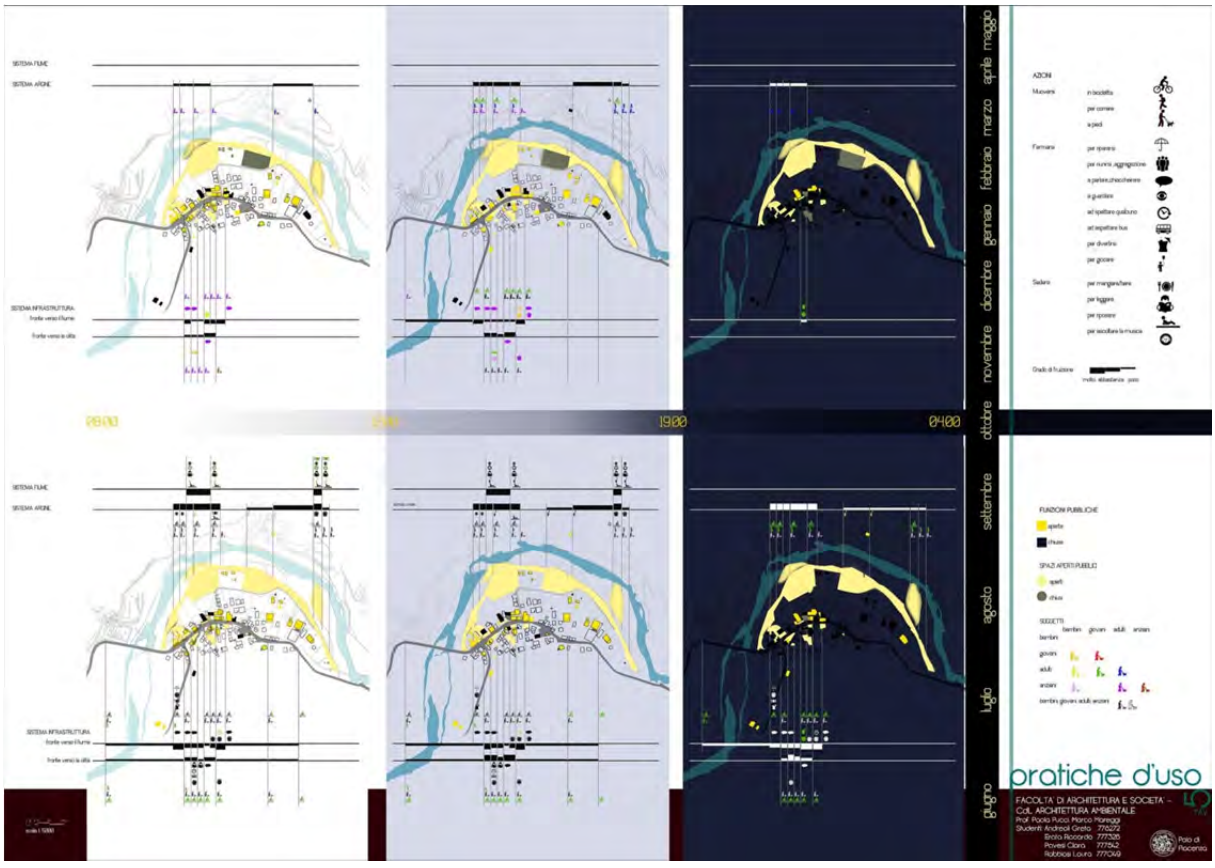

Fig. 6. Rhythms and practices of uses (populations of different ages moving, staying and sitting) and opened-closed activities (yellow-black) along the river Trebbia in a little village (Marsaglia, Italy) in different seasons (low season, top; high season, bottom) and in diverse daily intervals: morning (white background), afternoon (grey background) and night (dark background). Source: (Mareggi, Pucci, 2013).

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To consolidate the analysis and to ameliorate the design out-put

The attention to everyday life on the analysis of open spaces has started to consolidate in many different academic domains, even if still not central in the architectural and urban debate. The actions produced by public administrations seem to be less strong, even though they are slowly emerging.

As shown in the brief review proposed, about research, near to traditional studies on morphological characteristics and on the amount of urban materials and equipment, simple and effective techniques and some innovations seem reinforced. By now, they are useful both to recognise new shapes of contemporary city, and territorial practices and rhythms of use. Research on the latter is not yet widespread. And it is difficult to trace experiences in which different approaches can interact or dialogue together.

Regarding territorial practices and rhythms of use, in the Seventies, from a theoretical point of view, Henry Lefebvre (2004) suggested rhythm analysis as an original way to get closer to familiar phenomena, more a (re)orientation than a method for the studies on daily life. More recently, Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift underlined that "there are no clear methods for rhythm analysis, only other metaphors" (Amin and Thrift, 2002: 19). Today we are beginning to give technically relevant answers to the shortage of tool for the rhythm analysis, although hourly data are difficult to obtain and continuously variable. The tools for descriptions of ways and rhythms of uses focus on lived landscape of the ordinary city, the over-familiar landscape that escapes to the absent-minded gaze. These methods offer to planning and architectural projects (but also to the definition of public policies) tools to deal with the demands of care and habitability coming from different urban populations with different schedules and calendars, largely unheeded in urban expansions and in the management and maintenance of the public and private open spaces of existing cities.

These small innovations together with the recovering of traditions, which are still peripheral on the disciplinary debate, are an important occasion not for the design of extraordinary spaces of governmental representation, but for conceiving everyday contemporary urban spaces such as: squares, streets, parking lots, sport fields and playgrounds, as well as in-between spaces, spaces that are passing through an uncertain and changing status, landlocked agricultural plots, urban and countryside paths. More than 20 years ago Vittorio Gregotti (1993), together with other scholars, already put the attention on these spaces as key elements for the project of open spaces; nowadays we could add also the neglected spaces of the historical city, abandoned parts of mono functional zoning, incomplete open spaces of the under construction cities, and many others more. This is the net of ordinary spaces, which build the urban tissue of public life in the decreasing, reducing and shrinking city (Lanzani, 2012).

Considering the richness of the perspective on daily life and the tools proposed by the different approaches reviewed in this article, can these small innovations be an additional occasion to improve management, maintenance and design of public spaces?

First of all the phenomenological approach, together with the analysis of time schedules data and space-time data, can contribute to renew the design of many and diverse open spaces of contemporary cities, which are the main stage for collective life, making them more appropriate to the real life. Secondly, this plural approach to physical and social aspects obliges to more frequent field trips (generating forms of listening, participation and co-design) and brings to a less standardised and more articulated design and policies for social activities. These should be all elements of a common project, elements that are nowadays still considered separated, except in very few cases. Therefore, this goes over

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the sectoral planning of public spaces. Furthermore, this approach can help to transform the competences of technicians and designers, that is not acting anymore only to redesign physical spaces but progressively to contribute to better manage, to adequately maintain and to update the use of open spaces. Moreover, this helps to transform these "spaces in-between things" in stages and spaces full of meaning and life. Finally, a better dialog, even if not that easy, between different but complementary proposed approaches could enrich both the analysis and the projects, giving more result to this peripheral tradition, aiming to act on ordinary public spaces, which are still the backbone of public life.

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Public Space, Infrastructure, Landscape: an interdisciplinary matrix for urban spatial continuity

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Abstract

Spatial growth of cities corresponded to new theoretical and practical knowledge capacities with new kinds of urban infrastructures, new services organisation and new construction methods, of XIX and most of XX century's industrial space production. The decline of those capacities and a "crisis" of modern models, followed by the still on-going post-industrial transition process of the past 50 years are translated in many different forms of spatial, social, economic and cultural organisation and diversity of emerging urban contexts. Contemporary processes seem to carry difficulties in understanding and conducting urban transformation in such diverse and changing context. What strategic elements can be used to interpret and act in such contexts?

In this paper we intend to show an interdisciplinary perspective of public space as part of strategic and theoretical principles recognised by several fields of urban knowledge and practice: we include the spatial continuity of the Commons in those structuring principles, as a notion of urban "publicness". These new perspectives require a perception of public space that goes beyond traditional city references, to other peripheral or scattered urban areas, but maintaining its fundamental structuring role, as systemic and interactive reference for complex urban environments. Through a study on the specific case of the South Bank of Lisbon Metropolitan Area, we present a conceptual operative matrix, based on the hypothesis of strategic interaction between urban systems, aiming for its structuring potential for spatial continuity – public space, infrastructure and landscape.

Outputs of this study aim at a contribution to a more flexible and interactive structuring approach to urban design and planning, focused on interdisciplinary perspectives of public space production.

Keywords: public space; infrastructure; landscape; interdisciplinary; spatial continuity.

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Introduction

Although 'industrial city' is understood as the result of urban expansion and city reorganisation related to industrial production models (critically portrayed by Engels and other social European thinkers in the 19th century), the first use of the term "industrial city" was perhaps made by Tony Garnier, in 1905 (Choay, 1965). Before that, "Urbanization" concept had already been used by Cerdà in the *Teoría General de la Urbanización* (Cerdà, 1867) as the theoretical and practical knowledge about the city's new production system, with new features of urban infrastructure, facilities, energy, transportation or housing development. Cities growth was associated with new kinds of production tools organised in plans.

The breakdown of the industrial model followed by post-industrial transition corresponds to diversifications and specialisations of urban knowledge, developed by several scientific areas, design and planning disciplines. On one hand this specialisation corresponds to a deepening of sectorial knowledge (e.g. mobility, environment, social sciences, engineering, economy, etc.), but on the other hand, no longer responding to the complexity of diverse urban phenomena where less predictability and greater uncertainty are now dominant. After 150 years of beliefs, experiments and models, this knowledge no longer seems effective to solve emerging problems in many of present urban contexts.

In such a changing and diverse period, what kinds of urban knowledge are available? Different situations, perspectives and dynamics in several realities could still be expected to work with a same stable and independent disciplinary practical and theoretical knowledge base? The unstable variable contexts and characteristics of post-industrial cities have to be understood as a large variety of urban realities and a requirement for collaborative and reflexive practice of a variety of knowledge cultures referring to the contemporary city. So instead of one paradigmatic model, of one knowledge base responding everywhere to same needs of urban space production, some reflexive action needs to be taken on what we call urbanism or city planning.

New post-industrial territories and 'commons'[1] systems – a case-study

The transition from what we call the industrial city to a diverse set of different urban realities we live in today, may adopt a great variety of what might be called 'post-industrial urban metropolis' (Bell, 1973) including a new scale of urban space production (Lefebvre, 1974). At the least we may agree considering that today there is a much less homogeneous and a more diverse, extensive and scattered urban reality, which lacks a uniform urban identity. What we generically call post-industrial (other authors refer to it as "post-modern") is in itself illustrative of the complexity of transition we deal with (A. Brandão & P. Brandão, 2013).

The same observation can be made to public spaces of contemporary cities (Carmona, 2010a). New perspectives require the perception of public space to move from a feature of urban life based on traditional city spatial references and to start being understood in the context of contemporary urban complex changes: increasing mobility and social and economic connectivity, new typologies (24h spaces, multifunctional spaces, …) and characteristics (more heterogeneous and conflicting, subject to commodification processes, …). Public space production is no longer restricted to traditional models of public space - i.e. the square, the garden - in typically dense and central urban environments. Instead public space is embedded in those contemporary urban dynamics

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also facing its related issues, as lack of connectivity, segregation, loss of activities and social interaction.

If industrial city models were marked by long-term ideas and convictions enabling its planning, contemporary stresses the logic of real time and short term horizon to many resources. Recent worldwide changes lead us to a "cityness" process notion encompassing different ways of urban being, with different spatial imprints from what we were used to call a "city" (Choay, 1994).

Interdisciplinary experimentation isn't a "normal" practice but when diverse realities develop in uncertain contexts, shouldn't we focus on "common thinking", valuing reflexive concepts and collaborative interaction? More effective concepts are now required to respond to emerging public investment targets, at new range scales and types of urban space systems with new thematic interrelations.

The hypothesis to be placed is that persistent and common values can act as interdisciplinary referents (with combined tools and concepts) encompassing complex changing realities and transition periods. In that sense, our hypothesis is based on urban spatial continuity as a conceptual integration reference of common and persistent spatial service value: where public space (interaction, sharing and identity capacities) interacts with other urban systems - infrastructure (mobility facilitator, urban activities support) and landscape (life production potential, ecological sustain).

Therefore public space should be considered, not as a sum of isolated space types, but as a network of places (Pinto & Remesar, 2012) with shared set of properties, interdependences and interactions, in a systemic perspective, fostered by functional and morphological sense. New multidimensional facts under the theoretical principle of urban space continuity in space and time, may answer to present dilemmas: growth of scale and distance (dispersion); growth of complexity and diversity (indeterminacy) and growth of non-systemic actions (disruption) in today's city call for more integration of a system of public spaces at the centre of urban transformation processes (Pinto & Brandão, 2015).

A conceptual and operational matrix aims to interpret these spaces in unstable, disconnected, or unforeseen contexts, by mapping urban qualities focusing on the basis of urban spatial continuity, and testing urban systems with structuring potential.

Fig. 1. South Bank in Lisbon Metropolitan Area. (A) orthophotomap and (B) aerial view.
Source: (A) base imagery source Google 2010 and (B) Remesar A. 2012

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By mapping spatial service values, potential for their interaction and integration becomes legible as a new coherent structure of the 'Commons', acting as a reference in transition process, managing uncertainty and balancing changing needs, actors roles and resources.

Discontinuity and indeterminacy on Lisbon Metropolitan Area Tagus South Bank.
Formulation of an "Industrial city" in Portugal comes only on early 20th century, also translating a late industrial structure of economy and territory. Tagus South Bank as part of "Lisbon industrial belt" is still not a homogeneous urban area (Fig. 1). It is characterised by contrasting realities and mixed patterns of growth and decay. In the growing of industrialisation process, as well as in "post-industrial" transformations, despite the existence of planning policies, rules and operational tools along different periods, it is possible to find several unstable and uncertain aspects, examples of prevision or decision incapacities, and ambiguities.
A brief presentation of some transformation episodes allow us to show several aspects of discontinuity and indeterminacy in urban process, emphasizing the need for new understanding of a Commons' system structuring potential:

a) Only at the beginning of 20th century, the biggest industrial centre of Portugal was born in the village of Barreiro driven by the combination of prime location and infrastructure (port and railway network). The growth in industrial activity goes together with increasing population and urban sprawl beyond the limits of the village, in a continuous urban-industrial axis. In the absence of urban planning practice, initial growth appears informally and supported by services provided by the industry itself. The decay of this industrial model since the 1970s, fails to address the deficits of infrastructure and facilities, lack of urban qualities and important environmental liabilities. But facing the decay of industrial activity we can find a new "urban production driving force" by replacement or else by diversifying city activities?
b) The tourism potential of the South Bank has undergone various visions and models: a futuristic city, a garden city of individual houses, a natural park for recreational activities, mass tourism developments, *inter alia*. Tourism is the subject of regeneration operations, while the riparian areas of the estuary recover slowly from intense industrial use. However, the 60's land occupation with forest consumption for illegal allotments, and later tourism products such as golf courses, small resorts, favoured gated communities, in disconnected developments based on natural features of the area, which normative planning unsuccessfully attempted to control and recent planning strategies try to minimise. How can we take advantage from the inherent potential, promoting diversity and complementarities, without degrading natural ecosystems?
c) The first bridge connection in the 1960's led the development of a Regional Plan, given the need to control urban sprawl. Urban and population growth driven by industry (in its heyday) overlaps what was spurred by easy accessibility to Lisbon. The plan had no operative capacity (legal or financial) to conduct or arrange urbanisation when unplanned transformations were already ongoing. Populations sought answers to their needs through illegal urban space production with large deficits of infra-structuring and facilities. If a plan did not secure the execution of its options, neither the absence of other plans prevented occupation of large extensions, which should be the critical tool to restructure urbanisation?

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d) In the 1990's a second bridge was built to reinforce national and metropolitan accessibility system, but the location decision was untied to regional planning options. The connection transformed the metropolitan structure and relations: new accessibility reoriented urban and population growth to a more polycentric model, favouring less urbanised territories. Later, planning instruments supported urban expansion - residential schemes, logistic areas, commercial spaces, etc. - but lacked scheduled programming actions of urban design. Near road accesses expanding urban perimeters, generated new fragments and voids. Could occupation flexibility over time be balanced with structuring elements of urban relation?

Central or Stabilised urban spaces		Peripheral or transforming spaces	
	Historic areas with issues of preservation and ageing, searching for population and activities diversification while managing heritage features for tourist attraction.		Derelict or brownfield areas with lack of activities and investments, but with large availability of land for new possibilities and identities.
	Urban voids or fringe areas seek compatibility between new activities and old surroundings, by managing transition or temporary solutions.		Peri-urban changing areas responding to present population needs for facilities and balancing urban and nature evolving dynamics.
	Mono functional spaces with deficits of urban spatial quality, urban infrastructure and facilities pondering key investment for diverse possibilities.		Hubs, poles and nodes in large accessibility and strategic development areas, requiring a set of elements both for global attraction and local scale features
	Housing areas, residential neighbourhoods in need of "liveable" amenities, by joining communities into a cohesive and lasting identity.		Landscape features in urban areas, managing leisure and productive activities (e.g. by fishing, orchards, food gardening) in sustainable ecosystems, while saving reserve spaces.

Tab. 1. Examples of urban instability indicators in the South Bank area.
Source: Adapted from A. Brandão, 2013.

e) In late 2000's the possibility of an important set of infra-structure initiatives - new Lisbon airport, new bridge connections, high-speed railway line and logistics platform - created great expectations for this area's development. Related planning processes were launched, including a large development operation on former industrial areas on the riverfront. The model followed Lisbon's EXPO98 World Exhibition project.

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However, in a larger peripheral area, with no triggering event to prompt change and in a different economic, financial and political context the infrastructure projects set on hold. The absence of a leverage of public investment due to global financial crisis compromised the entire development operation. Is uncertainty due to external context or was it an effect of short adaptability of the proposed model? As result of rapid and uncontrolled urban expansion, many spaces are characterised by disconnected parts or poorly designed public spaces, similarly to several south European urban change processes. Urban change problematic as an adaptation flexible process is in the need for new approaches, which can restore public space quality.

Spatial continuity matrix of the Commons: public space, infrastructure, landscape

An interdisciplinary theoretical principle

The diversity of urban fabrics and related problems is also translated to the production of public spaces: "What is clear is that contemporary trends in public space design and management are resulting (over time) in an increasingly complex range of public space types" (Carmona, 2010b: 172). Our question is about a strategic necessity: with what instruments can we act in a growing, diverse, complex territory, in changing conditions? What is the Commons role in a structuring process of "becoming urban"?

Knowledge on the city no longer reflects the diversity of problems in a variety of contemporary urban environments when it is structured top-down from mechanical rational principles and tools defined for industrial mode of production. In fact city knowledge by organising principles, rules, procedures and former planning practices – now report difficulties in mastering present urban phenomenon.

Our proposal for an operative matrix, is based on urban structuring elements needed in emerging urban areas, as an approach to common concepts of urban space continuity, as a transversal and interacting concept, crossing several urban dimensions (Carmona, Heath, Oc, & Tiesdell, 2003): morphologic, experiential, economic, social, political... with an interdisciplinary and systemic perspective. For the moment there are no previously agreed starting points, based on alleged ability to predict and master variables on this perspective[2]. Thus, it is essential to question "disciplinary plots and fences" regarding urban approaches in planning, urban design, infrastructure, architecture, landscape, transportation, art, social organization, economics, history, geography, etc.

Interdisciplinary experimentation of a "crossing" principle such as spatial continuity is not yet a common practice. But there are some positive exemplary cases such as the recognised need to match the quality of mobility with spatial quality showing what can be done:

a) by experimenting new types of joint infrastructure and public space in "shared space" projects (Monderman, 2007),
b) in regenerating transport interchange concepts by integrating mixed uses and services in inter-modality areas.
c) in experimenting new forms of urban systems integration – namely public space, landscape and infrastructure in urban actions risk preventing of climate change effects.

A conceptual and operational matrix, will aim to interpret these spaces and give them better urban representation in different readings by focusing on structuring urban spatial

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continuity by a procedural logic - upgrading of the Commons role, and systems service integration. For that we propose a reflection on matrix application to urban spatial-temporal adaptability promotion.

Urban systems for urban continuity: Public Space, Infrastructure, Landscape

Although public investment and public attention on urban design projects grew much in recent years, many actions still focus on isolated units or local actions, often lacking connectivity or integration, so as to gain real meaning as urban systems and to provide more social and economic value return, ensuring sustainability.

We now acknowledge weak returns in quantity and quality of use, economic activity attraction, long term social meaning, basic utility or environmental evidence as public spaces that are often due to poor network qualities. This means there is a systemic potential that needs to be assessed and fostered, so as to enable spatial and functional continuity in fractured urban fabrics. Therefore a research based on a combined action "systems of collective spaces grounded in the interaction with landscape and infrastructural systems" (Portas, 2004) can frame methods and tools appropriate for specific contexts.

Such features are also the more lasting elements of urban fabric, defining public interaction, with ability to support and structure transformation over time, securing conditions for later decisions related to opportunity, resources availability, stakeholders interests.

Common and persistent values of public space (interaction, sharing and identity capacities), interacting with infrastructure (mobility facilitator, urban activity support) and landscape (production potential, ecological sustain), are the base for management strategies.

PUBLIC SPACE can be characterized as urban space for common use, with no restriction to access, in opposition to private use of public interest space. Public space is a structuring layer of urban form (space between buildings), which can be seen as hardware, performing territorial and functional integration in the city. But as software (P. Brandão, 2008) it incorporates relations and interactions that make urban life - a social-cultural dimension, representing its society or community, as a space for expression and sharing (Borja & Muxí, 2003). In contemporary city, public space is no longer made only by canonical typologies - square, garden, public, private - but evolves several hybrid spaces and joint uses, including the sphere of communication and virtual spaces. To understand its complexity we need to focus on systemic views, a network space (Pinto & Remesar, 2012), fostering functional and morphological continuity.

INFRASTRUCTURE can be defined as the system – the set of elements – that frame and support urban life and structures. As the backbone of transformation, infrastructure is one of the more lasting elements of built environment, visible at an initial phase and building on throughout time, supporting several cycles of transformation (Lukez, 2007). In today's city, exchanges, flows, connections, are important features and can sometimes be and alternative (or substitution) to traditional social and urban relations (Ascher, 1995). In addition to physical structures, other networks of technological or virtual links add new interaction possibilities. Expansion of infrastructure networks changed territory' space uses. But the potential of network connections is also in their capacity for multi-mobility

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and communications, as infrastructures in a networked city use all possible links and mediums to be connected.

LANDSCAPE can be seen as a complex and dynamic system, including natural and cultural interacting aspects, changing over time. Traditionally based on physical, biological, natural objectives it also is an expression of human activities. Today, the landscape concept is expanding, as result of interdisciplinary action, with combination of cultural, natural and environmental problematic[3]. Its holistic character is referred as a base for an integrated territorial management (Cancela d'Abreu, Correia, & Oliveira, 2004) for its "expression of numerous relations throughout time between natural and human factor of a certain area". A dynamic system, in constant change and reinterpretation (Antrop, 2005), but capable of support a community identity, conducting it through transformations. Although the "root" of landscape is located in natural life supporting systems, in post-industrial cities, urban landscape is also characterised by urban built-up continuous, with urban-rural distinctions blurred in new hybrid categories.
The broader set of "public use spaces" is now more inclusive, embracing a greater variety of users. It is also structuring connection and continuity, allowing a management of different timeframes of movement and transformation. Spatial continuity of living spaces, show itself in different scales and ways of space appropriation - from the street and neighborhood to the larger spaces of encounter and interaction, we can assume that space networks - integrating landscapes, infrastructures or public spaces - add up as interconnected systems, i.e. part of each other acting for converging objectives. Integration of these concepts in a spatial continuity matrix has to respond to an interdisciplinary culture opposed to the limitation of "spatial expertise" and ignoring identified dimensions, and denying the need for broader, transversal strategies.

Signs of continuity and discontinuity in metropolitan structure
In recent years, Lisbon South Bank spaces have been targeted with various urban regeneration strategies with different aims and results. The majority of these actions fostered the creation of new public spaces - more diverse typologies than the traditional central ones - with potential to create a wider network of spaces and relations. Based on some of these examples, we intend to map the continuity matrix, with potential for articulating the territory's complexity and diversity.

a) In an important touristic area, the project of a new cycle path (Fig. 2) connects the ferry terminal on the traditional fisherman village *Trafaria* with the main urban seaside of *Caparica*. The path follows the existent urban structure, using street or road connections and integrating ongoing regenerations actions. Urban fabrics connected by the path are very diverse - informal settlements, high-density housing, single-dwellings - and correspond to different typologies of public spaces and uses - squares, urban parks, recreational natural areas, beaches, avenues, poorly designed streets. As a result, the cycle path comprises different sections and designs, but ensuring connectivity and continuity, providing a space for recreational activities but also social interaction. As an infrastructure element the cycle path connects to other transport modes and networks (ferry boat, bus), extending links to Lisbon and beach areas. The linear and "light" characteristic of this structure allows its future expansion to connect other areas and transport modes. Connection also comprises important natural protected spaces,

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(agricultural areas, coastal dunes and forest areas), linking and providing a systemic integration of natural features.
The relative "lighter, quicker, cheaper" way of developing a connection like this can be used to create a network of further connections fostering public uses and active modes of transportation, that may be diversified and complemented by adding elements from other transports, natural and social systems, connecting other proximity realities.

Fig. 2. Trafaria-Caparica cycle path connection (A) mapping uses and connections; (B) avenue insertion view. Source: (A) and (B) Brandão A. 2014.

Fig. 3. Light rail transit (A) mapping connections and urban spaces; (B) station with poor urban insertion. Source: (A) and (B) Brandão A. 2014.

b) Developed to link the main urban nucleus of the riverside area, a light rail transit network (Fig. 3) aims to surpass the deficits in the mobility systems. Financial and operational constrains limit the network to Almada municipality connecting the city centre, other centrality areas and transport hubs through a diversified urban structure. Strong urban growth followed disconnected and individual developments with few

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connection or complementary strategies. The light rail transit implementation has redesigned some parts of fragmented urban structure with new articulation axis and easier connections patterns, but also disrupted previous continuities and urban fabrics, in a "tunnel" type of connection: In some cases transportation system features disregard space quality or possibilities for shared spaces. Natural landscape features along the mobility axis are weak, but some are connected by the transport system.
Major perceptual and image changes made in urban landscape along the system may suggest new interaction possibilities by establishing a strategic development axis improving urban and landscape quality, fostering gradual connections within Almada, by linking several parts and promoting urban mix. Further expansion of the light rail network could extend this continuity to other territories, increasing users and their interactions, focusing on multipurpose links.

Fig. 4. Waterfront South Bank spaces (A) mapping spaces and connections; (B) urban park view.
Source: (A) and (B) Brandão A. 2014.

c) In a wider metropolitan scale, several regenerated waterfront spaces (Fig. 4) already form the base for a relevant linking structure throughout different municipalities, although several expectant spaces remain. Regeneration actions mainly recuperate riverside areas for public space and recreational uses, while supporting local identity features. Although close to historic central areas, many of these structures already surpass these limits providing connection between urban nucleuses. Landscape features are found in the riparian ecosystem (in de-pollution process) and natural spaces in urban parks but also within the inlet's outstanding views and bays. Although these structures are mostly used in recreational activities rather than in daily dislocations, ongoing actions tend to redesign spaces to a less car dependent environment, promoting active modes of transportation by linking to transport hubs.
This existent potential can be further developed. Vacant passive spaces can be used to articulate both regenerated spaces and poorly qualified urban areas, in a network linking all waterfront area. Natural areas, compatible productive uses, passage areas, may ensure a livable landscape. Obviously, new continuous elements cannot substitute other infrastructure or mobility systems, still in deficit for the connection between many of South Bank urban areas. But they can act as a network to both the existent connections

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and future actions, encompassing shared space activities as an opportunity to diversify "typical" waterfront public space initiatives with more productive and social uses, less dependent of large public investments.
These examples of the South Bank area multipurpose spaces, illustrate the potential of sharing systems of public space, infrastructure and landscape to address some questions regarding population's basic needs in a sustainable and interrelated perspective, with spatial quality. Also showing that spatial continuity can be developed in different scales and frameworks (locally, within a municipality or even at metropolitan scale).

Conclusion

In this paper we addressed a knowledge gap for new interdisciplinary approaches on urban transformation action. The cases analysed showed that different problems and perspectives of post-industrial urban places, where the proposed structuring matrix – public space, infrastructure and landscape - can recover urban spatial quality by re-establishing continuity and growing of the Commons' diversity.
Urban Design action should focus on the process of re-structuring urban territories by using Public Space, Landscape and Infrastructure as integrated systems**.** Mapping the existing structures and available resources, can be a starting point to develop a spatial continuity strategy for common values and spaces, as an interdisciplinary agenda.
The interdisciplinary matrix can contribute to a more flexible and interactive approach to urban design and planning. Further aspects are to be questioned on future investigations. Is it possible to intervene with a "fertilizing" but low intensity action promoting the commons? Can we act in a small and local scale while establishing wider connections by fostering effects and opportunities in a broader urban context?
The use of the matrix analytical interpretation and design practice ensures the articulation of different (spatial) scales, linking different elements to secure the continuity in several layers and keeping the global coherence. Instead of a rigid hierarchy, regulations or restrictions, the coherence between different scales can be secured by reestablishment of connections - as networks of uses, spaces, relations, meanings - through adding and sharing new elements in planning processes, programming and designing does not imply a pre-determined order but rather can be worked on different contexts and solutions.
In designing structuring public space elements, priority should be given to the qualities that in the long term can increase their lifecycle, in transversal, diverse and interdependent actions allowing more adaptability options. This systemic perspective enables transition process to be made in incremental steps, instead of replacing or developing drastic transformation actions.
We will find the matrix for Urban Design not in a specific discipline, a specific scope or shape of space, but in the possibilities open by public space as an organising urban system, in interaction with infrastructural and landscape systems, integrating all different and simultaneous "spaces in between" composing the elements of the 'Commons'.

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Notes

(1) The definition from the Digital Library of the Commons is: "The commons is a general term for shared resources in which each stakeholder has an equal interest".
(2) PSSS - Public Space's Service System is a research project the authors are pursuing in an international and interdisciplinary team between Lisbon, Oporto and Barcelona Universities, developing some of presented intentions.
(3) As a disciplinary concept in some academic traditions (such as in Portugal), Landscape Architecture is connected to a life production process of territorial nature. So landscape as an Urban Design part is less significantly based regarding "image", "skyline" and other visual features and more on eco-systemic concepts.

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Urban Oasis: an integrated water shelter and city-scape beacon

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Abstract

Urban densification and a global shift towards the creation of walkable neighbourhoods have generated demand for more sustainable transport models and supporting infrastructure. Transforming streetscapes from car dominated spaces to places for people. A review of public space allocation in streets demonstrates the need to re-prioritise and re-organise streets to provide improved infrastructure to meet present and future demands on transport corridors.

This paper proposes the creation of, an integrated design solution in the form of an urban 'Oasis' that provides a network of on street facilities for cyclists and pedestrians. Planning the network of 'Oasis' is informed by the principal of Link and Place creating a visual balance between vehicles and other street users while promoting sustainable ideologies. The 'Oasis' presents itself as a multi-purpose drink station, bus shelter, public seating area, bike rack, public art piece and environmental education tool that, at its core functionality, captures, stores and purifies rainwater so that commuters can park, rest and access water after a walk or ride to the station.

The paper explores available technologies and a range of modular adaptable designs to suit various urban landscapes. An integrated network of 'Oasis' transforms the street combining furniture combining cycling and pedestrian facilities, comfort and user friendliness, in a unique and attractive form. The development of the Oasis, draws on a range of fields including urban planning and design, landscape architecture, natural resource management, urban water engineering, digital communications and technologies and the visual arts.

This research demonstrates the potential flow-on benefits of the Oasis including improved road safety, increased patronage on public transport, increase in cycling, improved natural resource education and management, improved sense of place and foster community building.

Keywords: cyclability; modular; streetscape; urban infrastructure; network.

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Introduction

United Nation statistics suggest that by 2050 the world's urban population is projected to increase by 85 percent to 6.3 billion - two-thirds of the world's population (MAN, 2013: 4). Within this growth, urban planners must work toward a greater balance between uses and users and the battle for public space for transport purposes (MAN, 2013: 7). As cities throughout the developed and developing world experience the megatrend of urbanisation, the issue of public space allocation becomes an increasing matter of economic, social and environmental interest.

Cities including Adelaide, South Australia are forecasting significant growth in the inner urban population, requiring the implementation of planning mechanisms that allow for the creation of sustainable development through an increase in housing densities in inner urban areas, and the creation of transit growth corridors. Polices set in the South Australian Strategic Plan aim to decrease car dependence and increase patronage on public transport networks to 10% of total car and public transport use by 2018 (South Australian Government, 2011: 47). It is envisaged this be achieved through the creation of accessible, safe and reliable mass transport networks. Upgrades and extensions to pedestrian and cycle networks (South Australia. Department of Planning and Local Government, 2010: 57). Implementation of these strategic goals aims to create an affordable and sustainable transport network that is adaptable and able to respond to the impacts of climate change.

The World Business Council for Sustainable Development (2014), recognises the pivotal role infrastructure plays in achieving ambitious sustainability targets. Through the transformation in the design, construction and operation of infrastructure systems linkages between water, sanitation, telecommunication networks, waste management systems and building energy mobility are optimised (p. 22).

The Greater Adelaide 30-Year plan forecasts a population growth of 560,000 people, estimating an increase of 42% in trips to, from and within the city, accounting for approximately 100,000 people (South Australia, Department of Planning and Local Government, 2010: 90). To cater for this growth the Government is implementing major infrastructure projects to increase the efficiency and capacity of existing systems. However, accessibility to the 14 proposed Transit Oriented Developments (TOD) and associated infrastructure has limited impact on inner urban growth areas, where dependency on the car remains high. To plan for growth in housing densities in inner urban areas, located outside of the TOD zones, it is imperative that alternative and sustainable transport networks are developed, to reach the reduction in car dependency targets.

To address increased demands on the inner urban transport network, the Adelaide City Council developed the Smart Move Strategy, a 10-year transport and movement strategy, that aims to make the city more accessible through the development of safer and more connected streets (Adelaide City Council, 2012).

One of the key aims of the strategy is to provide safe and convenient cycling options for people of all abilities, from the suburbs to the city and that cycling becomes the preferred mode of transport for localised trips, reducing reliance on the car. However, the plan is faced with many challenges, a relatively low proportion of the population currently choose to cycle to work, educating the broader population on the benefits and raising awareness of cyclists is needed and acceptance of changes to street prioritisation by both users and public space managers. Providing infrastructure solutions that increase safety

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for cyclists and provide quality end of trip facilities for cyclists is one initiative aimed at dealing with such challenges.
The alignment of Council (local government) and State (provincial government) strategies is critical to the success of proposed infrastructure changes; Table 1 highlights the integration of the two strategies.

ADELAIDE CITY COUNCIL'S TARGETS	*SOUTH AUSTRALIA'S STRATEGIC PLAN TARGETS*
By 2022: Complete The City of Adelaide's Bikeways network	Double the number of people cycling in South Australia by 2020 (target 2)
Complete 10km of separated bikeways	Reduce road fatalities and serious injuries by at least 30% by 2020 (Target 22)
Double the number of people cycling in the City (baseline 2011)	Increase the proportion of South Australians participating in sport or physical recreation at least once per week to 50% by 2020 (Target 83)

Table 1. Adelaide City Council and State cycling targets
Source: Adelaide City Council, 2012, p. 36

Informed by the quality of cycling networks of Copenhagen, Portland and Bogotá, Adelaide is implementing changes that challenge the effects of traffic-dominated cities, focusing on improving the cyclability and walkability of urban centres (MAN 2013). Facilities already in operation or development include cycle ways, (Fig. 1.), bike-prioritised 'boxes' at traffic lights (Figure 2), improved pedestrian links through the city between key destinations such as public transport hubs and commercial zones, and broader infrastructure investment to develop TOD's that encourage public transport uptake.

Fig. 1 (on the left). Broadway North, New York. Source: New York City Department of Transportation, 2011, p 3.
Figure 2 (on the right). Hearst Avenue Bike Box. Source: Campbell, 2013.

However, what becomes clear when examining the planning and provisioning of infrastructure for cyclists, pedestrians and other non-car users of the streetscape is that these cohorts are often being planned for separately, just as transport planning for motorised transport is usually planned for by its own group of planning specialists.

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This paper proposes that there may be benefits to establishing a collaborative partnership between cyclists, pedestrian and public transport users to plan for and provide multi-functional and visually stimulating infrastructure, as a means to regain balance, or reinforce the perception of greater balance, between private vehicles and 'other travellers'. Such visually appealing and functional places may be seen as beacons within the streetscape to serve as urban oasis for the other travellers.

To support cyclists and pedestrians beyond changes to road infrastructure, this paper explores the provision of an integrated network of facilities in the form of a modular adaptable shelter system. The urban 'Oasis' provides fresh drinking water for commuters, cyclists and pedestrians, through a catchment, filtration and storage system, a secure facility to store or hire bikes and equipment, and/or seating and shade to protect users while they wait for public transport. This multi-faceted facility harnesses digital technology that maps the location and information about each Oasis in the network, including the availability of parking, storage, and water and is easily accessible through an app. To raise awareness of the urban water management the app reports on water usage, availability and quality.

Planning for and provisioning oasis-like structures is presented from the position that combining the needs of currently separately-planning-for user groups (that being cyclists, pedestrians and other non-car travellers), can provide multiple benefits to the city through raising the visibility of these users, creating greater visual balance on the streetscape, improving safety and creating better quality places for people.

Public Space Allocation and Reprioritisation of the Streetscape

As asserted by Holyoak (2011), the travel needs of a population can be met in a more sustainable manner when careful consideration is given to a range of important aspects of the urban environment, transport infrastructure, governance and the needs of the community (p.129). Bächtold (2012) asserts two ratios of urban land allocation. The ratio of urban land allocation quantifies the ratio and density potential of land for private allotments to public space. This determines the quantity of taxes that contribute to the development of the land and for the ongoing maintenance of the land linked to adjoining public spaces. The ratio of public space allocation quantifies the areas of streets reserved for urban activities that characterise urban behaviour, including communication, leisure and exchange.

The two ratios are the cornerstones to the implementation of an economically viable integrated planning strategy and achieving the right balance between space allocations will determine the liveability of a city and the quality and functionality of public space. (Bächtold, 2012: 8).

The quantity and quality of space allocated to public transport, determines the mobility of the population, however in view of the cost of accessibility and the viability of a transport network, consideration needs to be made for not only the space required for transportation, but the space required by the modes of transport (Gonzales, 2011: 2, 7). To improve mobility and provide both economically and environmentally sustainable transport options the reprioritisation of streets requires the reallocation of public space, to ensure users have access to safe alternative modes of transport.

The 2013 "What Cities Want" study run by the MAN Group indicated 14 out of 15 cities consulted identified key objectives to improve mobility options for residents, including upgrading public transport infrastructure and improving the quality of local public

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transport services. This supports the reprioritisation of our streets and the reallocation of public space to provide more accessible, sustainable and integrated transport networks and associated infrastructure.
Reprioritisation of the streetscape can be seen in the shift in urban and traffic planning towards the provision of improved cycling infrastructure predominantly in the form of protected bike lanes (Figures 3 & 4) and bike boxes to improve cyclists' safety. However, there is often a lack of supporting infrastructure for the cyclist.

Fig. 3 (on the left). Eglinton, Toronto, Canada. Source: Kalinowski , 2014.
Fig. 4 (on the right). Frome Road, Adelaide, Australia. Source: Williams, 2014.

A modular and integrated system of the 'Oasis' can provide necessary urban infrastructure to support the reprioritisation of street design and the rising demand for safe cycle ways for the inner urban and recreational areas.
Supporting infrastructure in the form of an 'Oasis-like' public place will provide users with access to an integrated network providing water, shade and seating opportunities for social interaction, security, point to point travel stops towards destination, and with opportunities for personalisation of the structure and the integration of public seating creates a sense of place.

Transforming the Streetscape
A typological streetscape cross-section consists of a central roadway adjacent to pedestrian pavement and possible squares and other gathering spaces, bordered by private space at the outer limits (Figure 5). Within the streetscape, the constructed roadway in the centre often dominates the public space allocation.

Fig. 5. Typical Existing Cross Section Foster Road, East Portland
Source: The Bureau of Transportation & Portland Development Commission, 2014, p. 17

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Although this pathway is in many cases open to use by a range of motorised and human-powered transport modes, in many cities, as is the case in Australia, it can be perceived as a public space primarily for vehicles. Such perceptions can be seen as a result of segregated public space design as explored by Hamilton-Baillie (2008). Replicated hundreds of thousands of times throughout the city, at every junction, street corner, laneway, highway, boulevard and road, the visual dominance of these roadways and the associated perception that their presence is primarily for cars, serves to reinforce the perception that cities serve to enable vehicle travel at the detriment of other users of the public space (Gehl, 2010). Add to this, the allocation of private space within the urban environment for car parks, driveways, fuel stations, car washes and car sales yards, the (miss-led) perception that cities are places for cars – not people, is yet again reinforced by the visual urban landscape.

In rural areas, the dominance of the constructed roadway is less clear; where roads may be narrower and may be shared by vehicles, farm machinery, bicyclists, pedestrians and livestock. The scale of open space in the surrounding landscape can often further downplayed by the perception of the road being a dominant feature or function of the place.

The importance of visual dominance in a land- (or street-) scape can be demonstrated in rural areas where there are objections to the construction of wind turbines or wind farms. However, along with objections there can also be support for these structures which, to some, appear as an appealing architectural element that also serves as a reminder of the role of clean-energy production and more sustainable energy consumption (LandWorks, 2006). Such support and objection once again reinforces how the visual environment can help or hinder the ideologies and visions for the area, whether urban or rural.

In the urban context, where many cities are moving towards sustainable ideologies and the promotion of human-powered transport and urban design (Gehl, 2010), this paper proposes that the creation of oasis-like infrastructure, designed and provisioned to promote more visual balance between vehicles and other street users as well as promote sustainable ideologies, may provide flow-on benefits including improved road safety, increased public transport patronage, increases in cycling, improved natural resource education and management, improved sense of place and foster community building. There are many success stories of transformations and reprioritisation efforts. For example in New York City, the 2009 Green Light for Midtown Project saw the reprioritisation of roadways and establishment of the Broadway pedestrian zones (Figure 1). Through analysis of traffic flow and pedestrian movement data, as well as land value/retail market data assessed before and after the project, the area has seen an increase in travel speeds for both taxis and buses and a vast improvement in safety aspects with fewer pedestrian, motorist and passenger injuries, as well as increasing market values in retail spaces adjacent to pedestrian zones (DOT, 2010).

Oasis: Link and Place, Design, Integration and Functionality

Link and Place

In Border Country, Williams is *'fascinated by the networks men and women set up, the trails and territorial structures they make as they move across a region, and the ways these interact or*

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interfere with each other' (Sheller, 2000, Pinkey, 1991, Williams, 1988). The 'Oasis' supports this assertion, as an iconic structure or beacon in the urban landscape; the core structure and functionality will remain constant however, the modular system allows for the customisation of the structure to ensure its appropriateness for its location.
The planning, design and implementation of the 'Oasis' network will be informed through the application of 'Link and Place'. A street classification tool will support planning for the provision of appropriate infrastructure to support cyclists and commuters with a specific street 'structure' (Figure 6).

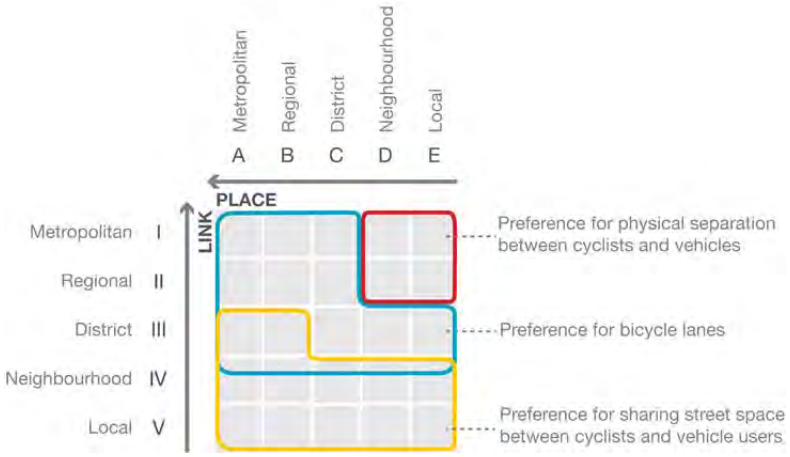

Fig. 6. Indicative street typologies for mixing and segregating on–road cyclists with general traffic, in desirable speed environment
Source: Boujenko, Morris, & Jones, (2012). Adelaide, S. Aust: Government of South Australia, p. 52.

'Link' refers to the street as a conduit, within the broader urban streetcape network, and more specialised, urban transport networks. The key objective of 'Link' is to save time. 'Place' refers to the street as a destination, a place to linger and to spend time. (Jones, Boujenko, & Marshall, 2007). The application of the Link and Place as an approach to planning for cycling infrastructure generates solutions that are more appropriate to the site and more likely to meet stakeholder approval and create a sense of ownership. The tool will assist in creating a more visual balance within the streetscape as it will guide the identification of which module is appropriate for the site. The tool can be applied at a metropolitan, regional, district, neighbourhood and local level, allowing for the gradual implementation of the Oasis network.

Design
The aim of the design of the Oasis is to support urban creativity and create a sense of ownership by the broader community with a customisable design that provides opportunities for the integration of public art reflective of the community and urban environment in which it is proposed (Fusco, Levent, & Nijkamp, 2011, p. 1).
Urban design should be creative and allow the community to become actively engaged in the design process, to explore options, incorporate new or site specific materials to create a sense of ownership (Boujenko, Morris, & Jones, 2012 Adelaide, S. Aust: Government of South Australia., p. 30). The inclusion of customisable public art within the Oasis, aids in promotion creative urban initiatives and with the incorporation visual

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art, structures are less likely to be impacted by graffiti. An additional smart phone technology may allow users to 'tag' their local Oasis via an interactive visual display that responds to the arrival of registered users, as they 'check-in' at the Oasis, thereby providing personalisation akin to graffiti tagging.
The design of the Oasis presents a range of modular, adaptable solutions to suit various urban landscapes. The main structure takes on three forms, each with a core structure and adaptable interchangeable elements. Key features include bike storage, lockers, seating and bike pumps, access to purified water, lighting and shelter. Refer Figures 7-10.

Functionality
Oasis proposes a unique combination of technologies offering pedestrians, cyclists and commuters with an easily accessible functional space and also aids in community place-making and environmental education. The Oasis will be an easily identifiable beacon in the urban landscape. Encouraging and supporting sustainable mobility to and highlighting the value of urban water security to everyday users and providing more detailed reports on water storage, usage and quality to urban water managers. The Oasis can be installed gradually to meet the current and future demands of urban dwellers providing key facilities to encourage more people to participate in more sustainable transport methods. With the integration of rainfall data and storage capacities of each Oasis into smart city monitoring capabilities, urban water managers can incorporate this data into emergency water supply capacities, supporting urban climate change resilience strategies.

Fig. 7-8. Oasis, integrating bike storage including bike racks, lockers, bike pump, purified water, seating, underground water storage to reduce the structure footprint in the urban streetscape.

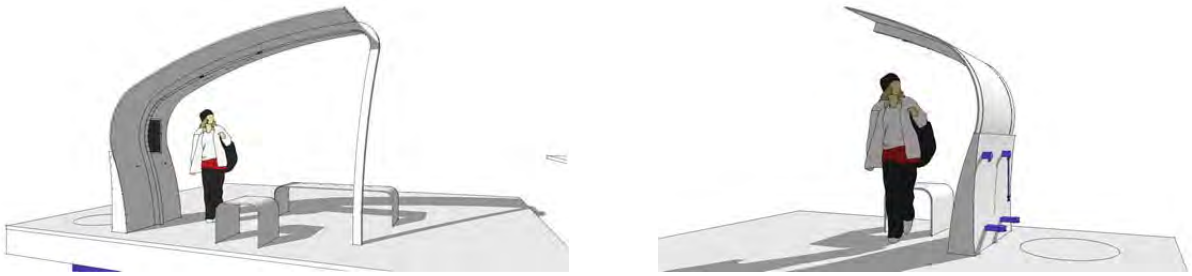

Fig. 9 (on the left). 'Oasis Midi', for streets with a high link status and low place status,
Fig. 10 (on the right). 'Oasis Mini', for shared use paths, along linear parks.

The urban Oasis focuses on integrating currently separate pieces of infrastructure in public spaces to support bike riders, walkers and non-car travellers enhanced by the

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application of smart phone technology, while providing new facilities and functions. Each Oasis is numbered and mapped allowing users to map proposed paths of travel or select preferred destinations based on the functionality of the individual 'Oasis'. Refer to Table 2 for levels of network integration and Table 3 for standard features and options.

COMPONENT	*INTEGRATION SUMMARY*	*LEVEL OF NETWORK INTEGRATION*		
		LOCAL	*NATIONAL*	*GLOBAL*
Water Management System	Ecovision System providing real-time weather and Rainfall data	Remote rainfall data collected from the BOM (1) Interaction via the 'Oasis' touch screen and Smartphone Application	Compare rainfall data from 'Oasis' of a comparable size within the national Oasis network, via 'Oasis' touch screen & dedicated website	Compare the rainfall data from within the global network of Oasis sites worldwide, though a dedicated website
	Ecovision System providing real time storage levels, water usage and supplementary potable water usage data	Visual indicators of Water Quality and storages levels via LED lights along the spine of the Oasis and Smartphone App	Compare 'Oasis' water storage data from within the national Oasis network of Oasis via a dedicated website	Compare 'Oasis' water storage data from within the global Oasis network via a dedicated website
	Ecovision System providing water quality data	Users are able to see the quality of the water collected and quality of the water delivered	Compare 'Oasis' water quality data from within the national Oasis network of Oasis via a dedicated website	Compare 'Oasis' water quality data from within the global Oasis network via a dedicated website
Air Quality Management System	Ecovision System providing Air Quality Data reporting	Compare air quality levels the 'Oasis' via touch screen and Smartphone Application	Compare 'Oasis' air quality data from within the national Oasis network of Oasis via a dedicated website	Compare 'Oasis' air quality data from within the global Oasis network via a dedicated website
Solar Panels and Energy Management System	Ecovision System providing real-time energy data and the provision of power to support the LED lighting & 'Oasis' touch screen	Real-time energy production and usage data the 'Oasis' via touch screen and Smartphone Application	Compare 'Oasis' energy production and consumption levels from within the national Oasis network of Oasis via a dedicated website	Compare 'Oasis' energy production and consumption levels from within the global Oasis network via a dedicated website
Seating	Local User	Local user	N/A	N/A
Bike Storage	Sensors indicate real-time availability of bike parking	Real-time booking system through the Smartphone application	National Data collected on bike parking usage figures	Global Data collected on bike parking usage figures
Locker Storage System	Managed through smart phone technology	Local user engagement, via remote booking via Smartphone app or at the Oasis	National Data collected on bike parking usage figures	Global Data collected on bike storage figures

Table 2. Oasis Network Integration.
(1) BOM, Australian Bureau of Meteorology

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	FUNCTIONALITY		
FEATURES	*OASIS*	*OASIS MIDI*	*OASIS MINI*
Fresh Water	X	X	X
Seating	X	X	X
Shelter	X (up to 6)	X (up to 4)	X (up to 2)
Lighting (Solar)	X	X	X
Water Quality Reporting	X	X	X
Equipment Storage	X	Optional	Optional
Bike Storage	X (up to 4)	Optional	Optional
Bike Repairs	X	X	X

Table 3. Facility options.

Placement and density of the Oasis network will be dependent on population and housing densities, demand and location.
The standard Oasis is predominantly located a key end and nodal points in the network, where demand for storage is greater. In highly urbanised area's the standard 'Oasis' may be located with 200m walking distance within areas of high housing density and commercial business areas and intermediately along key transport routes. With frequency reducing as housing and commercial business densities decrease. The Oasis 'Midi' is located at intermediate points in the transport network and the Oasis 'Mini' is proposed for more remote locations.

Conclusion

Provision of urban infrastructure to support and guide growth in our cities in a manner that supports Link and Place planning, fosters community building, contributes to the health and well-being of its citizens and integrates within a smart city model, is a practical approach in the face of the global urbanisation megatrend.
The Oasis concept suggested in this paper is but one of a number of potential design solutions that can deliver quality public spaces and serves to inspire new approaches to planning, identifying opportunities to combine the needs of several user groups and creating greater perceived balance within the streetscape in a visually pleasing and truly multi-functional place. In this way the urban oasis concept presented here may be seen as a beacon, calling together a range of fields, thinking and technologies within the urban management system, and offering a place for all.

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VIEWPOINT

Buildering: barely even a thing

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Fig. 1. Grant Stewart. University of British Columbia, Vancouver. Picture by the author.

Often frivolous and whimsical, urban climbing has a rich history. Contrary to popular assumption, the phenomenon is neither an offshoot of parkour nor a by-product of the recent trend of rooftop exploration and its resultant photography. Whilst it overlaps extensively, urban climbing has its own characteristics, community and style. Contemporary exponents often use the term *buildering*, a portmanteau of 'buildings' and 'bouldering', the latter being a discipline of climbing that focuses on short, difficult ascents that require powerful moves. Many sports and activities are esoteric and autotelic, and bouldering is perhaps the apogee of climbing's absurdity given that the majority of ascents can be achieved by simply walking up the other side of a boulder rather than seeking out

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a series of nooks and crannies in which to wedge fingers and toes and repeatedly rub chalk.

Buildering takes this esotericism even further. Given its niche appeal and scarcity of practitioners, it is typically an informal, ephemeral, sometimes inadvertently subversive, unstructured activity. Unlike parkour, climbing, or other urban social formations (Daskalaki and Mould, 2013) such as skateboarding, it is barely even a "thing". It lacks the coherency or identifiable traits of larger, more structured sports and activities, and practitioners take great pleasure in its obscurity and slipperiness. It's rare to see buildering suffer from Freud's narcissism of small differences, perhaps as instances of its practice are so infrequent or inadvertent that people rarely seek to define themselves through it and therefore don't seek a sense of ownership over it. Urban social formations often lack coherency, none more so than buildering; there is no identifiable community and exponents may drift in and out of participation, sometimes without realising. One might assume from this that buildering is emergent, yet to become a fully formed and identifiable practice. If that is the case then buildering has been emergent for more than a century, and seems no more fully formed than when Winthrop-Young et al published the first buildering guidebook - *The Roof Climbers Guide to Trinity* - in 1900.

In addition to its elusiveness, buildering is also a broad term that leaves itself open to further definition. The word describes: short, hard ascents that require repeated attempts, gymnastic strength and extensive experience of climbing movements; the scaling of skyscrapers where repetitive but comparatively easy movements result in certain death in the event of a mistake; drunken scrambles up scaffolding on the way home from an evening of inebriation; and everything in between. Whilst parkour has seen its community engage for more than twenty years in extensive arguments over its definition and even the name of the practice itself, buildering prompts no such passions nor vociferous dissection of details. If you can ask 'Is this buildering?' then it probably is. And if it is not buildering, then it doesn't matter.

Practitioners deliberately misinterpret architecture, finding new ways of using both public and private space. The built environment presents opportunities and climbers bring investments of meaning to brickwork, drainpipes, changes in angles, architectural flourishes and surfaces. A playful reimagination is achieved; imagined futures are enacted and recorded, and the praxis produces a fresh set of urban features. For a brief moment, a ledge becomes a *crimp*, a protruding brick becomes a *sidepull*, a drainpipe becomes a *layback*. Routes otherwise unknown and unseen come temporarily into existence. There is a unique appreciation of mundane features; the geometries and textures contain potential. The opportunity to play out an idealised version of oneself emerges, with practitioners drawing inspiration from superhero mythology and, through digital archiving, creating a spectacle that becomes a record of one's accomplishment.

Whilst its visual culture might suggest an over-indulgence in heroic posturing, buildering's reality is characterised by silliness and frivolity, almost a balance to the occasional egotism of its practitioners. However impressive an ascent, there is something inescapably idiotic about scaling low walls or tall buildings, even more so when one considers that there are endless boulders and mountains for climbers to seek out, never mind the purpose-built indoor facilities now available. Becoming obsessed and emotionally involved with an otherwise unremarkable stretch of concrete is undeniably daft. This is reflected in buildering's earliest literature, as evidenced in another of Winthrop-Young's publications.

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Fig. 2 (on the left) Self-portrait. Haggerston, London.
Fig. 3 (on the right) Meg Anderson. University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
Pictures by the author.

He writes:

> *"The change of centuries has brought no cessation in the perennial pestering as to the nature of this climbing infatuation. The unenlightened still press with old-time pertinacity for a logical exposition of the instinct which induces rational beings to spread themselves over knobby countries or polish uncomfortable walls; mountaineers have long abandoned the attempt to answer, and wallers may imitate their compassionate shrug.*
>
> Winthrop-Young, 2013, p. 106

It is perhaps no wonder that he then goes on to cite Lear's *Nonsense Verses* when describing the desire to scale man-made walls, a tone that dominates the entire book. Notable also is the subtitle: *Including illuminating appendices on furniture, tree, and haystack climbing* - silliness was inherent to buildering's earliest manifestations. Even the practitioner responsible for many of buildering's grandest ascents and climber of countless skyscrapers, Alain Robert, demonstrates an awareness with amused understatement:

> *"Authorities arrest me, release me, and then invite me back to host public events. I think it's interesting.*
>
> Robert, n.d.

For all of its silliness, this play also has a seriousness to it. Practitioners are engaging in edgework, discovering "new possibilities of being" (Lyng, 2004: 4) deliberately encountering fear, negotiating risk through rehearsed skill, and deriving great satisfaction as a result. Exponents publicly deviate from normative behaviour, subverting social conventions of how one should conduct oneself in public. Buildering's legality is frequently questionable, though its transgressions are characterised by naughtiness rather than malice or recklessness. These physical interventions radically insert the body into the urban landscape, bringing alternative meanings to the city, and making it a site for autotelic experimentation and earnest play. This irreverence democratises the space, recodifying the urban landscape according to human, localised terms, and allowing an unmediated, embodied experience of the built environment.

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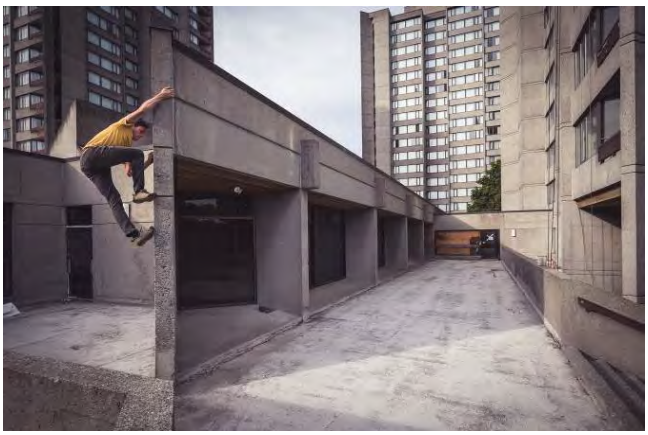

Fig. 4 (on the left) Bobby Gordon-Smith. Putney Bridge, London.
Fig. 5 (on the right) Ard Arvin. University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
Pictures by the author.

The wilderness of nature isolates the mountaineer; for the builderer, the city watches intently, creating a spectacle that is occasionally exploited commercially. Whilst skateboarding and parkour become co-opted and shaped by commercialism, buildering, to a degree, somehow resists, being dropped by companies as quickly as it is picked up. Buildering is no doubt a product of the processes of late capitalism with its proto-white middle-class young males curating identity and individuality through the transgressive behaviour of their able bodies; however, most of the time, its slipperiness manages to keep commercialism at arm's length. Its innate stupidity and indeterminacy allow it to maintain a degree of authenticity that makes its spectacle ultimately unsaleable beyond its occasional use as a novelty. Buildering resists change through an inertia generated by its own obscurity.

London offers endless opportunities to the keen builderer. Dense housing estates present varied terrain without the intense stares and surveillance of the city centre. Bridges across the Thames create classic lines with the promise of a footpath at the summit plus the bonus of some steps to get back down. Victorian railway bridges create a lattice of brickwork with cracks just big enough for fingertips, and hand and foot placements made available through the crumbling of cement, albeit with the ever-present threat of further disintegration.

Statues and public art installations offer intriguing challenges. And the capital's endless construction work brings countless cranes and endless scaffolding. These become nocturnal ladders to otherwise inaccessible vistas and an opportunity to discover what Ballard calls "an environment built, not for man, but for man's absence" (1977).

My adventures over the last ten years have been sporadic and spontaneous. A handful of my friends share locations, and explorations tend to coincide with good weather and having nothing better to do. As the project in London grew, it overlapped into my travels elsewhere, such as the two weeks spent in Vancouver trying to create an updated version of the climbing guide for University of British Columbia that members of the Varsity Outdoors Club published in 1965[1]. Photography is bound up as part of the encounter rather than feeling as though it is something that is separate and distinct, or demanding a different mode of behaviour. Through the internet, we sometimes stumble across fellow practitioners, oblivious to their existence until randomly finding their exploits on *YouTube* or *Instagram*.

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Fig. 6 (on the left) Richard Bartlett. Southwark Bridge, London.
Fig. 7 (on the right) Grant Stewart. University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
Pictures by the author.

The *#buildering* hashtag has suddenly enabled connections that were previously impossible and whilst the community (if it can be called that) feels a little bigger as a result, it seems no less fragmented.

Ours is another example of buildering's haphazard history, whereby instances materialise only to then evaporate. Our website, *buildering.net*, has offered a degree of stability since it was founded in 2001, but updates are random and irregular. More broadly, buildering has appeared and disappeared intermittently since Winthrop-Young's publications in the early twentieth century, sometimes manifesting in the typewritten, risographed guidebooks complete with hand-drawn diagrams produced by members of student mountaineering societies. Examples include those designed for the campuses of University of Wyoming (1950s), and Stanford University (1970s). Most buildering goes unnoticed and unrecorded and, most likely, buildering has taken place since buildings have existed. And, as our experience proves, the majority of builderers remain largely oblivious of their fellow practitioners. Whenever we establish a first ascent, we feel like pioneers, albeit ones whose feats will remain largely unrecognised, of value only to ourselves and a handful of others, and potentially a repetition of some unknown ascensionist who happened to get there first.

Starting as a specific project, my buildering photography is now open-ended, relying on a loose network of friends who occasionally spot new projects or find parts of London – and the world – that seem ripe for exploration. Hopefully the work acts as a reminder that cities are not just sites of commercialism, consumption and commuting, but also places that have the potential for pragmatic anarchy (Ward, 1973), embodied experiences, personalised interpretation, irreverence, play, and experimentation, offering authentic encounters in the midst of an increasingly homogenized, mediated urban existence.

Notes

(1) For more information: http://www.buildering.net/2014/08/13/buildering-a-dream/.

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Fig. 8 (on the left) Juho Kuusisaari. Pasila, Helsinki.
Fig. 9 (on the right) Ola Taistra. Trasa Łazienkowska, Warsaw.
Pictures by the author.

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Biography

Andy Day is an internationally published photographer specialising in adventure sports, travel, architectural and landscape photography. He has been photographing physical interaction with the city since 2003. Through participant-observation, Andy's work examines the body's relationship with the built environment, wilful misuse of architecture, subversive practices, appropriation of space and place, edgework and social interaction. His photographs have had a significant role in shaping the visual culture of parkour and free-running. With an MA in Photography from Goldsmiths, he also speaks, teaches and writes about the sociology of urban space.

After living in east London for ten years, Andy now bases himself in rural Bulgaria and spends much of his time travelling. His portfolio is available at andyday.com, his archive at kiell.com.

He also co-runs buildering.net and is always grateful for new content.

Andy is a proud member of the Urban Photographers Association and Crossing Lines.

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VIEWPOINT

The public realm as a generator of urban design

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Fig. 1. Yeerongpilly Green master plan, Brisbane, Australia. Deicke Richards, 2010-2014

For me, urban design at its heart is a positive activity that has a primary objective to contribute a public benefit. This is principally achieved by designing a network of public spaces – the public realm – that form the setting for individuals and communities to live their lives efficiently, safely, purposefully, meaningfully and memorably. The public realm consists of typical urban elements of streets, lanes, plazas, parks and environmental areas of different scales and purposes. These elements of public space are combined to create distinctive and unique places that invite use and activity. Underscoring this is the view that the primary user of public space is the pedestrian and the primary transport mode

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walking, cycling, and public transport. The car remains important but less so than the other modes.

With this approach, an essential requirement of the private realm of buildings is to form the public realm by positively defining public space, for it can't exist without the physical form of the buildings, and landscapes. The mix and location of land-uses in close proximity activate the public realm, so people can readily access the uses needed for daily life, and are invited to do so due to the quality of the urban setting.

These views have been formed, in part by analysis of the famous, and well-known Nolli Map of Rome, drawn in 1748. The first figure-ground drawing of an urban settlement, the Nolli Map shows the footprints of buildings in black, with streets, lanes and public spaces in white, along with some detail of gardens and landscape outlined. More importantly, it showed the interiors of public buildings as white - the same hierarchy as the outdoor spaces. Nolli saw the interiors of public buildings as public spaces, thus demonstrating the profound urban idea that the interior spaces of public buildings were public space, just as much as external spaces were. The power of the Nolli plan is in part of the plan that is not drawn with ink. The remaining spaces left in white are the public spaces comprising a rich sequence of streets, lanes and walkways of different widths and lengths, both straight and cranked, this is the public realm.

Through the years I have worked over this drawing. Firstly, by colouring the interiors of public buildings in black, then the public spaces, to leave the streets. This drawing showed the importance of connectivity, to make a seamless and integrated public realm, but connectivity on its own did not make a complete urban pattern. The open space fills were then removed showing the scale and disposition of open spaces. This gesture transformed the plan, giving it more order, clarity and legibility. The inclusion of these larger public spaces indicated places of gathering.

When the interiors of public buildings were removed, the richness of the plan and the drawing emerged. The public buildings showed the community life of the people of Rome through its institutions. Many of these public buildings were associated with major public squares or formed smaller plazas in prominent locations, sometimes on corners. The Nolli plan showed a seamless congruence of the private realm, with the public realm making a legible, remarkable and enduring urbanism. Rome effortlessly demonstrates how people can walk, meet, eat, drink, pause, reflect, catch some sun or celebrate personal and larger community events in a well-defined, coherent and legible public realm, positively defined by the buildings of the private realm. The white parts of the Nolli Plan show the public life in a public realm, the essential driver of urbanism.

In my work, I do not expect to emulate the urban quality of Rome, but these observations have informed my approach to urban design. A good example of where these ideas have been manifested is in the Yeerongpilly Green master plan for the city of Brisbane in Australia, undertaken by my practice Deicke Richards from 2010 to 2014. The site was about 13 hectares in size and would accommodate more than 1,000 residences with related retail and commercial activities.

The Yeerongpilly Green site is a strategically located riverfront brownfield site, an old animal research station dating from 1909, approximately 10 kilometres from the centre of Brisbane. The site is relatively isolated, bounded on the east by an arterial, Fairfield Road and a railway line containing the Yeerongpilly Station – about 25 minutes travel to the city

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centre. There are no street connections to the residential areas east of the station. To the south a rail freight line forms another barrier, with industrial uses beyond. An established low-density residential area is located north of the site.

To the west of the site is a former disused power station that has been recently developed into the State Tennis Centre, which wished to expand into the Yeerongpilly Green site. As part of this development, three large and long residential apartment buildings were constructed fronting the Brisbane River, forming a formidable barrier to any development immediately behind. At the end of the apartments, a small, open space about 40m wide, was left and this was the only location where Yeerongpilly Green could connect to the river. When the tennis centre was developed, a street from the west, King Arthur Terrace, was extended through the site to Fairfield Road to enable access from the west and east to the tennis centre and the apartments. However, the street had a broad sweep in it, causing it to be uninviting, less accessible for traffic and consequently less legible. In addition, a pedestrian bridge was built over Fairfield Road connecting the station to the tennis centre making a pedestrian desire line through the Yeerongpilly Green site.

Four heritage buildings, including two research buildings, a stable and an animal morgue needed to be retained. While well setback from the street, both research buildings had frontages to and views from Fairfield Road, as this was their original setting. To add to the complexity, the local council decided to build a new and significantly sized local office early in the design process. These circumstances of the project have fundamentally influenced the design and the extent and character of the public realm, which are described as follows and shown on Fig. 1.

1. King Arthur Terrace was straightened from its broad sweeping curve to improve legibility, enable more efficient and regular block sizes, and improve the urban character of the entrance to the precinct. This was slightly controversial as the winding street was recently constructed.
2. The retail based mixed-use main street ran north-south from King Arthur Terrace and was placed between the two larger heritage buildings creating the central focal place or heart of the precinct. This put the main street about 150m from Fairfield Road, aligning it with a residential street to the north, suggesting an integration of these residential areas with the heart of the new precinct.
3. This grid layout enabled larger blocks to be formed on the corner of the most important streets in the precinct, which could then accommodate large format retail on the Main Street, and offices facing Fairfield Road with the associated car parking.
4. A service lane between the lots facing Fairfield Road and the main retail block provided service access to both lots keeping services and the large car generating uses away from the more residential areas of the design. It also enabled the main street further west not to require any service access along it.
5. A sequence of open spaces provided pedestrian connectivity from Fairfield Road to the Tennis Centre and river. A plaza on Fairfield Road created an arrival place for the over-bridge and maintained the historical setting of both the heritage buildings to the street, but with framed views rather than expansive views.
6. This sequence of spaces extended as a walkway past the first heritage building to the main street then formed a plaza on this street in front of the earliest research

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building that terminated the vista from Fairfield Road. This plaza extended northward, to integrate the stable and morgue.

7. The open space network continued past the heritage buildings as a wider park, which opened out to the tennis centre and helped with flooding and storm water management. Pedestrian walkways edged the park space along development frontages. The southern walkway connected to the Tennis Centre and the northern route angled towards the river.
8. The northern walkway turned to the north and connected to the open space near the river, which became a riverside park.
9. The southern walkway continued to an arrival plaza for the future tennis centre expansion.
10. The main street extended southward and connected to a green space / community garden which acted as a focal place of the residential precinct. An open space was left in the blocks along the southern boundary to enable future pedestrian linkages if desired.
11. Other streets ran east west where possible to enable greater orientation to the north, the desired orientation in South East Queensland.

The Yeerongpilly Green Master Plan was formed on a fundamental idea that the public realm is the generator of the design. The land uses were located in appropriate locations to support and activate the public realm. Since the master plan was completed in 2014, the site has been put to market. The successful developer is effectively implementing the master plan with a number of refinements, so the unique and distinctive public realm conceived for this project may well be realised.

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VIEWPOINT

The Biennial of Public Space in Rome. From the Charter of Public Space to the Post-Habitat III Agenda

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Fig. 1. Main location of the Biennial of Public Space at Rome's Third University (Roma Tre), Testaccio neighbourhood. Picture by Elettra Giulia Bastoni.

In May 2013, the Biennial of Public Space adopted the "Charter of Public Space". The idea, presented at a well-attended event at the 2012 World Urban Forum, was to seek a universally acceptable definition of "public space" and to lay down a few basic principles that could be shared and implemented everywhere.
Emphasizing process over output is one of the most common platitudes of contemporary discourse. Yet, the method adopted for putting together this document is worthy of mention. First, comments were sought from a small group of researchers and practitioners constituting the Biennale's "Scientific Committee". On that basis, a team composed by the author of this article and by two other Biennale curators coming from different academic and professional backgrounds, Lucia Lancerin and Marichela Sepe, put together the Charter's "loom": a loose texture whose purpose, once vetted by a much larger group of contributors, was to constitute a framework for a more detailed fabric. The loom consisted of a draft definition of public space and of three motifs to be developed at a later stage – the creation, management

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and enjoyment of public space. In addition, the question "if public space is so clearly important for our quality of life, why is it not much better and more abundant than it is now?" led to the enumeration of the obstacles to the creation, management and enjoyment of public space in our cities.

The so-called "social networks" were at a much more rudimentary stage of development than they are today, and this might perhaps be the reason why recourse to them was not particularly fruitful. However, the use of more conventional means such as the Biennale's own website and e-mail, proved more fruitful. Soon, contributors from different countries and international organizations started engaging in the process.

The value of this participation was priceless. One of the most insightful contributions, for example, was that public space is not simply for "citizens" – a traditional concept that can also be interpreted as an involuntary vehicle of exclusion (similarly to the equivocal term "community") but for all "city users", including all those who may not be necessarily welcome, such as the homeless, migrants, and "others' from the social mainstream in any given city or neighbourhood. Another one was the use of public spaces to exercise the "right of assembly", a right that is so often denied even in this supposedly inclusive age and in countries with "mature" democratic systems. Other principles were the need to conceive the design of public space keeping in mind use and maintenance factors, including the cardinal statement that the ultimate proof of success of public space is the degree of enjoyment demonstrated by the public.

The ultimate testing ground of the draft Charter was a final six-hour workshop organized at the Biennale's "final event" in May 2013. In one of the beautifully appointed lecture rooms of the Department of Architecture of Rome's Third University (Roma Tre), the draft text of the Charter was projected on two parallel screens, one to show the Italian version, and the other to display the English one. Thus, a very diverse group ranging from UN-Habitat senior professionals to African master students from the Università "La Sapienza" was able to review all of the draft Charter's paragraphs, one by one. Workshop participants were invited to offer their contribution - to delete, to amend, to propose. The one and only rule was that all proposals had to be agreed by all to find their way in the final text.

In the end, perhaps the Charter paragraph which best defines its spirit is the following:

> *The Charter of Public Space aims at serving all those who believe in the city and in its extraordinary ability for hospitality, solidarity, conviviality and sharing; in its inimitable virtue in encouraging social interaction, encounter, togetherness, freedom and democracy; and in its calling for giving life to these values through public space. At the same time, cities show the worsening of economic, social, ethnic, cultural and generational inequalities. Public space must be the place where citizenship rights are guaranteed and differences are respected and appreciated.*

The following day, the final versions of the Charter in Italian and English were distributed in their Italian and English versions and adopted by the Biennale's final plenary. It is worthwhile to reproduce the brief introduction to the Charter:

> *The following document constitutes the contribution of the Biennial of Public Space to a process of further definition on the same subject that will be conducted at the global level in collaboration with the United Nations Programme on Human Settlements (UN-Habitat), in order to make a significant contribution to the preparatory process of the third Conference United Nations on Human Settlements to be held in 2016.*

During the months that followed, the Charter was presented and discussed at a number of international events, including the first two "Future of Places" international conferences in Stockholm and Buenos Aires, and the 2014 World Urban Forum in Medellin. Pocket versions of the Charter were distributed at major urban fora, to be followed by a version in eight languages printed in 2016.

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But the most important follow-up action was the agreement of collaboration signed between UN-Habitat and Italy's National Institute of Planning (INU) at the very same edition of the Biennale. This led to an international Expert Group Meeting on Public Space and Sustainable Urban Development in January 2014, which laid the foundation for the "Global Public Space Toolkit" that UN-Habitat had decided to compile within the framework of its global public space programme. INU was contracted to partner UN-Habitat in the drafting of the Toolkit, which took the form of some sort of "validation" of the Charter by coupling its principles to examples of public-space good practices from all over the world. Like the Charter, the Toolkit is downloadable from the UN-Habitat Urban Gateways website (http://www.urbangateway.org).

By far the most important development in terms of universal acceptance of the importance of public space for sustainable urban development was its inclusion as one of the targets of Sustainable Development Goal #11 adopted by the UN General Assembly in September 2016:

> *By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities.*

What is extraordinary about this commitment is that it goes far beyond what the Charter and/or other universal statements on public space ever ventured to suggest. By endorsing this target, all States agreed to pursue this objective, and indeed to be subject to monitoring mechanisms to gauge its implementation. However, what will we be supposed to measure? This is why the Charter, together with the Toolkit, has now become one of the instruments that can facilitate the attainment of the SDG Public Space Target. But how to do it?

First of all, we need to define what *are* the public spaces SDG 11 pledges to ensure universal access to. And since neither the SDG construct nor the New Urban Agenda adopted in Quito contain such definition, we can seek help from the definition contained in the Charter and endorsed by the Global Public Space Toolkit:

> *Public spaces are all places publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without a profit motive.*

This definition first of all, might eliminate an element of confusion involuntarily created by the SDG target: "green and public spaces". Given that not all public spaces are green, and not all green spaces are public, we can safely assume that the SDG/PST's intention was, indeed, to refer to all public spaces, *including* green spaces. This assumption can open the way to a small but importance nuance contained in the Charter's definition of public space: "Public spaces are all *places*…". This nuance was not introduced to host the "placemaking" dimension of public space, i.e. the improbable, "instant", and often temporary elevation of "space" intended as shapeless form or meaningless two-dimensional element of the urban fabric into something enjoyable, pretty, popular, vibrant, etcetera. The "place" attribute was meant to refer to the fact that while "spaces" are generally taken to be "open" (i.e. streets, sidewalks, parks, gardens), they can also be "places" where all-important civic functions can be hosted in all weather conditions: schools, public libraries, museums, etcetera.

Another aspect of the Charter's and Toolkit's definition of public space is worth mentioning: the fact that public spaces are those, and only those, that can be accessed and enjoyed *by all for free* and *without a profit motive*. Now, trams and buses, as well as taxis could be regarded as public spaces insofar as they perform a service for the public and can be accessed by all. But while taxis do not qualify as "public spaces" since they run on a commercial basis and are not free, buses and trams also do not qualify as "public spaces" because, while often run on a non-profit basis, they are not free. They can and will become public spaces whenever an enlightened local authority will decide that since public transport is heavily subsidized anyway, it may as well become a "public good", leading to universal use, acting as an incentive to using

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private motor vehicles more sparingly, and arguably giving a decisive contribution to abating environmentally harmful and health threatening emissions. But that day may never come.
Finally: the *without a profit motive* clause was introduced to set a boundary between genuine public space and all commercial spaces, such as malls and shopping centres, which do attract vast numbers of people albeit without an apparent obligation to buy. But malls and shopping centres are private spaces that have the authority to deny access to anyone. And nothing can substitute the right, and indeed the duty, of cities to provide free and accessible spaces to all for a variety of functions, including mobility and sports and recreation. Comforted by these definitional assists, we can now turn to the means by which the target of providing universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities can be achieved. That "universal", *in primis*. This term, in UN parlance, is meant to refer to "everywhere" (i.e. all countries, all kinds of settlements) and "everybody": rich and poor, healthy and ill, fortunate or not.
The Public Space Toolkit emphasizes that public space, precisely because it is exempt from the laws governing private goods, can be a way to accommodate the needs of those who do not have the means to secure needed space and services. It is, in other words, a means to help improve equality in cities. The problem is, as the Toolkit also notes, that public space themselves are distributed inequitably in cities. Typically, low income neighbourhoods have less public space than wealthier ones; and these public spaces are, as a rule, less secure and less well kept than the others. Hence, the safety, inclusiveness and accessibility parameters must be measured not simply in terms of individual public spaces (how safe, inclusive and accessible is my park, my sidewalk) but also in broader, city-wide terms. A great park in the central part of the city can be inaccessible and not very inclusive if less fortunate city dwellers have to travel a very long way and perhaps at unreasonable expense to enjoy it alongside nearby residents. This is why the Toolkit proposes to measure public space in cities in aggregate terms but with the use of "quadrants" in order to be able to capture inequities in different parts of the city in terms of per capita availability of different kinds of public spaces.

The fourth Biennial of Public Space (BISP 2017 – http://www.biennalespaziopubblico.it/) will be held in Rome on May 25-27th, at University of Roma TRE, Testaccio neighbourhood. It will be the first one held after the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals and the New Urban Agenda. Therefore, it will have the opportunity to take stock of the challenges the two events posed to city dwellers, civil society and policy makers.
If it will limit itself to parading good practices and admirable projects it will miss this opportunity. However, the intention is to lend an attentive ear, as always, to the work of international agencies and organizations. In fact, one of the preparatory activities proposed is to activate a dialogue paying special attention to the role that local governments and an efficient and responsible public sector can perform in addressing the SDG Public Space Target, and their unique civic responsibility and development potential: policies and planning. Unless this role is explored and enabled, it is highly unlikely that the SDG public space target will be achieved simply relying on civil society initiatives, isolated good practices and spirited performances.

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VIEWPOINT

Urban Visions. Beyond the Ideal City
Report from the Habitat III Village, Pop-up Public Space

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Fig. 1 (on the left). The Instabooth for situated community engagement, installed in Brisbane, Australia.
Fig. 2 (on the right). The postcard distributed at the Habitat III conference related to the Italian cinematography competition 'Urban Visions. Beyond the Ideal City' promoted by City Space Architecture.

'Urban Visions. Beyond the Ideal City' was an event held at Habitat III, the United Nations conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, in Ecuador, included in a series of meetings and events at the Pop-up Public Space, Habitat III Village, in Parque El Ejido in Quito. On 26th October 2016, we presented two research projects aiming at community engagement on issues related to the future of the urban environment:

- the "InstaBooth", a telephone booth-inspired portable structure developed at the Urban Informatics Lab of the Queensland University of Technology - http://www.urbaninformatics.net/projects/instabooth/ - which uses tangible and hybrid interaction such as multi-touch screens and media façades to facilitate face-to-face and digitally mediated discussions;
- the cinematography competition "Urban Visions. Beyond the Ideal City", promoted by City Space Architecture - http://www.cityspacearchitecture.org/?p=urban-visions-beyond-the-ideal-city - which is the first film competition in the Italian context involving film-makers at a professional level on topics related to cities and urbanity. The competition started in 2014 (Bravo, 2016) and currently performs as a unique platform able to foster interaction and exchange between different disciplines, such as architecture, sociological studies, urban design and film studies, while delivering spectators insights and meanings on daily urban life in cities. At the event we screened several short films from the competition and then involved the audience into a discussion on urgent issues related to urbanization, such as social inclusion,

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multicultural coexistence and human diversity. The screening of the short films was able to stimulate questions and comments and to make comparisons between different contexts in terms of urban life and social practices.

The audience was mainly made of young film makers from "Escenas del buen vivir en Espacios Públicos", an initiative directed by Andres Dunayevich and Nora Gómez from El Agora, a South American non-profit civil association. Because most of them could not understand English, we asked Andres to translate our presentations and comments into Spanish. Our projects were very well received and opened a fruitful discussion. It also paved the way for a collaboration with El Agora, currently underway.

Fig. 3/6. Some moments from the event in Parque El Ejido in Quito, at the Habitat III Village, Pop-up Public Space, on 20th October 2016.

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VIEWPOINT

Stand up for Public Space!
A networking event at the Habitat III conference and a global online campaign

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Fig. 1. Cover picture from the website of the global online campaign: www.standupforpublicspace.org

At Habitat III, the United Nations conference on Housing and Sustainable Development, held in Quito, Ecuador (17-20th October, 2016), we launched the global online campaign 'Stand up for Public Space!' - www.standupforpublicspace.org - which is a research project promoted and powered by City Space Architecture, in collaboration with the Queensland

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University of Technology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, LASE+CityUrb Ecuador and the University of Auckland (QUT Ethics Approval Number 1600000966). The purpose of this project is to foster a discussion on public space as a common good, through the collection of experiences, stories, habits and activities, documenting public space and its users from different geographical contexts. Participation will involve people taking a picture of their favourite public space and sharing it through their own Twitter or Instagram profiles. The project asks people to include also a short description of the picture, in order to know where the selected public space is located, what it means to them and why they would like to share it with a broader public. All entries are to be submitted using the following hashtags:

#standupforpublicspace and/or #myfavouritepublicspace

This project intends to provide a good insight of what a public space is for people in different countries and different continents. Data from the research will inform the development of a new taxonomy of public spaces and their uses, which might be useful to inform future planning documents and policies.

Fig. 2/6. Posters from the networking event at the Habitat III conference, with the five cities promoting the global campaign: from left to right, Bologna (Italy), Brisbane, (Australia), Hong Kong (China), Guayaquil (Ecuador) and Auckland (New Zealand). Graphic design by Arturo Del Razo Montiel.

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The networking event was selected among more than 1.000 proposals entered from all over the world and was included in the official programme of the conference. It was attended by more than 100 participants. We asked to the audience to contribute to the research project by providing some useful insights and reflections on public space: we divided the attendees in several groups (all English speaking but one Spanish speaking) and asked to each one of them to start a conversation, sharing concepts, definitions and problematics. We then asked to each group to summarize relevant outcomes from the discussion (in English with Spanish translation) and to share with them with us: public space was addressed referring to safety and security, appropriation and sharing, ownership and management, with a particular focus on privatization trends, community engagement, solidarity, participation and accessibility, design ability in response to rapid urbanization without lacking of identity and sensory experience, with some examples from specific contexts. Some groups discussed also about the public dimension in the digital domain and about shopping malls as new destinations for public life.
At the end of the discussion, we asked to the audience to reconsider their favourite public space in order to join the campaign. And we took a group picture!

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Fig. 7/18. Some moments from the networking event at the Habitat III conference, on 17th October 2016, Quito, Ecuador.

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