International
Conference

February 17–19, 2021
Lisboa

Urban legacies
of the late 20th century

CONFERENCE
PROCEEDINGS

GRAND
PROJECTS

Urban legacies
of the late 20th century

# GRAND PROJECTS

## CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

dinamia'cet _Iscte
Centro de Estudos sobre a Mudança
Socioeconómica e o Território

iscte INSTITUTO UNIVERSITÁRIO DE LISBOA

FCT Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia

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| | WEDNESDAY, 17 | THURSDAY, 18 | FRIDAY, 19 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9:30 | | Parallel session Slot 1<br>T2 S1<br>T3 S1<br>T4 S1<br>T7 S1 | Parallel session Slot 3<br>T1 S2<br>T2 S2<br>T3 S3<br>T7 S2 |
| 11:00 | | BREAK | BREAK |
| 11:15 | SIDE EVENT<br>Lisbon Waterfront Buildings and Public Spaces | CLAIRE COLOMB<br>*Keynote Speaker* | CHRISTIAN SCHIMDT<br>*Keynote Speaker* |
| 12:45 | | LUNCH-BREAK | LUNCH-BREAK |
| 14:15 | | Parallel session Slot 2<br>T1 S1<br>T3 S2<br>T4 S2<br>T5 S1<br>T10 S1 | Parallel session Slot 4<br>T1 s3<br>T3 s4<br>T6 s1<br>T7 s3<br>T8 s1<br>T9 s1 |
| 15:45 | | BREAK | |
| 16:00 | | SPECIAL SESSION<br>Ana Brandão,<br>Jorge Bassani,<br>Stefano Di Vita<br>*Roundtable* | |
| 16:30 | | | |
| 16:45 | OPENING SESSION<br>Tribute Vitor Matias Ferreira | | BREAK |
| 17:00 | | | JEAN-LOUIS COHEN<br>*Keynote Speaker* |
| 17:30 | BREAK | BREAK | |
| 17:45 | JOÃO PEDRO MATOS FERNANDES, GONÇALO BYRNE and RICARDO PAES MAMEDE<br>*Roundtable* | MANUEL SALGADO and JOSEP ACEBILLO<br>*Keynote Speaker* | |
| 18:30 | | | |
| 19:15 | | | |

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## ORGANIZER'S WELCOME MESSAGE

PAULO TORMENTA PINTO
Coordinator and Scientific committee member, Grand Projects
research project member

It is with great enthusiasm that we hold this international conference *Grand Projects - Legacies of the Late 20th Century.*

This conference was held between 17 and 19 February 2021 and took place in Lisbon, using an online format due to the constraints imposed by the epidemiological situation.

This initiative was organised within the scope of the research project, funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology, entitled *Great Projects - Architectural and Urbanistic Operations after the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition*, which results from a partnership between the Iscte, through DINÂMIA'CET - Iscte, the Direção Geral do Território and the Accademia di Architettura di Mendrisio.

In this research, which began in 2018, we have been discussing the transformations that occurred in Portugal after the great event that marked the end of the millennium and that has been a laboratory for a project culture that has expanded over the last 20 years, both nationally and locally. At national level, the multiple operations carried out in several Portuguese cities under the POLIS programme should be highlighted, and at local level, in the city of Lisbon, through processes of distinguishable and rehabilitation of public space and the construction of new urban morphologies.

The aim of this conference was to broaden the debate and invite other researchers to reflect on the dichotomies that can be established between the urban culture of the late twentieth century and the challenges facing contemporary society in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis and the current climate and health crises.

On the eve of the launch of an ambitious economic restructuring plan covering all European states, it has become imperative to discuss the transformations that need to be carried out to make urban territories more sustainable and adapted to the lifestyles that are foreseen in the near future. The *New European Bauhaus* launched recently by Ursula Von der Leyen, represents a major challenge for the European Union to rethink architecture and urbanism according to the new standards of economy 4.0.

However, beyond the ongoing technological revolution and the carbon-neutrality goals of the *Paris Agreement*, we must not lose sight of central issues that remain unresolved, such as the right to the city, access to housing, improved transport networks, a balance of uses in metropolitan areas and better relations between urbanisation and reservation areas.

This congress intended to be a contribution to a reflection capable of building continuity between contemporary challenges and the legacy of the late twentieth century, uncovering the near past in its advances and excesses, thus contributing to project a future that still seems uncertain. Although, this future is still uncertain, it will reveal itself under the unique certainty that territory is the basis that will support all changes, thus making it unavoidable to understand its dynamics, its metabolism, its complexity and its differences.

## FOREWORD DINÂMIA'CET

PEDRO COSTA
Director of the research centre DINÂMIA'CET – Iscte, Scientific committee member and Grand Projects research project member

DINAMIA'CET-iscte – Centre for the Study of Socioeconomic Change and the Territory, hold with great pleasure and interest this international conference "Grand Projects - Legacies of the Late 20th Century", and the publication of these Proceedings, as well as, naturally, the research project "Great Projects - Architectural and Urbanistic Operations after the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition", funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology, that was in its origin and which can be seen as the structuring backbone behind it.

This research reflects some of the key-issues of the scientific practice conducted for decades in DINAMIA'CET-iscte, starting by its own subject, which is a topic of natural interest for a research center which is focused on socioeconomic and territorial change, but also because of the interdisciplinary approach addressed as well as the envisioning of an applied research practice of unquestionable social relevance.

In fact, the International Conference 'Grand Projects - Urban Legacies of the late 20th Century' aimed to debate the transformations which took place in the urban territories over the last two decades, drawing upon a reflection on the impacts of late 20th century territorial dynamics and public policies. The multiple issues brought by the huge transformations and challenges raised from the beginning of the 21st century, in the different layers of our lives and in the organization of territories (from climate change to economic restructuring; from refugees and migrations movements to the global financialization of real estate market; from new lifestyles and consumption practices to the demographic changes; from terrorism menaces to new participation forms; from catastrophes and risks management to big data and privacy safekeeping) confront clearly the logics and the ethos of the architectural and urban practices of the late 20th century. The grand projects and the great actors are at stake and surely need to be problematized and discussed, as well as the way we project, build and live contemporary cities in the contemporaneity

To address this, we cannot do it within the frontiers and barriers of our own disciplines and interdisciplinary dialogue, confronting theories, concepts, procedures and methodologies is fundamental. This will help opening our minds and professional practices to innovative approaches, new perspectives and creative forms of

knowledge that arise from this diversity and from this dialogue, which are essential to understand and act in these present times.

Naturally we could not end without acknowledging to the team that conducted this research and particularly to all the ones that made this conference and this publication possible, with their hard work within the respective organizing and editorial committees, which enable us to reflect on the changes and challenges face by Portuguese territories in last decades at the light of international comparative research, and to the suitability of the "grand projects" concept to understand and plan the territories in contemporary new socioeconomic, cultural, environmental and technological realities

## CONFERENCE THEME

PAULO TORMENTA PINTO
Coordinator and Scientific committee member, Grand Projects
research project member

The International Conference 'Grand Projects - Urban Legacies of the late 20th Century' aims to debate the transformations that have taken place in urban territories over the last two decades by considering the impacts of late 20th century policies and conjunctures.

The consolidation of European Union unity was monumentalized in the 1980s in several interventions that were carried out in the core of Paris. These interventions, which were based on the visions of then French President François Mitterrand, were part of a process that became known as ´Les Grands Travaux´ (Grand Projects). Driving these, was the anticipation of an optimistic feeling that would feature at the end of the millennium.

The case of Paris would become a reference for a post-modern period that was also marked by the end of the cold war after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. This shift, which was described by Francis Fukuyama in his 1992 book titled "The End of History and The Last Man", corresponded to the optimistic feeling that existed at the time about the social models of the world´s occidental democracies.

In the 1990s, the impacts of new technologies and the widespread use of the internet created a sense of globalization, which introduced new challenges to the world economy. The majority of local manufacturing industries in the EU became obsolete, as they were unable to compete on a big scale dominated by trade rules and controlled by multinational companies. The existence of a vast cheap work force ready to be hired in under developed countries, created the idea of a post-industrial era in the West. The tertiary sector of economy achieved greater importance through the general increase in purchasing power and the growth of tourism.

Many industrial areas became disactivated, creating a transitory urban scenario. These were considered by Ignasi Sola Morales as ´terrain vagues´, as these areas were waiting for change and new investments. This process was particularly visible in the proximity of harbour areas, which constituted the main opportunity territories of the late 20th Century. The change of sea routes, the evolution of logistic technologies, and competition coming from aerial and road mobility forced a process of renovation upon harbours and their activities so that they

could maintain their competitiveness in the context of the new networks of people and the transportation of goods. These impacts were felt in the harbour cities of London, Barcelona, Genoa, Amsterdam, and Hamburg in Europe; Tokyo, Yokohama and Singapore in Asia; and in Buenos Aires in Latin America. In the majority of cases, the harbour areas located close to city centres reduced their activities, freeing up areas and old warehouses for real estate investments as well as idleness and cultural programs.

The speculation of vacant areas was also increased by international events, as a strategy to concentrate and canalize capital in new urban operations of change. In the short period of eight years four international events were organized - the 1992 Expo in Sevilla and the Olympic Games in Barcelona, the 1998 Expo in Lisbon, and the 2000 Expo in Hannover. Urban areas associated to each event were labs of architecture and urban design rehearsal, inspiring and seducing people's imaginary for new century landscapes.

The role of architects was decisive in this period, which was defined by exploring new shapes and typologies and a renovated sense of monumentality, both of which contaminated the public sphere. Bilbao´s Guggenheim should be mentioned as a particular case, due to the huge impact that was generated by the Frank O. Gehry building in the context of the city´s renovation.

The terrorist attacks of 9/11/2001 in New York City, USA, can be seen as a first cooling off of this optimistic period. The collapse of the Word Trade Centre towers was a hard blow, as an architectural symbol of The United States of America was destroyed. The towers were designed by Minoru Yamasaki, the same architect who designed the Pruitt-Igoe neighborhood, which when demolished in the 1970s was qualified by Charles Jenks as marking the end of the modern movement. Another moment of inversion was the subprime crisis of 2008, and the market bubble that resulted from the devaluation of housing-related securities.

Almost twenty years has passed from the "golden era" of the 1990s. The West is now committed to new challenges such as the need to respond to climate change, refugee crises and to new democratic demands. Nevertheless, the model pursued at the end the previous millennium is still seen as being a viable alternative to boost the urban economy, as exemplified by Expo 2008 in Zaragoza Spain, the 2014 FIFA World Cup of Football in Brazil, the 2016 Summer Olympic Games in Brazil, Expo 2015 in Milan, and the recent Expo 2020 that is currently in progress in Dubai. In this sense, the conference "Grand Projects", intends to confront and analyze the impacts this late 20th Century legacy has had on urban territories and policies over the last two decades.

## FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE WITHIN THE RESEARCH PROJECT

ANA BRANDÃO
Organizing and Scientific committee member, Grand Projects research project member

This conference was part of a research project "Grand Projects – Architectural and Urbanistic Operations after the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition, funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology in Portugal. Lead by Paulo Tormenta Pinto (Iscte – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa), the research joins a team of more than 20 researchers and consultants from different areas — architecture, urban planning, sociology, economy, geography — and the partnership of three institutions, DINÂMIA'CET – Iscte, Direção Geral do Território and Lab Ticino da Accademia di Architettura di Mendrisio – Università della Svizzera Italiana.

Since October 2018, the ongoing work aims to identify, characterize and debate the urban policies and architectural works produced in Portugal as part of the legacy of the EXPO'98 exhibition and urban project. As an urban laboratory, the event had a very significant impact on the planning and design cultures, as it established a new paradigm of quality of urban space. In this sense, several public policies and transformation processes over the following decades took the EXPO'98 urban operation as a reference and benefited from the know-how, resources and forms of production constituted for the event. The research addresses this legacy in different territorial contexts, from the national scale, the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, to the local scale of the city of Lisbon, analyzing strategies, plans and projects developed or foreseen in the aftermath of the event. Overall, the research showcases important issues of the urban change process of Portuguese cities, namely urban and environmental regeneration, urban planning and management practices, public space renewal, waterfront and "terrain vague" redevelopment, the role of architecture and architects on spatial quality, etc.

Despite all the specificities of the Portuguese context, the EXPO'98 exhibition and operation were representative of the late 20th century urban policies, an era marked in the West by optimism and growth. It represents a strong effort for innovation, joining international models of competitiveness and territorial visibility as well as embodying a desire for integration in the European context and contemporary urban trends. Likewise, the different examples and processes of urban transformation analyzed — redevelopment of industrial and port areas, environmental recovery, urban regeneration — find parallels in other European and international cases, with widely referenced examples.

Thus, it seemed more than adequate to organize an international conference centered on the theme of the grand urban projects of the late 20th century and their legacy for the following decades. The goal was to foster a cross-cutting discussion on the common urban change dynamics, but also to highlight the differences of each context - territorial, social, political - and their results. In a further effort to provide connections between ongoing research, the different tracks listed for discussion at the conference, correspond to relevant problems on this international debate about megaprojects, events, star-architecture and urban competitiveness which are also addressed and analyzed on the legacy research on the Portuguese case.

For the research project, the results of the conference enabled a broader understanding of the framework in which the Portuguese experience is inserted, establishing bridges and relations to other territories and contexts, as well as highlighting its originality when compared to other cases. Finally, the debate on the suitability of the grand projects in the face of the contemporary challenges faced today fostered an interesting exchange of ideas and opened up new contributions for the construction of future cities.

# A Tribute to Professor Vitor Matias Ferreira

The conference included a special tribute to Professor Vítor Matias Ferreira for which he was present, in which Pedro Costa gave a keynote speech, followed by an appreciation by Alexandra Castro.

**TRIBUTE TO:**
**Vítor Matias Ferreira**, DINÂMIA'CET- Iscte
**CHAIRS:**
**Paulo Tormenta Pinto**, DINÂMIA'CET- Iscte
**Pedro Costa**, Director of DINÂMIA'CET- Iscte
**Alexandra Castro**, DINÂMIA'CET- Iscte
**Maria de Lurdes Rodrigues**, Dean of Iscte

We share here the main speech by Professor Pedro Costa, Director of DINÂMIA'CET- Iscte, University Institute of Lisbon.

"Good afternoon to all,
It is with great satisfaction, both personally and institutionally, on behalf of DINAMIA'CET-iscte, that I am able to introduce in a few brief words the tribute that the "Grand Projects" conference has decided to pay to Professor Vitor Matias Ferreira.

Vítor Matias Ferreira is Emeritus Professor of Sociology at Iscte - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, institution where he has taught for over thirty years since its constitution in 1976. He is one of the founders of the Centre for Territorial Studies, one of the research units that, in the meantime, with DINÂMIA, has become the current DINÂMIA'CET - Iscte.

His undertakings include the founding of the scientific journal, CIDADES, Comunidades e Territórios, which he edited for several years, and which is now indexed in SCOPUS. He was also involved in a pioneering Master's degree course on urban issues in Portugal, precursor of the current Master's and PhD programmes in Urban Studies and Architecture of Contemporary Metropolitan Territories, which continue to epitomise DINAMIA'CET's involvement in the field of territorial and urban studies in Portugal.

Vitor Matias Ferreira has developed his work in the field of urban sociology in connection with urbanism, architecture, and territory, with important research on social movements, namely in the revolutionary process of 1974-1975, and on the formation and transformation of the Lisbon metropolis. In this field his PhD thesis is of particular merit, in which he turned his attention to the city of *Lisboa, de Capital do Império a Centro da Metrópole* (Lisbon, from Capital of the Empire to Center of the Metropolis, in English), fostering critical readings on the processes of territorial organisation and their implications on the composition and social differentiation found in the Portuguese capital.

He has contributed to establishing at Iscte a multidisciplinary culture in the field of urban analysis, involving the areas of Sociology, Anthropology, Economics, Demography, Geography and Urbanism, in an approach that combines depth of research on issues of social dynamics with the need for intervention in real life. It is on such a basis that, alongside other professors and researchers from CET and Iscte, such as Isabel Guerra, José Manuel Henriques, Madalena Matos or Alexandra Castro, among others, he developed innovative techniques of analysis, supported by scenario methodologies, analysis of actors' strategies and project methodology and participation in the evaluation and planning of development.

In 1994, as a result of a partnership between the Centre for Territorial Studies and the Department of Economic and Social Analysis of the Territory of the University of Venice, he was in charge, together with Francesco Indovina, of the Expo'98 Observatory in Lisbon: observing and monitoring *in situ* for about five years the implementation process of the urban project associated with the event. The results of this work were published in the book The City of Expo '98, a landmark reference text for the research that went into this congress.

During the build-up for this grand project that marked the end of the millennium in Lisbon, Matias Ferreira, through the observatory, was a voice of reason articulating the potential for transformation of the city and of the metropolis of Lisbon. In this sense, he stimulated the debate so that the Expo'98 could be the "touchstone" of a process of integration of the eastern part of the city and, in this way, become an argument (and an opportunity) for the redevelopment of the urban space of areas marginalised by the presence of run-down industrial settlements and

deprived neighbourhoods that were common to those areas of Lisbon.

The relationship between the city and the Tagus River was another theme widely debated by the observatory, with the assumption that the new investments would bring the metropolitan area closer to its estuary, thus reversing the processes of urban expansion towards the hinterland, a result of both the positivism of the late 19th century and the "estado-novismo" that marked the 20th. The Great Projects associated with Expo'98 would be an opportunity to reflect on a vast geographical area, breathing new life into an urban development process that would restore to its rightful place the importance of housing, infrastructures, and public space as solid arguments for improving the social conditions of the metropolis' inhabitants.

Two decades after the launch of the Great Projects that marked the end of the twentieth century, it is important to return to the questions raised by Matias Ferreira, not only because of the inspiration that his work and methods brought to research within the scope of Cities and Territories, but mainly because of the broad vision of urban themes, based on the conviction of a multidisciplinary and, whenever possible, an interdisciplinary scientific culture, which is at the core of Iscte's identity and, particularly, that of DINÂMIA'CET – Iscte".

Lastly, on behalf of the organizing committee of the Grand Projects conference we express our gratitude to professor Vitor Matias Ferreira.

# Keynotes Speakers

**João Matos Fernandes**
**Gonçalo Byrne**
**Ricardo Paes Mamede**
**Claire Colomb**
**Manuel Salgado**
**Josep Acebillo**
**Christian Schmid**
**Jean-Louis Cohen**

# Cities in Portugal: between EXPO' 98 and the Recovery Plan for Europe

**KEYNOTE SPEAKERS:**
**Gonçalo Byrne,** President of the Architects Council
**João Pedro Matos Fernandes,** Minister of Environment and Climate Action
**Ricardo Paes Mamede,** President of the Institute for Public and Social Policy (IPPS-ISCTE)
**CHAIR AND FINAL REPORT:**
**Nuno Grande,** DARQ/CES, University of Coimbra

### The Expo'98 effect

Since the end of the 20th century, the requalification of cities and built environments has been decisive to the Portuguese political agenda for the most varied of reasons. The opportunity to organise the Lisbon World Exposition in 1998 was also a test for its urban policies and initiatives that had repercussions on other programmes and events over the following decades (POLIS programme, the UEFA Euro 2004 Championship, European Capitals of Culture in 2001 and 2012, Urban Rehabilitation Societies, urban waterfront regeneration, priority urban rehabilitation areas, school modernisation programmes), and led to a more or less successful application of public investments, largely from successive Community Support Frameworks. A retrospective overview would conclude that the "Expo effect" has had positive outcomes, somewhat throughout the country, bringing about large projects with a local impact which, even though mostly "top-down" (from the State to municipalities), have introduced important transformations in metropolitan areas and some medium-sized Portuguese cities.

### A new urban effect

After two decades and two crippling economic crises - the most recent being the as yet unresolved COVID-19 health pandemic - cities in Portugal are now preparing for a new wave of public investment, coming from the largest financial aid package ever given by the European Union to our country - a real "bazooka" of resources, in the words of the current Prime Minister António Costa. This aid, however, comes with inevitable conditions: the change of the digital paradigm (to a 4.0 Economy) and the environmental paradigm (post-Paris agreement), which will require profound procedural and behavioural changes at the political, economic, social and cultural level, as inferred by the recent Recovery and Resilience Plan (PRR) presented by the government to the EU. In a prospective (not risk-free) reading, this "bazooka effect" will translate into a territorial allocation of investment that will encompass the material and immaterial qualification of cities, leveraged again by strategic projects: at the environmental level, by investing in "clean" forms of energy production (solar, wind, biomass and green hydrogen plants) and the refining of rare metals for the electric battery industry; at the logistical level, by introducing new means of regional and international mobility (e.g. the new Lisbon airport, river crossings and high-speed train), but also local (e.g. subway and soft mobility networks).

### The debate premises

In the scope of this conference, three public figures were invited - Gonçalo Byrne, João Pedro Matos Fernandes and Ricardo Paes Mamede - to analyse prospectively this "bazooka effect" in the light of the "Expo'98 effect". Under debate was the idea that this new "effect" would be more revolutionary as it involved the urban habitat as a whole (and not just the one that is the beneficiary of "Grand Projects"), both at the level of public space qualification and collective housing spaces (now incorporated in the new European funding frameworks). To this end, reference was made to the idea championed by the President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, in favour of a New European Bauhaus movement (a reference to the multidisciplinary school founded by the Weimar Republic in 1919).

We are aware that we are certainly far from that interwar Europe, in which all the vanguards seemed possible. Europe today is more technocratic, but it is still possible to imagine Portugal as one of the small and creative "laboratories" of European urbanity - financed for the time being, in "top-down" way it's true; but able to generate "bottom-up" projects, based on a circular economy, linking citizens and decision-makers, metropolitan areas and medium-sized cities, the densely populated coast and the interior in need of being strategically repopulated. In other words, a Portugal made up of sustainable dynamic cities, capable of maintaining themselves well beyond the aforementioned Expo'98 and bazooka "effects".

### The contributions of the keynote speakers

**Gonçalo Byrne**, President of the Portuguese Architects' Council, recalled what was learned from the experience of the French *Grand Projets* in the 1980s, which had repercussions in other countries, Portugal being one with the transformation of East Lisbon following Expo'98. He went on to highlight how this option had effects on subsequent urbanistic and architectural programmes for the entire first decade of the 21st century, with priority given to the requalification of urban space and the re-equipping of Portuguese cities.

However, Byrne mentioned also how the crises of the last decade and the continuing bureaucratic inefficiency in public contracts seemed to have condemned to failure everything learned in the recent past. Byrne even made the point that the State is currently losing "the capacity to demand, manage and implement territorial, urban and landscape quality, gradually renouncing a crucial responsibility for the common good, marginalising and depreciating the fundamental role architecture plays in the conception and execution of quality."

Even so, the President of the Portuguese Architects' Council reaffirmed his enthusiasm with the new vision for a Europe that combines both building and energy quality with urban, landscape and architectural design, namely through the *New European Bauhaus* and *Renovation Wave* programmes. But he would go on to remind us: the "bazooka effect" or the "financial cascade" (as he prefers to call it) depends on infrastructures – be it on big or small projects - in which it is vital to combine architectural design and cultural values; in other words this new "effect" can even spark a kind of European cultural renaissance if we know how to apply it intelligently.

**João Pedro Matos Fernandes**, Minister of the Environment and Climate Action believes, quoting François Barudel, that "the city will always take the form of the transport technologies of its time," and therefore we have reached a point where we need to think about the post-carbon city. If in the past, humankind sought immortality through grand innovative projects, today it is only achievable, according to the Minister of the Environment, through the renewal of existing resources, from the perspective of a circular economy and a robust relationship with our natural environment.

Matos Fernandes argued that it is essential to "territorialize" the policies of the new Recovery and Resilience Plan (PRR), in which large-scale projects make room for more subtle interventions. He stated that "the time for imagining Brasílias and Chandigarhs, or Grand World Exhibitions is over, and that we have to know how to densify cities, taking advantage of existing resources. In addition: "this is the time to stop demolishing, in order to start deconstructing", by taking advantage of these resources, a process in which architecture plays a fundamental role. In this sense, it challenges architects to design inspired by recyclable materials and structures, to think about multifunctional solutions, and to design public spaces adaptable to the unpredictable transformations that the future has in store for us.

**Ricardo Paes Mamede**, President of the Institute for Public and Social Policy, preferred to focus the debate on the issue of social sustainability, pointing out that the main challenge of the future will be to reduce social inequalities, especially in the large Portuguese metropolitan areas. He also pointed out how the greatest deficiencies were in the housing sector, which systematically affects all other urban policies. Paes Mamede went into detail how housing has always been one of the "poor cousins" of structural and state policy investment in Portugal and that today only 2% of housing development is public - one of the lowest rates in the European Union.

The economist described how, since the late 1980s, "Portugal has undergone one of the fastest and most radical processes of financial liberalisation in contemporary Europe, with the drastic reduction of real interest rates and the easing of access to credit. As a result, about ¾ of the population bought their own homes on the real estate market and became property owners; but also because of this, Portugal today is one of the countries in the world with the highest rates of private debt, a central cause of the stagnation of its economy. On the other hand, and according to Paes Mamede, the State had a laissez-faire attitude to the expansion of metropolitan areas, giving way to private development of poor-quality housing paid for by easy credit, which has led to swathes of socially-excluded populations and massive commuting flows harmful to the urban environment. Urban flight to these residential peripheries today has caused serious problems in access to transportation, services, and employment.

Paes Mamede argues that there is no "grand project" more urgent than this one for contemporary Portugal: taking advantage of the Recovery and Resilience Plan (PRR) funds to foster the construction or renovation of housing in large urban centres. The problem is that the plan foresees the construction of about 26,000 houses by 2026, in a country where the State is unable to take up more than 130 new units per year. This means a forty-time increase in public housing development, a Herculean challenge for which no political or methodological solution is yet in sight.

### A possible overview

In the light of these stimulating points of view and the debate they inspired, we return to some of the premises covered to set out a possible overview of the Conference's opening session: The Grand Projects of the past have left us with a number of lessons to learn, but they point to the need to currently look at Portuguese cities in a more incisive way, investing in the quality and circularity of urban, landscape, and architectural projects, to renew existing resources and mitigate social inequalities, especially in the housing sector.

The future should be, in this sense, one of "small projects on a grand scale".

# From staging the city to reclaiming the city: changing urban development

**KEYNOTE SPEAKERS:**
**Claire Colombo**, Bartlett School of Planning – Faculty of Built Environment
**CHAIR AND FINAL REPORT:**
**Sandra Marques Pereira**, DINÂMIA'CET - Iscte

In her presentation, entitled *From staging the city to reclaiming the city: changing urban development*, Claire Colomb presented us with an analysis of urban planning policies between the late twentieth century and the first two decades of the twenty-first century in two European cities: Berlin and Barcelona. These two cities illustrate the most relevant urban policies of this period, namely: i) the emergence and decline (following the impact of its side effects and their critique) of so-called 'entrepreneurial urbanism': an urban policy - grounded in the attraction of private investment and the creation of public-private companies capable of accelerating its strategic purposes - oriented by the competitive potential of cities at the global level, presupposing a reinvention of their image in which 'flagship projects', big events and urban marketing play a central role; ii) the several forms of contestation of this type of urbanism, generally grounded in social and grassroots movements (in which "tactical urbanism" with its multiple forms is central), their multiples possibilities of operationalisation (remaining outside the spheres of formal power, but eventually being captured by it; or turning into part of the local government) and consequent opportunities and risks; this discussion is particularly relevant, since this type of alternative urban actions gained a new vigour with the pandemic.

The timeframes of approach of the two cities are sequential. The analysis of Berlin begins in the year of German reunification (1989) and finishes in 2011; two decades divided into two distinct periods: 1989-2001, the golden period of that entrepreneurial urbanism; 2001-2011, the period of its decline, resulting both from the financial crisis following its operationalisation and from the consolidation of criticism to it; during this period the official slogan "poor, but sexy" epitomised the appropriation by dominant actors of strategies, principles and methodologies of urban intervention developed spontaneously by citizens - a certain form of "institutionalisation" of practices of bottom-up place-making.

The presentation of Barcelona deepens the analysis of the decade that followed the 2008 global financial crisis, which in Spain had a remarkable impact, a decade also

shaped by the government of Ada Colau anchored in a platform of various social movements and political parties contesting the so-called "Barcelona model" and the "neo-liberal paradigm".

Colomb characterizes Berlin as having some important particularities. Firstly, its complete urban policy developed in the 1990s has resulted from the need to recreate the new German capital both physically and symbolically following the fall of the Berlin Wall: therefore, it has been a policy of urban renewal that goes beyond the city and is intertwined with the very strategy of redefining the national identity of the new German. In this context, Berlin's urban policy of that period faced 4 essential challenges: 1. the transition to a reunified city; 2. the transition to a post-socialist society, which implied the construction of a land market; 3. the transformation into the new capital of the country; 4. the transition to a post-industrial service economy.

Secondly, it was a territory with a vast number of empty and/or inactive spaces that resulted either from the destructive impact of the Second World War or from the "obsolescence" of various services following the economic and social transformations of that period. This fact is an opportunity for what would be the brand image of the alternative "Berlin" and which is related to its last particularity: its essentially paradoxical character. Although during the 1990s Berlin was the city that best embodied the model of the " flagship projects" (a city-warehouse full of grand works and great investment in urban marketing), that was not what made it especially attractive. What would make it a reference was mainly its alternative informal urbanism that was developed alongside this glorious formal urbanism and after it: the genesis of the "tactical urbanism", later conceptualised by Mike London and Anthony Garcia. It is therefore, according to the author, a fascinating terrain for the study of tensions, contradictions and interdependencies between these two types of urbanism and their corresponding protagonists: the grandiose, formal and top-down from the official power hierarchy; and the informal, spontaneous and bottom-up from social and grassroots movements.

Colomb provided a brief urban framework of the two "Berlins" before reunification, which, although contiguous, embodied antagonistic urban policies. East Berlin embodied socialist urbanism in its multiple dimensions: a) the nationalisation of land and property; b) monumental architecture symbolising the regime; c) large, mass-produced housing estates; d) the absence of urban sprawl; e) the neglect of historic centres; f) large industrial areas.  For its part, West Berlin was an island in the middle of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) - heavily dependent on subsidies from the central GFR government -, which in the 1970s/1980s was the focus of an alternative culture with repercussions on city planning.  In this respect, its greatest legacy was the 1987 International Building Exhibition and its (different) strategies/theories of rehabilitation: the "careful urban renewal" developed in Kreuzberg and the "critical reconstruction", the latter commonly criticised as conservative.

Between 1989 and 2001, an intense debate around the concept of the reunified Berlin, its image and the corresponding urban and architectural forms was developed. After it, the works entered the 1990s. The symbolic charge of this undertaking would manifest itself in the choice of two key localities, privileged areas for the building of the new Berlin: Potsdamer Platz and the new government quarter around the Reichstag. The building sites of these two areas became tourist photo opportunities, something that turned the very construction of the new Berlin into a performance, a spectacle experience for our "consumption".

The decline of that previous urban planning model became evident in the first decade of the 21st century as a result of the criticisms that accompanied its development and of its failure, made clear in some important indicators (economic and demographic growth did not reach hoped-for levels; the city's public debt increased substantially, etc.). As for the criticisms, two appear to be especially relevant: a) the inadequacy of the strategies for the reconstruction of the new Berlin and the adulteration of its memory - here one of the essential debates was on the tearing-down of the Palace of the Republic, built by the GDR, and the reconstruction of the 15th century Berlin Castle demolished in the 1950s after being heavily damaged by WW2 bombing; the former was understood as an obvious whitewashing of the memory of the GDR; b) the latter as a festivalization of urban policy which, according to its critics, failed to address the city's real problems and was notorious for its lack of public participation.

In this period, the city became in fact very attractive to an "alternative community" (namely artists). The spontaneous appropriation of empty spaces (industrial buildings, abandoned infrastructures, etc.) intensified, consolidating *avant la lettre* the "tactical urbanism" (also conceived as "open-source urbanism" or "DIY Urbanism- Do it yourself") that gained momentum throughout the second decade of the 20th century and underwent a resurgence with the pandemic. But the "tactical urbanism" of Berlin rapidly raised two issues: 1. its appropriation by the dominant powers-that-be; 2. the expectations of survival in the long term of spaces occupied in such a transitional, informal way.

The case of Barcelona, being quite different from Berlin, has however points in common: the investment in the model of "flagship projects" and big events in the 1990s, in this case the Olympic Games that were the pretext for a profound transformation of the entire maritime area. The so-called Barcelona Model also raised the issue of urban regeneration with the "waterfront" as its anchor element. This model came after the development in the 1980s of a "gentler" urbanism of so-called "urban acupuncture" ushered in by Josep Accebillo, Oriol Bohigas and Joan Busquets and which focused on the recovery of public space in various areas of the city.

The side effects of the success of the Barcelona model, namely tourist gentrification and unaffordable housing, have been some of the main drivers for the development of

social movements contesting it. In this case, however, the global financial crisis that had a very strong impact across the country - visible in the exponential growth in evictions (largely due to mortgage default) and the increase in unemployment - was another key driver for the explosion of political system contestation that was articulated through several different social movements (15 M Movement, Democracia Real Ya, or the Plataforma de Afectados por La Hipoteca led by Ada Colau, among others).

The increase in austerity measures in the years following 2008, but also the reinforcement in the touristification of the city fuelled these movements and some political parties aligned with their ideology. In 2015, the Barcelona en Comú Platform led by Ada Colau won the elections and a new political cycle marked by a "contesting urbanism" was to begin. The fight against the two key issues to be identified (touristification and access to housing) was the first political platform of Ada Colau's government and it has been maintained. At the same time, the "supermanzanas" project is being developed, heavily influenced by certain key concerns of "tactical urbanism": the reduction of car traffic, walkability and the extended appropriation of public spaces for leisure (as was the case for some city blocks in the Cerdá plan). However, the project has been quite controversial, coming under criticism from some sectors, namely for the lack of public participation and discussion.

In short, the case of Barcelona raises questions regarding the implementation of an urban policy inspired by social movements and public protest, namely the possibility of meeting the most demanding of expectations. On the other hand, it also raises questions on the feasibility of "tactical urbanism", a model that the pandemic has made seem particularly attractive.

**Claire Colomb** is a sociologist (her first degree was in Politics and Sociology) and an urban planner (PhD in Town Planning from University College London, the Bartlett School of Planning/BSPs). She is Professor of Urban Studies and Planning at the Bartlett School of Planning – Faculty of Built Environment, and her main areas of interest are: *urban governance, policies and politics; European spatial planning and European Union policies with a territorial impact; Comparative planning and urban sociology*. She has published several books, the following being of particular note:

1. Dühr, S., Colomb, C., & Nadin, V. (2010). *European spatial planning and territorial cooperation*. London: Routledge;

2. Colomb, C. (2011). *Staging the new Berlin. Place marketing and the politics of urban reinvention post-1989*. London: Routledge;

3. Colomb, C. and Novy J. (ed.) (2016) Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City London: Routledge

# Urban planning and development: from the lectures of keynote speakers Manuel Salgado – The Last 20 Years in Lisbon – and Josep Acebillo – Future Perspectives

**KEYNOTE SPEAKERS:**
**Manuel Salgado,** Western Lisbon Urban Rehabilitation Society
**Josep Acebillo,** Polytechnic University of Catalonia
**CHAIR AND FINAL REPORT:**
**Pedro Pinto,** DINÂMIA'CET - Iscte

Keynote speakers, Manuel Salgado and Josep Acebillo focused on their recent activities and established a parallel between the urban policies and transformations of the last few decades and perspectives of change resulting from a progressively globalised world and the successive crises that have marked the beginning of the 21st century.

Manuel Salgado presented a lecture on the strategic influence of "Grand Projects" in the modernisation of cities and particularly regarding the transformations verified in the city of Lisbon in the last two decades following the grand project that was Expo'98. The keynote speaker feels that Lisbon's recent urban development has no direct correlation to the impact of the Expo'98, and to illustrate this he presented a review of the seminal moments of debate, planning and development of the city since 1974.

The assessment given was from an insider's perspective: covering the adversities, strategies and planning initiatives that have shaped Lisbon over the last 50 years, narrating a history of contingencies, made up of fragments of time and unfinished or unprecedented projects - such as Expo'98 -, in which fragile local autonomy was persistently dependent on central state programmes.

The history of city planning after 1992 (the so-called Strategic Plan) is also the story of a painstaking configuring and implementation of decision-making at a local level

that was almost impossible to achieve, faced with persistent structural weaknesses – financial, fiscal, infrastructural, environmental, and so on – for which, paradoxically, it has depended on central government support and, more recently, on supra-national cooperation and investment.

Josep Acebillo named his lecture *Disruptive Urbanism*, based on his recent book *Disruptive Urbanism: Glocal Urbanity*. The keynote speaker highlighted the obsolescence of modern-industrial models of urban development, which were a response to nineteenth- and twentieth-century forms of development, based on a socio-political, economic, and technological reality that globalization has plunged into crisis.

Thus the global demographic boom, new ecological mantras, socio-political conflict and new patterns of mass-migration emerged on an unheard-of globalised scale and laid waste to the old paradigms, giving way to a single working model which he has baptized *FIRE: Financial; Insurance and Real Estate* and which he characterised as a capitalist socioeconomic condition without translation to the urban context.

The sector is unable to respond to such a scenario, effectively "paralyzed". Its production manifests itself through a succession of ambiguous contradictions, hermetically-sealed in a system of production that irretrievably conditions to a succession of "Urban Aporias", closed upon themselves and regurgitating an eternal present.

**Manuel Salgado** is an architect graduated from the *Escola Superior de Belas Artes de Lisboa*. Between 1972 and 1983 he was director of Urban Planning for a public project architectural firm in Lisbon and in 1984 reestablished the studio Risco - *Projetistas e Consultores de Design* - which he ran until 2007.

In 2006, following his tenure as Visiting Full Professor at IST, he published the *Atlas Urbanístico da Cidade de Lisboa*, in co-authorship with Nuno Lourenço.

Between 2007 and 2019, he was vice-president of the Lisbon City Council and councillor of Urbanism and Strategic Planning.

*Since the beginning of his career as an architect, he has been dedicated to the urban scale and to architecture's capacity to produce and transform cities. Among multiple projects of great impact on the Portuguese architectural panorama, the following interventions in the Lisbon area have been of particular note: the Centro Cultural de Belém* (1992, with Vittorio Gregotti); the *Expo'98* site (1998); *Hospital da Luz* (2007); the urban rehabilitation project of the *Cacém* Center (2007) and the expansion project of the *Lumiar Eixo Central* highway (in progress)..

Over the last decade, his contribution as a political decision-maker of the city's urban policy has placed him at the centre of an unprecedented transformation process in Lisbon's urbanism and public space.

**Josep Acebillo**, is an architect graduated at the *Universidad Politécnica de Cataluña (ETSAB)*. Between 1981 and 1987, he was director of Urban Projects of the *Ayuntamiento de Barcelona*.

Between 1988 and 1994 he directed the *Instituto de Desarrollo Urbano* (IMPUSA), coordinating the design projects and the construction of the main infrastructures for the 1992 Olympic Games.

From 1993 to 2011, he was executive director of the *Agencia Metropolitana de Barcelona Regional*, planning the development of strategic urban projects and infrastructure in the city. In 1998, he was appointed Barcelona's Commissioner for Infrastructure and Urban Planning and in 1999 Head Architect of the city..

From 2003 to 2006, he was the coordinator of *Consejo Asesor de Estrategia Urbana de Barcelona* and in 2004 he founded the *Instituto para el Proyecto Urbano Contemporáneo* (i.CUP), where he coordinated the Universal Forum of Cultures project.

As a consultant for several cities on different continents, he has taught among others at the International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design (ILAUD) in Urbino, Italy; the *Universitat Polytàchnic University of Catalonia* (UPC) and *Universitat Pompeu Fabra* (UPF), both in Barcelona; or, in the USA, at Yale University and HGSD (Harvard)

Since 2001, he has been a professor at the Architecture Academy in Mendrisio (*Università della Svizzera italiana*) and has been working for the last few years in China, thinking Chinese urbanity from Tongji University in Shanghai.

Author of several books on Urbanism, on the idea of Urban Metabolism and the impact of Globalisation on Urbanity, he is preparing a trilogy on the need for a new territorial paradigm. His most recent publication, the book *Glocal Urbanity: Disruptive Urbanism* (Actar, Barcelona, 2021), is the introductory volume to this trilogy.

# Planetary Urbanisation and Grand Urban Projects: Kolkata, Lagos and Mexico City

**KEYNOTE SPEAKERS:**
**Christian Schmid,** Department of Architecture, ETH
**CHAIRS:**
**Álvaro Domingues,** CEAU-FAUP
**Ana Fernandes,** CEAU-FAUP
**FINAL REPORT:**
**Álvaro Domingues,** CEAU-FAUP

Urbanisation has spread on a planetary scale in the last few decades. The boundaries of the urban have exploded to encompass vast territories far beyond the limits of even the largest mega-city regions. New concepts and terms are urgently required that would help us, both analytically and cartographically, to decipher the differentiated and rapidly mutating landscapes of urbanisation that are today springing up across the planet. Planetary Urbanisation associates global capitalism with planetary urbanisation, particularly in the Global South, where most of the planet's urban population lives.

This is the paradox. Until very recently, the problems and themes of reference of urban studies were European and North American, while urbanisation escalated somewhere else, at an unprecedented rate, and on an awe-inspiring scale, unfair. The boundaries of the urban have exploded to encompass vast territories far beyond the limits of even the largest mega-city regions at the planetary level. New concepts and terms are urgently required that would help us, both analytically and cartographically, to decode the differentiated and rapidly mutating landscapes of urbanisation that are today being produced across the planet.

"Bypass Urbanism", as Christian Schmid underlines, *is a process that is establishing a postcolonial urban order based on capital accumulation and social exclusion, which considerably limits access to urban resources for large parts of the population. This research is one result of a broad comparative study of urbanisation processes in eight large metropolitan territories across the world: Tokyo, Singapore, Hong Kong / Shenzhen / Dongguan, Kolkata, Istanbul, Lagos, Paris, Mexico City, and Los Angeles. The main goal of this project is to develop new conceptual categories for better understanding the patterns and pathways of planetary urbanisation.*[1]

1  See: Lindsay Sawyer, Christian Schmid, Monika Streule, Pascal Kallenberger (2021): *Bypass urbanism: Re-ordering center-periphery relations in Kolkata, Lagos and Mexico City*, Environment and Planning A, Economy and Space (early view).

According to this paper, understanding bypass urbanism implies investigating *multidimensional processes that includes material-geographical bypassing, the bypassing of regulatory frameworks, and socio-economic bypassing in everyday life.* The result is the *creation of exclusive and excluding spaces that enable middle and upper-class lifestyles, at the same time leading to the peripheralization of extant urban areas that are bypassed and neglected. The massive scale of bypass urbanism (…) represents a new quality of urban development resulting not in isolated urban enclaves or archipelagos, but in the fundamental restructuring of the extended urban region with far reaching and incalculable repercussions.*

This presentation gave examples of large-scale urban transformations at the peripheries of Kolkata, Lagos, and Mexico City, which have massive social impacts and are leading to a fundamental re-ordering of entire extended urban regions.

Within the scope of research on planetary urbanism, we can also highlight the following topics:

- that bypass urbanism allows us to see how the pursuit of global capital interests reformulates the basic structure of large conurbations based on the centre / periphery relationship. Instead of the simple dichotomy between the great flagship projects located in inner-city areas and the peripheral expansion of urbanisation of poverty, some sectors of the geographical periphery are transformed into an exceptional and exclusive space with privileged relationships to existing centralities. The production of huge exclusive territories with privileged access to efficient infrastructures and various urban functions and amenities is intensifying existing inequalities, strengthening socio-spatial segregation and reconfiguring centre-periphery constellations.

- In the antipodes of informality as it is conventionally understood in the context of urbanisation of poverty, the various private and public stakeholders go beyond common urban regulation and ordinary land regulations. Special regimes, the privatisation of public goods, land-grabbing and a whole panoply of other factors dominate a state of exception where the power of capital and the state are interwoven in favour of a single objective: attracting investment, creation of special tax zones, of luxury residential enclaves and the highly-performing infrastructural endowments that ensure global communications. As C. Schmid writes about Mexico City, *private interests were incorporated into the planning process through the creation of parastatal agencies and semi-private management bodies. Private actors, including transnational corporations and investors, played a direct role in the management of public funds for urban development, and at the same time developed their own major projects in the area.*

- This kind of situation clarifies some background trends of extended urbanisation:

intensely agglomerated and dense urbanisation (spatial clustering of population, employment, means of production, infrastructure and investment) are profoundly related to extended urbanisation; "the suburbs" is an increasingly inaccurate and contradictory category; the limits or the "outskirts" of the urban are pseudo-concepts urgently in need of re-thinking.

Finally, the Grand Projects that are recognisable within the context of neoliberal urban politics in Europe - the so-called urban renewal operations - have become in the Global South, one of the faces of planetary urbanisation as an expression of the globalisation of disorganised capitalism: creating exceptional conditions to anchor the logistics of capital and the commodification of urban production, and at the same time, to continue to take advantage of the social and environmental dumping that is endemic in so-called developing countries.

**Prof. Christian Schmid** is a geographer und urban researcher. He is Professor of Sociology at the Department of Architecture, ETH (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology) Zürich. In 2003, he received his Ph.D. from the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena: "City, space and society – Henri Lefebvre and the theory of the production of space" (2005).

Since 2008, Prof. Christian Schmid has worked together with Neil Brenner (Harvard, Urban Lab.) on the development of a new theory of *planetary urbanization* that aims to understand the "urban"/urbanicity as an increasingly worldwide condition in which social, economic, and political relationships are enmeshed. The advent of planetary urbanisation means that even spaces that lie well beyond the traditional urban regions have become integral parts of the worldwide urban fabric. In this sense, we highlight one important book on this topic that he has written – *Implosions/Explosions, Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization, 2013*.

Between 2011 and 2019, Prof. Schmid was the leader of the research module *Urban Sociology: Planetary Urbanization in Comparative Perspective, Future Cities Laboratory* (FCL), Singapore ETH Centre for Global Environmental Sustainability (SEC)., having published several papers and a book in preparation. He is a founding member of the *International Network for Urban Research and Action (INURA)*. Together with architects Roger Diener, Jacques Herzog, Marcel Meili and Pierre de Meuron, Prof. Schmid was the scientific director of the project Switzerland: An Urban Portrait at the ETH Studio Basel, a pioneering analysis of extended urbanisation in Europe. A book with the same title was published in 2006.

# Frank Urbanism: Gehry Takes up Cities

**KEYNOTE SPEAKERS:**
**Jean-Louis Cohen,** New York University's Institute of Fine Arts and Collège de France
**CHAIR AND FINAL REPORT:**
**Marta Sequeira,** CIAUD, Research Centre for Architecture, Urbanism and Design, Lisbon School of Architecture, Universidade de Lisboa and DINÂMIA'CET-IUL

It is commonly assumed that Frank Gehry's architecture is objectual and does not establish a close relationship with the site. This conviction is nourished as much by its innovative and disruptive nature, as by the way it has been presented in the specialised press. However, it is certain that Gehry himself regrets: "When people photograph my works, they usually crop the context"[2]. Through unprecedented research, based on in-depth archival analysis but also interaction with the author himself, Jean-Louis Cohen reveals just the opposite.

As Cohen demonstrates, Gehry is an urban being. He spent his childhood and adolescence in Toronto and later in Los Angeles, while other cities, such as Chicago and New York, played an important role in the development of his thinking on large metropolises. Although the months spent in the urbanism programme at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design in the 1950s were important for his training as an urban planner - not so much for the programme itself, but mainly for the discoveries made at that time – it was his collaboration with Victor Gruen between 1954 and 1960 that played a determining role in his understanding of this discipline. The discovery of works such as *Encyclopedie de l'Urbanisme*[3] by Robert Auzelle and Ivan Jankovic, or *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*[4] by Camilo Sitte – to give just two examples – also contributed greatly to his understanding of urbanism. The urbanistic culture he accumulated over the years eventually had a strong impact on his work.

The truth is that despite the negligeable number of planning assignments throughout his career, Gehry's investment in defining urban strategies for his architectural projects is remarkable. The most important buildings designed by this author in the 1990s are, moreover, not just "urban pieces", fundamental to the

2  GEHRY, Frank, "Conversation with Kurt W. Forster", in *Frank Gehry, Kurt W. Forster: Art and Architecture in Discussion*. Ostfildern-Ruit: Cantz, 1999, p. 88.

3  Robert Auzelle and Ivan Jankovic, *Encyclopedie de l'Urbanisme*. Paris: Vincent & Freal, 1952-68.

4  Camillo Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*. New York: Random House, 1965. The first American translation was published in 1945, fifty-six years after the original German edition.

 revitalisation of cities - as they are often understood - but forms that interact with the most complex of urban processes.

Throughout the lecture, and with a captive audience, Jean-Louis Cohen clearly demonstrated that although Gehry's projects are photogenic, they never begin as an image. And that even if Gehry's relationship with the urban context does not correspond to a subordination to pre-existing scales and textures, the fact is that his experimental attitude and the vital pulse of his buildings in the urban context are not fortuitous, but reveal a strong urban sensibility and culture, nurtured throughout his already extensive career.

Extricating himself from a tangle of preconceived notions about the work of one of the most relevant architects of the turn of this century, Jean-Louis Cohen finally proves to us how the urban dimension has been a constant in Gehry's creative process since the 1970s, and that his works from then on not only do not give rise to a schism with their surroundings but can only be fully understood precisely from the context in which they emerge.

Source: GPSC

# ROUNDTABLE
# Grand Projects in perspective: experiences from Portugal, Italy and Brazil

**KEYNOTE SPEAKERS:**
**Ana Brandão**, DINÂMIA'CET-IUL
**Jorge Bassani**, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo
**Camila D'Ottaviano**, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo
**Eduardo Nobre**, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo
**Stefano Di Vita**, Politecnico di Milano
**CHAIR:**
**Paulo Tormenta Pinto**, DINÂMIA'CET-IUL
**FINAL REPORT:**
**Ana Brandão**, DINÂMIA'CET-IUL

In the late 20th century, the interest in mega-events and large-scale urban projects as an urban development strategy to improve the reputation of our cities and promote economic growth was widespread. Nowadays, despite increasing criticism on these events' sustainability and relevance, the model is still pursued in different cities around the world.

How does the experience of developing a grand project shape a city›s urban change in different geographies and temporal contexts? What lessons can be drawn for the future? Three cities – Lisbon, Milan, and Rio de Janeiro – frame different attitudes towards the development and the outcomes of mega-events.

The aim of this roundtable was to compare and contrast the results of the research project "Grand Projects – Architectural and Urbanistic Operations after the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition", with comparable investigations based on different cities.

Framed within the urban culture of the late 20th century, the organisation of the 1998 World Expo, EXPO›98 in Lisbon, was an opportunity to launch a large-scale urban operation on the east side of the city, with the development of a new multifunctional post-event district. The urban project introduced several innovations becoming an exemplary showcase for urban regeneration in Portugal.

Ana Brandão, an investigative researcher on the Grand Projects, presented a summary of the findings on the main changes in the physical and social production of space after the mega-event. The study took a threefold approach— national, regional and local — focusing on impacts all around Portugal, the Lisbon metropolis in general and more specifically in the city of Lisbon itself. At a national level, an urban regeneration and environmental recovery initiative was launched encompassing almost 40 cities, while in and around Lisbon, efforts on the renovation of waterfront areas, including some brownfield redevelopments, gathered most of the attention and investment.

Overall, the experience of EXPO›98 acted as a strong force for change, and in several cases, as an example with repercussions in policies, strategies, plans and projects of urban regeneration. Its legacy includes the dissemination of exceptional urban planning tools and practices of high quality and innovation; new know-how and leading protagonists; a renewed interest in public space and environment recovery initiatives; an increase in leisure and commercial spaces and a greater emphasis on the image and aesthetic features of our cities.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the Milan Expo 2015 laid bare new challenges and conjunctures affecting the still persistent 20th-century urban culture of large-scale urban projects. The event, scheduled before the outbreak of the 2008-2010 financial and economic crisis, underwent significant changes and adjustments in its wake, as well as in the post-event programme. It resulted in the repositioning of Milan's standing on the world map, with an increase in tourism, and other noteworthy immaterial legacies such as partnerships and networking synergies, including the 2026 Winter Olympics event in between the cities of Milan and Cortina, now in preparation.

This case was discussed by Stefano Di Vita, a researcher into mega-event legacies, trends and challenges, with a reflection on the resulting changes and new patterns on urban space production. The Milan case calls into question previous approaches to mega-events supported by large-scale urban projects, as the original plan was readjusted in response to the crisis, to make the most of local resources. It included, in addition to the Expo site itself outside the city centre, a myriad of more minor side projects and temporary uses, to incentivise urban change Gand spread the influence of the event over a wide territorial area to embrace the metropolitan and regional scale of the city.

The event was considered a success — in terms of visitors, visibility, leverage of a new wave of public programmes and projects — but the lack of vision and planning is now woefully evident, as the post-event transformation of the Expo site has not been achieved, highlighting the uncertainties and poor definition of the large-scale project. Also, there is a problem of growing disparities in terms of investment regarding other areas of the city, as well as the country, that needs to be addressed in these types of projects.

The 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympic Games were part of a series of events founded on a willingness to reposition and rebrand the country. Recalling late 20th century practices, the Rio Games set out a model for urban development based on the Barcelona template: sports facilities were distributed across the city, a new Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system was drawn up, the Olympic Park and Village were located far from the centre and included the urban regeneration of the old port area, the Porto Maravilha project. Jorge Bassani, together with Camila D'Ottaviano and Eduardo Nobre, has been studying the impact of large-scale urban projects in Brazil and presented their views on the Rio Olympics' urban impact and the case of Porto Maravilha.

Porto Maravilha was envisaged as a major urban project aiming to rehabilitate the area and attract new residents. Close to the historic centre, the area included existing urban infrastructures and important heritage monuments and buildings. Flexible land-use regulations were implemented to attract investment in development, mainly in sizeable plots for high rise buildings. The project was heavily reliant on its market financial return and introduced drastic socio-economic changes, gentrification and exacerbated a functional disconnection from the city centre.

While there is a large body of existing literature on social exclusion implications of the real estate model, researchers point out how the persistence of late 20th century models - today regarded as completely obsolete - were an important part of the problem in Rio's case. Overall, the Rio Olympic Games consolidated a shift in the global perception of mega-events, with a groundswell of criticism questioning

the concentration of public investment into one-of-a-kind projects, their overall sustainability, and ignorance of the local population and their ways of life, exacerbating socio-economic inequalities.

The unfolding debate was centred on the impacts of these urban policies and projects and their contemporary relevance.

The starting point was the resurgence in the importance of cities and urban quality within the urban culture of the late 20th century. Further highlighted was the need to address what areas and features need to be included and excluded in these large-scale urban projects, stressing the current challenge to take care of the "in-between areas", as is evident in the Milan case, in order to integrate different areas of the city and mitigate border "wall building", disparities and exclusions.

A reflection on how some of these strategies and tools, developed for the event, were then disseminated and used in cities in Portugal without major forthcoming mega-events, to leverage urban regeneration and improve their attractiveness, stressed the difference in outcomes for specific localities, planning contexts and resources. Also, the debate on how cities select the areas to regenerate and the ways used to enact those changes, was considered as relevant today, as it was at the time of the projects discussed here.

The impact and expectations around the Rio event brought to the discussion the specific political and economic context of Brazil at the time, and the government strategy to boost developers' and contractors' business. The mishandling of several of the investments that took place and criticism of others resulted in a negative perception both from professionals and communities alike, dooming large-scale events and projects in the eyes of the public.

Finally, discussing these investments and events' sustainability, contemporary social and economic contexts, demands strategies to prevent past mistakes from happening again in order to ensure positive and integrated outcomes.

# SIDE EVENT: Lisbon Waterfront Buildings and Public Spaces

**Lisbon and the river Lab | Team**
**Coordination:** Teresa Madeira da Silva.
**Advisors:** Teresa Madeira da Silva, Caterina Di Giovanni, Pedro Marques Alves.
**Students:** Bernardo Custódio, Carolina Alves da Silva, David Carvalho, Duarte Almeida, Francisco Quaresma, Joana Marques, Júlia Shtefura, Luís Filipe Ribeiro, Mariana Rosa, Milton Perry, Nuno Almeida, Nuno Bernardes, Rodrigo Oliveira, Vilma Nico Ferreira. Integrated Architecture Master at Iscte – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa. Final Architecture Project 2020-2021. Department of Architecture and Urbanism, CRIA-Iscte, DINAMIA'CET-Iscte.

Being the presence of Tejo, a mark of Lisbon since its foundation, the relation between the river and the city provides a rich field of research in the areas of architecture and urbanism.  In the scope of the "Lisbon and the River Laboratory" of Architecture Final Project 2020/2021, we proposed to investigate examples of contemporary portuguese architecture existing in the waterfront, whose particularity was to be transforming elements of the city of Lisbon.

The realization of a Lisbon waterfront Atlas seemed to us a task that could open new perspectives and diverse readings of the city. It was our intention, from the beginning, to build a collective research work, through research and debate of ideas and carried out as a team between students and teachers. The final result would constitute a particular object about this area of the city, that would open an unlimited field of questions, approaches and themes. With the creation of an Atlas, we want to express the richness of the site in order to show, from different reconfigurations, the recent interventions in the riverside area and its relationship with the river and its past. When we started the work, we could not imagine what was ahead of us. As the work progresses, we realize that making an Atlas is like "carrying a world on ones' back" (Didi-Huberman, G. 2010).

What we present here is only the beginning...

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Charles Correa Associates and
João Nunes/PROAP
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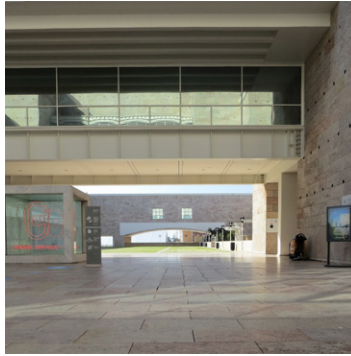


2. **CCB - Belém Cultural Center**
Vittorio Gregotti and Manuel
Salgado/Risco S.A.
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Adapted by Nuno Almeida, 2020



3. **National Coach Museum**
Paulo Mendes da Rocha + Mmbb +
Bak Gordon Arquitectos
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10. **Cruise Terminal**
João Luís Carrilho da Graça and
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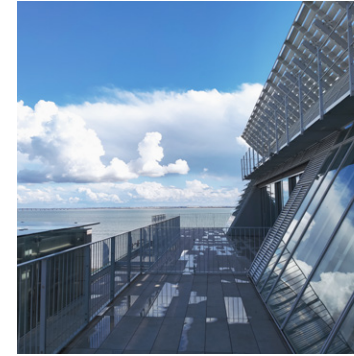


11. **Prata Riverside Village**
Renzo Piano Building Workshop
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12. **Oriente Riverfront Park**
FC Landscape Architecture
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4. **MAAT. Museum of Art,
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Amanda Levete
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Aires Mateus e Associados
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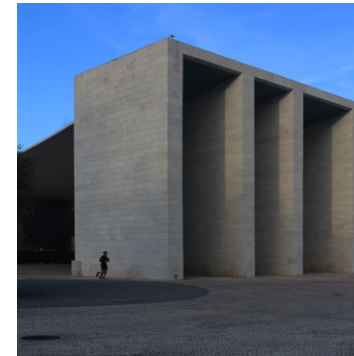


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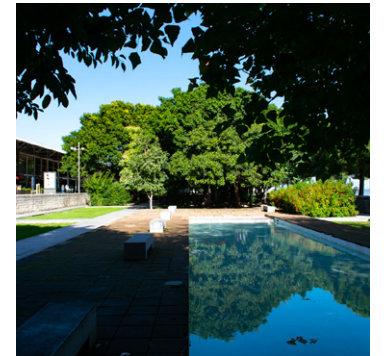


15. **Garcia da Horta Garden**
João Gomes da Siva/Global
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7. **Ribeira das Naus**
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Lisbon Waterfront Buildings And Public Spaces

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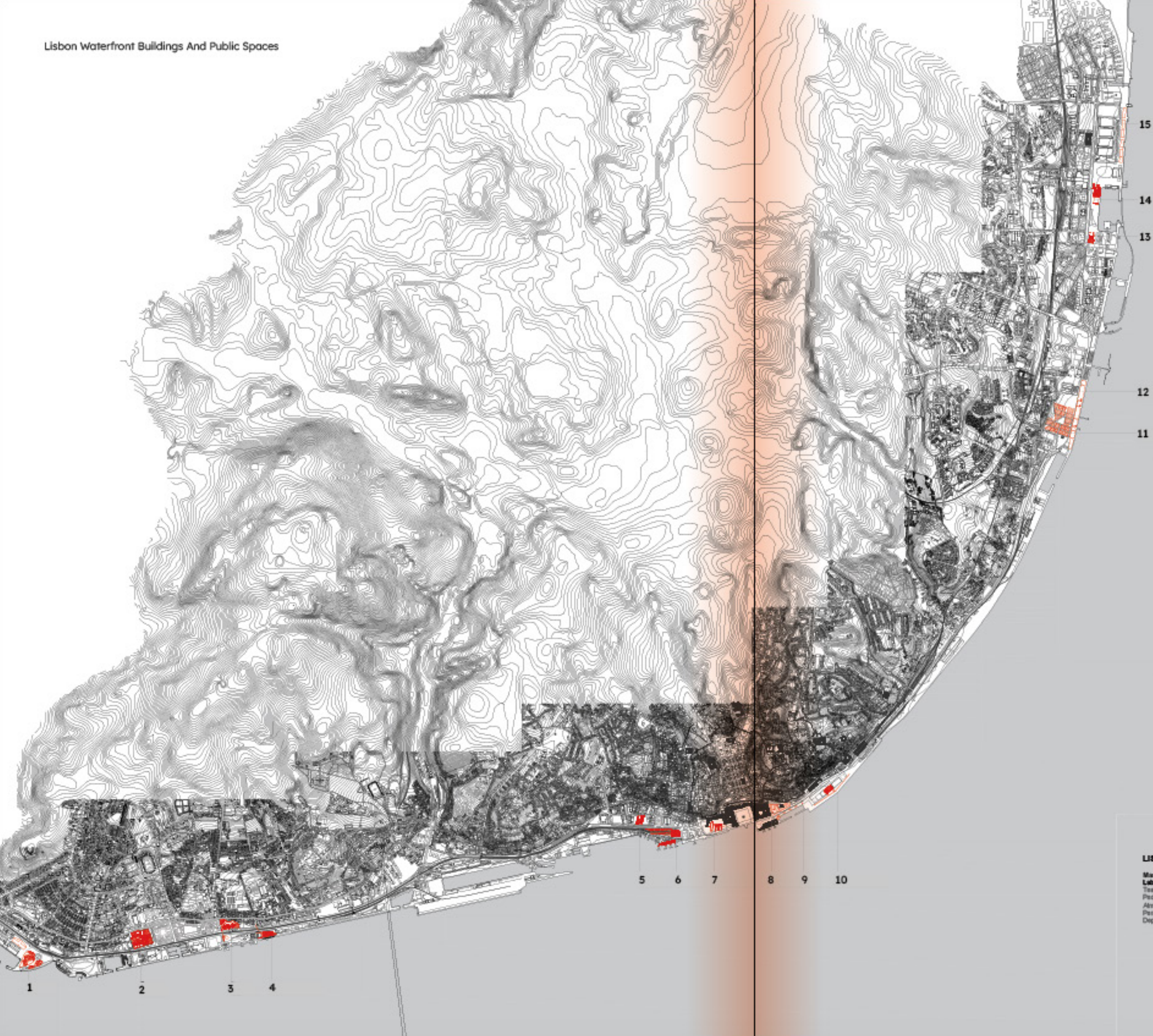
**LISBON WATERFRONT BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC SPACES**

Master's in Architecture, Iscte, University Institute of Lisbon. Final Architecture Project 2020-2021.
**Laboratory Lisbon and the River.**
Team: Coordination: Teresa Madeira da Silva. Advisors: Teresa Madeira da Silva, Caterina Di Giovanni,
Pedro Marques Alves. Students: Bernardo Custódio, Carolina Alves da Silva, David Carvalho, Duarte
Almeida, Francisco Quaresma, Joana Marques, Júlia Shterfura, Luís Filipe Ribeiro, Mariana Rosa, Milton
Perry, Nuno Almeida, Nuno Bernardes, Rodrigo Oliveira, Vilma Nico Ferreira.
Department of Architecture and Urbanism, CRIA-Iscte, DINAMIA'CET-Iscte.

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# Track 1: Mega-Events And Mega-Projects: Trends And Demands

STEFANO DI VITA (CHAIR) | DASTU, Politecnico di Milano
ANDREA ROLANDO | DASTU, Politecnico di Milano
DAVIDE PONZINI | DASTU, Politecnico di Milano
EVA KASSENS-NOOR | SPDC, Michigan State University
JAVIER MONCLUS | DA, Universidad de Zaragoza
MARK WILSON | SPDC, Michigan State University

Since the 1990s, according to phenomena of de-industrialization in Western cities and countries, and in wider context of globalization and planetary urbanization, mega-events (such as the Olympics, Expo, Football World Cup, as well as the European Capital of Culture) have been intended more and more  as strategies for urban and regional change: e.g., boostering the redevelopment of large brownfields, the development of new cultural and sport venues, the construction of new infrastructures, the growth of real estate and tourism sectors, as well as the international repositioning of host cities and regions. Nevertheless, since the 2007-2008 global crisis, the negative impact and effects of mega-events have become more clear, due to the raising and unsustainable economic cost and social disparities determined by the development of event venues and infrastructures, as well as to the difficulties in reusing specific venues and infrastructures in the post-event.

Every event edition and related projects can be considered as a variable mixture of positive and negative conditions and solutions, where both successes and problems coexist and can be directly or indirectly identified, with multiple intensities, depending on the various methodologies and typologies of the analyses. In every event edition and related projects, contradictory impact and effects can be recognized, while differing in terms of specific places (from one venue and/or infrastructure to the other), territorial scales (from local to urban and regional) and time periods (before, during, and after the mega-events, in short-terms or long-terms).

Against the backdrop of a growing dissatisfaction with mega-events, this special session aims to discuss about the necessary advancements in the analysis and assessment of:

- the multi-faceted impact of mega-events (cultural, economic, environmental, political, social, spatial);
- the contradictions of mega-events between conflicts and connections

(physical and intangible) with host cities and regions at multiple scales;
- the competitive nexuses with smaller and ordinary urban regeneration processes, policies, plans, and projects, which are often excluded by mega-events.

The analysis and assessment of these impact, contradictions and competitive nexuses can contribute to the innovation of mega-events in relation to current, global challenges of climate change, economic downturn, social justice, as well as health crisis. Specifically, in time of Covid-19 pandemic these are crucial issues, which will be necessary to monitor in the coming years, considering policies, strategies and projects at the multiple levels of:
- the local case studies of host cities and regions;
- the host countries where case studies are placed;
- the international organizations of mega-events as the International Olympic Committee, the Bureau International des Expositions, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association, or the Commission of the European Culture.

In this changing context and in the prospects of extraordinary public funds for the recovery, it is hard to predict future trends and dynamics. However, the suspension of international tourism flows, the unexpected social distancing and the effects on traditional sociality, as well as the growth of availability and use digital technology have "suddenly added" to already ongoing phenomena and demands of economic and ecological transitions, thus emphasizing existing criticalities and requests for changing the typical mega-event development model.

This is a crucial moment to reflect on the real sustainability of policies, strategies and projects connected to mega-events; the temporality and flexibility of spatial policy, planning and design solutions, as well of places and their uses (before, during and after mega-events); the coordination between extraordinary and ordinary planning and design phases; the integration between territorial scales and physical spaces.

The role of the research in spatial policy, planning and design is not only monitoring, but also exploring and anticipating these issues. Accordingly, this conference track aims to contribute to this debate, articulating papers in the following sections:
- the challenges of mega-event planning in a phase of transition, on the background of ongoing trends, critical issues, and policy framework;
- the changing role of mega-events in evolving trajectories and strategies of spatial development for the host cities and regions;
- a focus on the Brazilian context and case studies, where multi-faceted contrasts and contradictions of mega-events and their legacies have amplified.

# 45 Shared economy as a vector for gentrification

## Airbnb case study in the Vidigal slum during the Great Events in the city of Rio de Janeiro

RODRIGO NUNES LIMOEIRO DE SOUSA
Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra

DANIEL NEVES DA COSTA
Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra

**ABSTRACT**

Economies and cities are constantly changing. When observing that such changes have as main catalyst the advancement of technology, the approach taken aims to elucidate the role played by the emergence and use of shared economy platforms in the Vidigal slum, in particular Airbnb, and thus, verify its relationship with the gentrification process, supported by a scenario of holding mega events held in the city of Rio de Janeiro between the years 2014 to 2016. For its realization, a mixed research strategy was used, composed of quantitative and qualitative aspects, a case study in the Vidigal slum, being supported by a triangulation between document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. In addition to this, the presence of four main new concepts about the term gentrification was verified because of the use of the Airbnb platform in the slum, which are commercial gentrification; gentrification of public spaces; tourist gentrification; and finally, peripheral gentrification. However, it appears that the economic impact of Airbnb in the Vidigal slum was momentary, where at first there coexisted a necessity to supply the demand of the hotel market with the possibility of generating extra income for its residents. However, after the realization of mega events, the demand in the hotel sector decreased as well as the use of this platform. Added to this, there was a reduction in public and private investments just like the return of illegal activities in the slum, which made it difficult to continue generating extra income.

**Keywords:** Gentrification; shared economy; slum; technology.

## 1. Introduction

According to the most recent information released by the housing sharing company - Airbnb - and condensed by Riveira (2019), Brazil emerges in the thirteenth position regarding the reception of guests, where this year 2018 received approximately 3.7 million users of this platform, thus showing an increase of 600% when compared to the year 2016, when the Olympic Games were held in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

When this impact is observed directly in the research locus - Vidigal slum, located in the south zone of the city of Rio de Janeiro - attention is paid to a socioeconomic study carried out by Bonamichi (2019) where his objective was to verify the impacts caused by the realization of mega events, being the World Cup and the Olympic Games that took place in 2014 and 2016, respectively. Thus, it was found that there was a 60% increase in the number of commercial establishments between April 2012 and November 2015, and in line with this it was noticed that the number of hostels operating in Vidigal increased by 700% compared to with the years before 2012 and after 2017.

When looking at the context of holding the mega-events - World Cup and Olympic Games - the city of Rio de Janeiro witnessed a troubled period about the economic, political, and social scenarios in a way in which its reflections were observed in the neediest areas of the city. city, especially in the slums. Although there are studies on the themes of gentrification and others on shared economy, there is still little literature where the two themes are interconnected and witnessed in slums.

Thus, this article intends to debate the original results of the dissertation presented in the Master of Sociology, since this, through the analysis of the case in the Vidigal slum, sought to analyze whether Airbnb as a shared economy platform could be considered as an agent gentrifier in the community in question. In addition to this, the article is divided into four sections, where the theoretical-conceptual basis will initially be exposed, consisting of a literature review and details of the methodology used, followed by the interpretation of the results, and will be finalized with the final considerations and notes.

## 2. Theoretical framework

At the end of the 19th century, among other assumptions that this modernity would bring - federalism and liberalization of the economy - the problem of urbanization, which was the object of implementation in the main Brazilian capitals, in which the city of Rio de Janeiro stood out and was the first to witness this phenomenon, since the city would become the capital of Brazil. There is then a latent need in the city to make a break between its colonial past marked mainly by issues related to slavery to become a modern and cosmopolitan "capitalist" city, like the European cities, where it started to have the nickname "Paris Tropical" (Needell, 1993).

Characterized by being an urban reform of local character, but with investments and proposals in national scales, the reform carried out during the presidency of Rodrigues Alves and Pereira Passos in the city of Rio de Janeiro (1903-1906) had as main objective the transformation of the Rio de Janeiro in a capital like Paris. The formulation of the city's Construction Code, in 1937, identified the slum in the city's official geography, however it classified it as an "urban aberration" ("anti-hygienic") and suggested its complete elimination. Between the 1940s and the 1970s, slums - what were once characterized as a social problem - now have a political connotation and have become an electoral field with their residents being an electoral piece. Alongside this, the slum assumes importance in the political and cultural scene of the time, thus acquiring contours and characteristics of an environment where possible tensions and debates are generated.

During the 1980s, clientelist social policies and a denial of the practice of removals were present in Rio de Janeiro. The clientelist practice adopted by the Leonel Brizola government also represented a new vision for slums. Brizola developed projects aimed at implementing infrastructure (water treatment, basic sanitation, collective garbage collection), since the slums of Rio de Janeiro until this period did not have or when they did have infrastructure, it is very precarious. Even in the 1980s, the slum started to be represented and treated differently by governments, and it was only in 1995, after the Favela Bairro program, that the official treatment of the slums was observed in an official document of the republic, that is, without stereotyping it as it has always occurred throughout history.

Still about slums, the year 2020 was marked by the accelerated spread of Sars-Cov-2, where it would bring to light problems in various sectors of society, and especially in relation to urban issues, since according to the article published in the Charter Capital by geographer Cesar Simoni, he highlights that "if the virus had a DNA, it would bring the gene of urban society". Relativizing this problem for the city of Rio de Janeiro, the scenario is, nonetheless. In mid-March 2020, through a Government Decree, the city was quarantined even when the number of confirmed cases was lower than in other countries. However, Brazil quickly became the epicenter of the disease in South America, and as an explanatory factor, the encounter of the virus with the slum stands out.

Among the various containment measures related to the spread of COVID 19, social detachment stands out, but in the Brazilian case (in particular, in the slums) it does not seem to be easy to implement if we consider the housing issues that surround this space urban areas, such as the lack of ventilation Rio between houses, poor garbage collection and lack of basic sanitation. In addition to these points, it is possible to observe the presence of three other main factors for the increase of contagion of COVID 19 in the slums, which are the underreporting of cases

(caused mainly by the lack of tests and the problem of informality in relation to death records. in other neighborhoods); use of alternative transport as a means of commuting within the community (without social distance and with little hygiene); and, finally, intense economic activity, where it is likely to create agglomerations.

In a post-crisis scenario, it is common for people and companies to reinvent themselves, either with the creation of new products or with changes in their status quo. From that thought, new companies emerged and became a reference in this new type of economic organization, also known as shared economy. It should be noted that motivation, both on the part of the users and on the side of those who are offering some good or service, does not have as its focus only economic purposes but also provides the possibility of having contact with new people from different places and cultures. At this point, the importance of new technologies is highlighted - in particular, the internet to make this increase in scale possible, given that in the past, trade took place through closer links in villages and towns.

According to Chase (2015) private cars end up standing in garages most of the time (about 95%), that is, the author states that with this idle time that same car could be shared with other people, without thus having the need to pay all costs (maintenance, insurance, and taxes). Gansky (2010), characterizes the phenomenon of the shared economy as being a socioeconomic system based around the shared use of resources, both human and physical, where production, distribution which permeates from the field of creation to the shared consumption of goods and services by people and organizations. According to Botsman and Rogers (2011) this can be defined through commercial practices that facilitate access to goods and services, whether the purchase of a product or monetary exchange between the buyer and seller can occur. Such mechanisms are formed by transactions such as sharing, loan, rental, donation, exchanges, and exchanges (Botsman; Rogers, Idem).

In view of the definitions described above about the concept of shared economy, in this work the description of the phenomenon according to Botsman and Rogers (Idem) will be used as a parameter for analysis of the study, which consists, in a first moment, the replacement of the classic view of the economy - characterized by capital accumulation - by a market where the variable in question is access to goods. Finally, the authors highlight the ease of access to goods and services, given that the role of the intermediary does not exist, that is, negotiations are made directly between the buyer and seller. It is worth noting that in this same market where buyers and sellers are evaluated and ranked through notes and comments, there is a culture of fear of being deleted, that is, once these users have a low rating, they can stop participating of the platform - which in many countries already takes as a primary form of income, Brazil being one of these. In addition, as the sharing economy increases its presence in cities, it takes a change in local economic and housing issues.

The aspects surrounding gentrification - a term translated from English gentrification - permeate several fields of study as well as their consequences. The first denomination of the meaning of this process was provided by the British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964, who defined it as a mechanism responsible for describing, naming and carrying out an analysis of the changes in working class neighborhoods in London, which over time have passed to attract curiosity on the part of higher classes (due to its urban aspects and lower prices than other areas of the English capital) thus becoming a reference in the understanding of urban and social changes in metropolitan regions during the 1970s .

According to an economist-oriented approach, Neil Smith develops the rent gap theory (1979) in which he seeks to describe the gentrification process by means of a possible fluctuation in the potential rental value of a property and its actual practiced value. This theory allows us to analyze how the actors in the land and real estate markets get involved in this economic movement, with the intention of leveraging their profits through new residents with greater purchasing power, which, therefore, will increase the rent charged to these new residents.

In the 1980s, another line of thought driven by authors like David Ley, refers to the definition of gentrification based on a result of the significant changes that occurred in large cities with the decline of the industrial economic model, mainly from the 1970s aligned with the significant increase in the presence of multinational companies in certain cities (Sassen, 2001). According to Ley (1980), gentrification can be understood as a change in the perspective of a new spatial expression with direction for a considerable social change, which would respond to the logic of demand, that is, it would come from the cultural dynamics of capitalism, being characterized by individual choice, culture, and consumption.

More recent studies show new ways of problematizing the concept of gentrification through case studies and more specific situations. Alongside this, one of the ways of understanding the term gentrification is to define it as being a gentrification of public spaces, where it is possible to verify a kind of social filter, mostly carried out by the State, that is, usually in this type of gentrification it verifies there is a close relationship between public and private interests (Zukin, 1995). Another common form verified as being a type of this phenomenon is the commercial gentrification verified in the change in the offer of services according to the new regulars of the place, normally with a greater purchasing power, that is, the local merchants adapt their businesses to attend this new audience (Van Criekingen & Fleury, 2006).

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It is also possible to highlight another form of this phenomenon, widely observed in large cities, known as tourist gentrification, which is a dynamism of tourism in certain parts of the city with the aim of stimulating urban restructuring projects (Gotham, 2005). This form is easily seen in cities where there is a significant social disparity, such as Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, where there is a demand for tourism in the slums, which in turn ends up providing a local economy. When verifying experiments in neoliberal urbanization in the slums, and their forms of seizure in these territories, both by the real estate market and by local elites, it is called peripheral gentrification (Novaes, 2018).

## 3. Methodology

To interconnect the theoretical framework with the results observed in the research locus, the methodological pillar used is based on a mixed, quantitative, and qualitative research strategy, through a case study and supported by a triangulation between documentary analysis (data statistics), semi-structured interviews and participant observation (Bryman, 2001).

According to Vergara (2007), a research can be characterized according to its systematics, that is, regarding means and ends. Regarding the ends, this takes on an explanatory perspective, since the work is concerned with observing determining factors for the construction of the scenario, where it will have as main objective to turn studied actions - shared economy and gentrification - into easily understandable data, with to justify a possible relationship with the case studied. Regarding the means, it is characterized as a field research.

In relation to field research, interviews were carried out using a semi-structured script - which in turn gives both the interviewer and the interviewee greater freedom in responses - directed at residents and people who have a direct relationship with the Vidigal slum. Within the case study used to develop the present work, a participant observation was made (Thiollent, 1985), that is, it was actively involved in the daily life of the studied community, and from this research technique, it was able to complementary data can be extracted in addition to the interviews. Some aspects were considered when choosing the case itself, such as security in the research territory, since not all Rio slums are pacified (presence of the Pacifying Police Unit), access (urban mobility) and existing literature on previous studies.

## 4. Results

In addition to the new services and businesses created in this period, a change in the stereotype of the regulars in the Vidigal slum was observed during the interviews, since it was not common for people "outside" the slum to have establishments located inside a community. However, there was a significant change in the public that was circulating in Vidigal, as highlighted in the following excerpt: "I saw change, I saw people who live in Garcia D'Avila (on the beach) go for a caipirinha with me up there and stay up there, walk through the alleys". The idea exposed here supports the presence of a cultural dynamic because of the presence of capitalism, as described by Ley (1980). In this way, it is possible to affirm that the presence of the phenomenon known as "commercial gentrification" (Van Criekingen and Fleury, 2006) in fact occurred, where at first it was characterized by the opening of new commercial establishments, mainly related to gastronomy and accommodation, for enjoy the arrival of mega events.

The entry of the UPP into the Vidigal slum (and other Rio slums) was only to ensure that the city of Rio de Janeiro was one of the host cities of the World Cup (2014), host of the Olympic Games (2016), as well as ensuring the security of this event. According to Zukin (1995) in this type of gentrification, public and private power are observed, and this is exactly what happened in the city of Rio de Janeiro, since in 2010 one of the main financiers of the UPP's project was the businessman Eike Batista in an amount of R$ 20 million in 2010 and that would remain until 2014, according to Bianchi (2017). However, these donations ceased in 2013 and since then investment in these peacekeeping police units has been decreasing year after year, as noted in this excerpt: "after the big events ended, the UPP greatly reduced its workforce and the traffic only strengthened and the shootings started, the violence started".

Until mid-2014, visiting or even staying inside a slum was not something common, and at that time the city of Rio de Janeiro saw an increase caused by two main reasons, where the first one was derived from the high cost of daily rates in hotels located in well-known neighborhoods, which in turn "drove" new visitors to look elsewhere. As a result, many tourists chose to stay in places close to Rio's beaches, Vidigal being one of the most chosen destinations, and in this way the residents had to adapt and "started to create tourism agencies, open hostels, improve restaurants, train guides local... currently has several trained guides as tour guides, that this only happened after events".

The interference through attempts to appropriate territories located in the slums by the real estate market and by the elites (Novaes, 2018), was mostly due to the arrival of mega-events in the city of Rio de Janeiro associated with a strong hope of economic gains - "a lot of people in the entire city and in the slums too, because they have gained a lot of hope, where Rio de Janeiro has become a desired place,

where everyone will want to stay "- especially with regard to real estate. With this, many people invested in improvements in their homes, whether to receive tourists or even sell it. Some residents sold their houses at high prices during this pre-mega-event period, and some went through situations like this: "imagine you're not used to seeing money and a guy arrives at your house - a house that the guy built for R$ 30,000.00, the guy puts R$ 100,000.00 on your table, the guy goes crazy, this is an inconceivable evil for me". This situation exemplifies a part of the rent gap theory (Smith, 1979) since the possible acquisition of the property or commercial space (for a higher price than normal) would cause an exponential increase in the value of use and income, the that would lead to gaps between the actual value and the expected value.

After the mega-events, the shared economy - in particular, Airbnb - positively moved the economy of the city as well as that of the slums, as highlighted in the excerpt: "I think that more money from these big events came to families in the slums, to disadvantaged people because of the shared economy than if it had not existed. [...] Airbnb channeled a lot of money into the economy, communities, the small homeowner and other neighborhoods as well". In other words, the platform acted as a link between Vidigal residents and potential tourists, where the economic impacts were provided in other types of services besides accommodation, such as bars and restaurants. The logic behind it was that many residents made renovations to their homes during the period between these mega events (2014-2016) with the hope of receiving more tourists than at the World Cup (2014), but as of 2017 the scenario economic growth was not expected by most residents of the city of Rio de Janeiro. In addition to this "breach" of economic expectations that the city witnessed, many of the houses listed on the Airbnb platform were not managed by Vidigal residents, but by intermediaries, which distorts the essence of the shared economy (Botsman & Rogers, 2011).

### 5. Conclusion

The entry of shared economy platforms in the slums (in this case, Airbnb) helped channel economic resources to their residents. This economic improvement was in fact momentary, since the lack of training and the little interest aroused by slum residents in learning to use this platform, in line with the reduction of public investments in the post-events and the return of some illegal activities, made it difficult to continuing to generate extra income through it. Especially in Vidigal, most of the houses listed on the platform were not managed by the residents, either because they did not have a computer or internet at home or because the residents themselves did not want to be trained to use the platform.

From the development and advancement of digital platforms, especially those of shared economy (Airbnb), their impacts were reflected during the period of mega-events (2014 to 2016) in a way that was beneficial to residents of the Vidigal slum, however after this phase the scenario returned to the level before the mega events, given that many restaurants, bars and hotels were closed; the state's financial crisis affected investments in public security (UPP); many residents who sold their houses during this period were unable to buy elsewhere or in Vidigal; and finally, the community's hope is sustained by tourism, where it is led by local guides.

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# 54 Urban legacies of sport mega-events

## The impacts of 2014 FIFA World Cup in São Paulo, Brazil

EDUARDO NOBRE
University of São Paulo

CAMILA D´OTTAVIANO
University of São Paulo

JORGE BASSANI
University of São Paulo

**ABSTRACT**

The idea of promoting sport mega-events has been defended by international strategic urban planning consultants as a way for cities to compete with each other for "scarce international investments" and achieve economic development in an "extremely competitive environment" of contemporary capitalism. They say that when hosting these events, a large amount of public and private investments in infrastructure, services and activities that generate jobs will be done in the city, investments that would take more time to happen without them: it is the so-called legacy. However, many authors have criticized this strategy, since it generally represents a large diversion of investments to support business, with little social return. The aim of this work is to analyse the urban legacy of 2014 FIFA World Cup in the City of São Paulo, Brazil. São Paulo was chosen to host the opening match. After a series of disagreements between FIFA and the local organizers, *Itaquera* neighbourhood in the East End was chosen to host the football stadium, putting into practice plans dating back to the 1980s. A typical low-income dormitory-town, the region has always suffered with infrastructure problems and lack of jobs. The World Cup implementation has brought the promise of attracting investment and jobs to the region. So, this work will analyse the results of works implementation and the arena construction in this region, trying to understand its main impacts taking into account the urban, economic, real estate and social issues.

**Keywords:** Sport Mega-Events, Urban Legacy, 2014 FIFA World Cup, São Paulo.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. The rationale for Sports Mega-Events Planning

The idea of promoting sport mega-events has been defended by international urban strategic planning consultants as a way for cities to compete with each other for the 'scarce international investment' and achieve economic development in a 'highly competitive environment' of contemporary capitalism.[1] They say that when hosting these events, a considerable amount of public and private investment in infrastructure, services and employment-generating activities will be implemented in the city that would take longer to happen without them: it is the so-called **legacy**.

The mega-events are a short-term event requiring investments in a series of works for it to be carried out. In the case of sports mega-events, the two main and most important are the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup.

From the late 1970s on, with the global television broadcast, there was a major transformation in their organisation, as the media worldwide exposure caused the event to become highly profitable for their sponsors. Thus, large multinational corporations, such as sports brands, automotive, beverage, electronics, food and telecommunications industries, have been investing billions of dollars expecting financial return from the exposure of their brands (Broudehoux, 2015).

The sports facilities needed (stadiums, arenas and gyms), transport infrastructure, telecommunications, hospitality (to accommodate the delegations, journalists and tourists) and related services have caused a series of works and investments in urban development, which many times had led to great urban transformations.

On the other hand, the global economic restructuring crisis of the 1980s has led to profound changes in the paradigm of urban planning and policy, making urban administrations to adopt a neoliberal approach, taking a more active attitude to attract economic development, adopting techniques of corporate strategic planning, moving from 'managerialism' to 'entrepreneurialism', as in Harvey's words (Harvey, 1989).

The role that the city of Barcelona played in the 1992 Olympic Games is regarded as one of the first examples of this new paradigm, which uses the promotion of major event as integrant part of urban strategic planning, as can be seen in the words of Borja and Castells:

1  We refer here to the concepts of current capitalist development stage, where the global accumulation regime is given by the dominance of finance capital over the productive, made possible by international capital flows deregulation and the adoption of the neoliberal political and economic doctrine (Chesnais & Brunhoff 2005, Foster 2010, Harvey 1990, 2005).

*The response to the awareness of crisis has been facilitated in some cities by the ability to attract and make use of a major international event. Barcelona has become a paradigmatic example of this. The strategic plan would not have been the framework for an ambitious urban transformation project, now partly implemented, without the spur of the 1992 Olympic Games.* (Borja & Castells, 1997, p. 93)

Since then, several municipal and national governments have struggled in the competition to host these mega-events, with the aim of promoting and transforming their cities to be 'sold' to the consumer market, becoming investment and tourist destinations on a global scale.

### 1.2. The critique on Sports Mega-Events Planning

Many authors have criticized sports mega-events, since they generally represent a large diversion of investments to support business, resulting in a small social return. From the point of view of planning these mega events, they represent a deviation from investments in the real demands of the community to meet the temporary needs of the event.

Kassens-Noor (Kassens-Noor, 2012), after analysing the transportation planning for four Olympic cities (Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney and Athens) came to the conclusion that the IOC – International Olympic Committee had a strong influence on these projects. They turned out to be quite different from what had been planned for these cities prior to the bid. Worse yet, they represent a strong shift away from investing to meet these cities mobility real demand and eventually become great 'white elephants', with little use by local people after the games.

Other authors affirm that the impact of interventions and works regulations of these events has generally resulted in losses for local communities. In this aspect the main 'winners' of this process were the entrepreneurs, landowners and big business at the expense of the most excluded population sectors, especially the low-income residents of the surroundings and the small local businesses, as a gentrification process generally occurs, with the eviction of local poor residents.

In the case of London 2012 Olympic Games, for instance, four hundred homes have been demolished for the Olympic works and "Olympic-related gentrification and displacement processes associated with rising private housing costs have already been identified" (Watt 2013, p. 104). The current low-income residents face uncertainty about the possibility to remain in the place in the future, bearing in mind that since the 1980s the Eastern Thames Valley has been subject to various urban regeneration projects, attracting many foreign investors such as Russian, Chinese and Arabs.

## 2. The organization of the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil

In the case of Brazil, the organization of many sports mega-events makes the country an important case study to understand the effects of their planning as in a period of seven years the country organized three (the 2007 Pan-American Games, the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games).

Despite wide criticism that the 2007 Pan-American Games organization had received, specifically with regard to over-pricing and the urban impacts (Mascarenhas, Bienenstein & Sánchez, 2011), the Brazilian Government had decided to compete for the right to organize the 2014 FIFA World Cup. After FIFA ratification, eighteen cities entered a dispute to host the event. Despite the fact that FIFA would prefer fewer host cities (between six and ten), the Brazilian government pushed for a larger number (twelve), justifying it due to the country´s continental dimension.

After much delay, the official host cities were announced on May, 2009: four in the Northeast (Fortaleza, Natal, Recife and Salvador); three in the Southeast (Belo Horizonte, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo); two cities on the South Region (Curitiba and Porto Alegre); two in the Central-West (Brasília and Cuiabá) and one in the North (Manaus). All of them, but Brasília, are capital cities of Brazilian states.

### 2.1. The organisation of the World Cup in São Paulo

The city of São Paulo was chosen to host the opening match. On January 13, 2010 the Minister of Sports signed an agreement term with São Paulo State Governor, the São Paulo City Mayor, and the president of SPFC – *São Paulo Football Club*, owner of the *Morumbi* Stadium (the largest in the city at that moment). By this term, it was agreed the Responsibility Matrix, defining the responsibilities for implementing the necessary works to carry out the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup and 2014 FIFA World Cup in the city (Brazil. Ministry of Sports, 2010).

The works were estimated in R$ 5.49 billion (approximately US$ 3.13 billion at that time). The Federal Government was responsible for the renovation and expansion of the two international airports (R$ 1.96 billion): *Guarulhos* (R$ 1.22 billion) and *Viracopos* (R$ 740 million); and the Port of Santos (R$ 120 million); the State Government was responsible for implementing the *Ouro* Line (R$ 2.86 billion), a 18 km light rail line linking the *Morumbi* stadium to *Congonhas* Airport (regional), two metro and one train stations; the Municipal Government was responsible for the urbanisation and road works of *Morumbi* surroundings (R$ 315 million) and the SPFC was responsible for the Stadium renovation (R$ 240 million).

After months of disagreements between FIFA and SPFC regarding the renovation project, now estimated at R$ 600 million, the LOC – Local Organizing Committee decided to build a new stadium in *Itaquera* Subprefecture, in the city's East End, on a plot in

concession to the SCCP – *Sport Club Corinthians Paulista*, one of the most popular football teams. A typical dormitory-town, *Itaquera* had been the target of several local development policies since the 1980s, as will be seen in the following section.

At December 2014, the values for São Paulo organisation was R$ 5.09 billion (US$ 1.89 billion), being 61% of it due to the airports, 21% for *Itaquera* Arena construction, 12% for road works around the Arena, 3% for Santos harbour renovation and 3% for other works (Brazil. Ministry of Sports, 2014).

## 3. The context of Itaquera and the East End

São Paulo East End is located in the Tiete River floodplain, historical focus of diseases such as dengue fever. It has been the main low-income population expansion axis, while the elite had moved out to the hilly South and West Zones. The EFCB (Brazil Central Railroad) construction, linking the cities of São Paulo to Rio de Janeiro in the late 19th Century, has caused industrial expansion along the railroad and around its stations, together with working-class neighbourhoods. Major road works in the 1940s and 1950s, emphasized this peripheral expansion, at that time based on the triad: radial avenues/buses/illegal settlements.

Later, during the 1970s and 1980s, the public housing state and municipal companies (CDHU and COHAB) built about 290 thousand housing units in the metropolitan periphery, most of them in the East End, chosen because of its cheaper value as it was rural until that time. However, investments in public transport and infrastructure had not followed the same pace (Nobre, 2008). The construction of Metro Red Line began in 1979, but *Itaquera* station was opened only in 1988. CPTM train service was renewed in 1994, but the train station was opened only in 2000. Thus, the São Paulo East End has been structured as a large dormitory-town with a huge deficit in most urban services until recently.



Fig. 1 – *Itaquera* Neighbourhood. Source: Brazilian Government, 2014. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASaopaulo_aerea_mobilidade_itaquera.jpg

According to the last Census (IBGE, 2010), the region is home to 3.6 million inhabitants (33% of the city's population) in 292 square kilometres (19% of the area). The population density reaches 125 inhabitants per hectare (308.9 inhabitants per acre), while the city average is 82.6 (204.1). There is a concentration of low-income population: 75% of households earn less than five minimum wages and only 7% earn more than ten; the city average is 63% and 31% and in the Pinheiros Subprefecture, the city richest area, the average is 24% and 56%. On the other hand, there is a low concentration of jobs: 25-50 jobs per hectare (61.8-123.6 jobs per acre), while in the City Centre it stands for more than 250 (617.8).

This segregated and differentiated urban structure causes a lot of problems for the transport system, because every day two million trips are made from the East End to the City Centre in the morning and vice versa in the evening.

### 4. Plans for *Itaquera*

**4.1. Previous plans for the area**

Several attempts of the municipal government have been taken in order to bring jobs and economic activities for the region since the 1980s. However until that time, a large part of the area was still rural, part of the agricultural belt, consisting of many ranches and small farms. In the 1981, a bylaw was enacted transforming rural land in the municipality into industrial districts (São Paulo, 1981). However, few industries have been attracted to the area, especially due to lack of infrastructure and topography problems.

In the 2004, the City enacted a bylaw which created the *Rio Verde-Jacu* Urban Operation,[2] which projected, among a series of works, the completion of *Jacu-Pêssego* Avenue, the East part of the São Paulo Ring Road that links the *Guarulhos* International Airport to the *Imigrantes* Highway, connection to the Santos harbour. Because of these works, this plan defined the region as a logistic hub due to its strategic location. However, due to the real estate market disinterest and problems with environmental licensing, this urban operation was abandoned by the City Hall and the completion of *Jacu-Pêssego* Avenue occurred only in 2012, together with the works for the World Cup.

Later that year, the *Itaquera* Regional Plan 2004 defined a series of urban strategic projects for the area in order to develop a local centrality to economic activities and employment generating activities. One of these projects was the Corinthians-Itaquera Metro Station Pole, defined in a 650,000 square meters tract of land,

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2 Consortium Urban Operations were ruled by the City Statute, Federal Law 10,257/2001 that enacted urban planning in the country. It is a planning tool that promotes local urban interventions carried out under local authority coordination, involving the private sector. It seeks to achieve urban redevelopment and regeneration and it is financed through the implementation of land value capture tools.

owned by COHAB (the City Public Housing Authority), which was partially ceded to be a train manoeuver patio and station for the Metro in the 1980s.

Another part of the land was given in concession to Sport Club Corinthians Paulista for the construction of its football stadium also at this time. The *Itaquera* metro station was inaugurated only in 1989. In other areas of this land, some facilities were built, such as the *Poupatempo Itaquera* in 2000 (a major centre for state and municipal public services provision); Shopping Metro *Itaquera* in 2007 (largest shopping mall in the region). In the same year, the City enacted a bylaw which created a selective incentives program for the East End based on tax benefits to attract economic activity and generating employment for the area (São Paulo, 2007).

In 2014 the City Council approved the new Strategic Master Plan. Although the *Jacú-Pêssego* Avenue was built, there was no mobilization of the real estate capital in the area. So, the Urban Operation was replaced by a Metropolitan Structuring Macroarea which is defined as an area undergoing land use and economic restructuring processes, suitable for new productive, commercial and services activities.

**4.2. The 2014 FIFA World Cup and Itaquera Institutional Pole Master Plan**

The difficulties that FIFA had with SPFC about the necessary works for *Morumbi* have brought new possibilities for Corinthians and *Itaquera*. The new Selective Incentive Act which provided a credit of 60 cents for every Real (Brazilian currency) invested in the area made possible the construction of their new stadium, which has had the influence of Brazilian president Lula da Silva (2003-2011), an assumed Corinthians supporter, to convince the Odebrecht, the Brazilian biggest contractor, to build the Arena (Sabino, 2014).

In 2011 the contract for the construction of the 'Arena Corinthians' was signed, with an estimated cost of R$ 820 million (US$ 420 million at that time), half of which was financed by a loan from BNDES (Brazilian Social and Economic Development Bank) and the other half by Incentive Development Certificates, tax-exempt bonds of various municipal taxes. The Arena Real Estate Investment Fund – FII was created, whose largest shareholder was Odebrecht, in order to gather the necessary funds to pay the loan. All the revenue from the stadium box office, commercial and copyrights will go to the fund for payment of the debt, with estimated repayment in seven years.

The works have occurred accelerated to build the stadium in time for the opening of the World Cup. Early on, there was a series of problems to remove oil ducts passing through the land, ended in April 2012. The stadium was delivered on April 15, 2014, two months before the opening of the World Cup, with 98% of the works completed and at a cost of R$ 1.08 billion (US$ 490 million at that time), 32% higher than originally estimated.
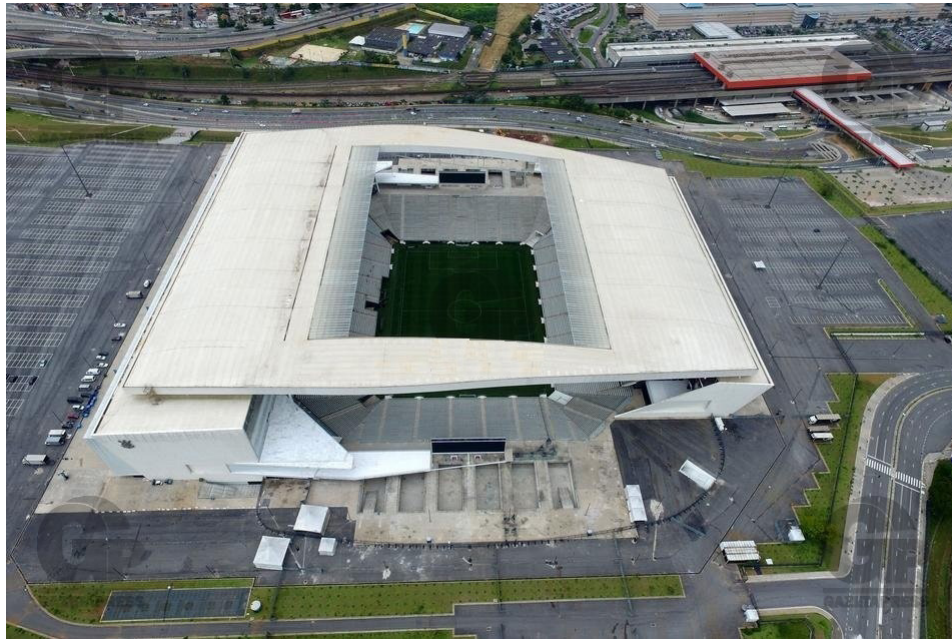
Fig. 2 – Itaquera Arena. Source: Brazilian Government, 2014. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c6/ARENA_CORINTHIANS.jpg

In 2012, the Municipal Urban Development Secretary developed the Itaquera Institutional Pole Plan, defining a program for the area with a series of road works, budgeted originally at R$ 317 million, to accommodate car traffic according to FIFA standards, although the Arena stands just eight hundred meters away from metro and train stations.

The project proposed technical schools, public buildings, convention centres, green areas, along with the new football stadium, as shown in Figure 3. The plan was opposed by local community favelas residents (*Favela da Paz* with 236 families and *Miguel Inácio Curi* with 395), due to the construction of the *Rio Verde* (Green River) Linear Park that would remove these communities. Families have been notified, but there was a change in the City Hall point of view when a new mayor assumed office (Fernando Haddad, 2013-2016)(Dantas, 2013).



Fig. 3 – Itaquera Institutional Pole Master Plan. Source: São Paulo, 2012. https://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/upload/meio_ambiente/arquivos/pue_itaquera_cades_leste_set_2012.pdf

The road works were planned by the City Hall and DERSA (Road State Department), which hired OAS (Brazilian fifth biggest contractor) for its implementation, proposing a complex of flyovers and tunnels to avoid local traffic. In August 2012 the works began, with completion forecast in April 2014. The works were delivered on June 9, 2014, three days before the official opening of the World Cup, with an estimated cost of R$ 610 million (approximately US$ 224 million), almost double the amount initially budgeted.

### 5. What is the urban legacy of the 2014 FIFA World Cup in São Paulo?

The results of 2014 FIFA World Cup works in São Paulo does not differ very much from what has been presented by other researchers for other cities in Brazil, based on the triad large scale urban projects, public-private partnerships and legislation flexibility, in this case in the form of tax exemption. However, the case of São Paulo has specificities that deserve to be considered.

First, unlike some other cities of the country, the stadium took place in a peripheral working-class neighbourhood, away from middle and high class areas. An area that has always suffered from works, infrastructure and public facilities implementation postponement.

Considering this point, road improvement investment in the region was an important factor, since the completion of the *Jacu-Pêssego* Avenue and the link between *Itaquera* and *Radial Leste* avenues were considered fundamental by the *Itaquera* Regional Plan 2004.

However, there are two issues to be questioned. First there is the fact that the works mainly favours car owners and only 24% of trips that occur in the region are made by that modal (Metrô, 2012). Second, one might question the need for the complex of flyovers and tunnels around the stadium, instead of simpler solutions, which ended up costing twice the price originally budgeted.

Overpricing could also be seen in the stadium construction. The hired contractors are now under investigation for a major bribe scheme scandal at a Federal level. This puts into question the overpricing of 2014 FIFA World Cup works, paying attention also to the fact that these companies are amongst the biggest campaign donors to various political parties.

Tax exemptions of R$ 420 million (approximately US$ 157 million) given by the Municipal Government for the construction of the stadium represent a large tax renounce, which could have been directed to attract other economic activities with greater power to generate jobs or even to finance infrastructure or public facilities for the region.

Anyway, the incentive law effectiveness should be questioned as in eight years of its existence only five companies have settled in the area, in addition to Corinthians, due to tax incentives (Fábio & Reolom, 2012). Industrial and local businessmen complain about the lack of infrastructure. Worse yet, the completion of the *Jacu-Pêssego* Avenue has contributed to worsening traffic conditions as it brought a huge truck traffic to the area, causing some companies to move away.

Regarding real estate dynamics and valuation, reports say that the works of the World Cup has had a huge impact on the region because 'with much of the stadium and works built, the region starts to become a bet for the Real Estate sector' (Vasques, 2013). Data from the housing market raised by Embraesp (São Paulo State Real Estate Research Company) confirm this statement, as the growth of both the number of new high-rise residential units as the PSV – Potential Sales Value – of high-rise residential developments in *Itaquera* Subprefecture area was much higher than the city average (São Paulo, 2014b).

Regarding the PSV, *Itaquera* increased the value by 4.5 times in four years reaching R$ 311 million. It was the second largest subprefecture increase after *Pirituba*, increasing its position from 0.5% to 1.7% of the total PSV of the municipality in the period. Regarding the increase in the number of vertical residential units launched,

the increase in *Itaquera* was third, doubling the number of annual releases in four years, reaching 1,189 units.

Comparing these figures it appears that *Itaquera* has been consolidated as a second subprefecture in growth dynamics and real estate valuation. Logically, its weight is still small when compared to the most dynamic and valued subprefectures of the city. However, the fact is that *Itaquera* has presented a more dynamic and greater real estate appreciation than the average between 2010 and 2014 and the World Cup works have contributed to this.

Another aspect that should be noted in São Paulo legacy evaluation relates to urban and economic changes promoted by large public investments in the region. In this regard, prior expectations become more frustrating despite the housing boom.

Considering the works, the *Jacu-Pêssego* Avenue has become an important metropolitan North-South route, but locally it is a disaster generating heavy traffic and little urbanity. The Institutional Pole is not yet completed. East to it, poor and vulnerable communities are completely segregated from the development. There are no east-west connections to the site and the metropolitan axis *Jacu-Pêssego* Avenue works as a barrier to the new arena access.

The construction of the arena has happened during the city real estate boom and the Master Plan revision. However this did not change the neighbourhood character. The economic failure of the *Rio Verde-Jacu* axis, both as an Urban Operation or as a Macroarea, in the restructuring of the area, not bringing job generating activities demonstrates the society distrust about the potential of the legacy left by the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Sao Paulo.

Finally, despite the fact that low-income population removal has not occurred in São Paulo, as it has in other World Cup host cities, the population of the surrounding slums is not completely secure. Despite latter mayors did not continue *Rio Verde* Linear Park project, the City of São Paulo has a history of using environmental remediation projects to justify low-income population withdrawal from environmentally fragile areas. Anyway, if this happens in the future it will not be part of the World Cup legacy.

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# 69 Olympic agenda 2020

## Effects on the Games' urban concept

GUSTAVO LOPES DOS SANTOS
CiTUA – Instituto Superior Técnico, University of Lisbon

BEATRIZ CONDESSA
CiTUA – Instituto Superior Técnico, University of Lisbon

FERNANDO NUNES DA SILVA
CiTUA – Instituto Superior Técnico, University of Lisbon

MARIE DELAPLACE
Lab'Urba-EUP – Université Gustave Eiffel, University of Paris-Est

**ABSTRACT**

With ups and downs, the Olympic Games have been catalyzing urban, economic, and social development in host cities and communities. Although with demanding requirements and a huge risk factor, the visibility of the mega-event still entices political leaders to bid to stage the Games. But caught in the middle of a changing modern, diverse, and digital society, with elevated concerns for sustainability, the Olympics have been facing strong public opposition. Even though the event can bring several gains, such public claims are only but valid, as many of the most recent legacies failed to enhance its full urban potential and their benefits are not clear. Being mostly publicly funded, and with a track record of the highest and most recurrent cost overruns among mega-projects, the event is nowadays seen as elitist, aiding only a niche sector. Concerned about the use of their money, communities have raised their voices and demanded governments to withdraw bids, resulting in lack of candidates to host next editions. Worried about the future of the event, the International Olympic Committee recognized the problem and has been committed to change the Games' model to enhance economic, environmental, and social sustainability. In the end of 2014, it implemented the Olympic Agenda 2020, driving important changes in the organization of the Olympic Games, including more flexibility in urban requirements and a new definition of host, which is not required to be a city anymore, meaning that regions or countries are now allowed to bid. This research investigates the origin, innovation, implementation, and consequences of the Olympic Agenda, verifying how is it being implemented and driving changes in next hosts and candidates, and how will it affect the Games' urban concept and respective legacies. Conclusions of the case studies point to a successful radical change, more aligned with urban sustainability ideals but, at the same time, creating new operational challenges.

**Keywords:** Olympic Games, Olympic Agenda 2020, Mega-Event Planning, Urban Sustainability.

## 1. Introduction

Since its modern revival, the Olympic Games have grown to become the largest sports event in the world. As such, its organization is highly complex, characterized by massive operational/capital costs, but holding a huge potential for the development of host cities and communities (Gold, & Gold, 2008; Flyvbjerg, Budzier, & Lunn, 2020). Past editions of the Games have resulted in different urban legacy outcomes: on the one hand, exceptional urban interventions that revolutionized cities (Barcelona1992, for example); on the other hand, extravagant, expensive, and oversized sports venues and parks resulting in inconsistent legacies (as the case of Sochi2014). Aware of the economic risks of hosting the event, especially when it mostly makes use of public money, communities of bidding cities contested the decisions of their political leaders and recently became a strong opposition to the Games, forcing a series of bid withdraws (Hiller & Wanner, 2018). To ease public opposition and restore cities' interest and willingness to host the Games, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has published the Olympic Agenda 2020 (OA). Among other goals, this agenda aims at redefining the concept of the event to better fit the sustainability vision of the ever changing, modern, diverse, and digital society (IOC, 2014). Since its implementation, important changes have already impacted the Games' urban concept.

But what are the urban implications of such radical changes for both, the event and the hosts? The purpose of this paper is to investigate the origin, innovation, implementation, and consequences of the OA, assessing its implications on the urban concept of the Games, and identifying the respective changes it is driving in the next Olympic Games and host cities. For that, first the urban related recommendations of the OA are identified and analyzed. Then, it is explored how they are being applied, namely through the implementation of the New Norm. Afterwards, in order to assess how, in practice, the OA is driving changes, the next hosts' (and some bidders') Olympic projects for both Summer and Winter Games are explored as case studies. Discussion and conclusions are drawn in the last section.

## 2. Olympic Agenda 2020

### 2.1 The context

For the last two decades, the Olympic Games have been subject to high pressures from public opinion. The opposition resulted mostly from two major issues: the governance structure of the event, seen by many as elitist, concerning only a niche sector, and associated with corruption scandals; and its urban, economic, and social outcomes, since unexpected expenditures, environmental impacts, and post-Olympic use of venues of several editions have been refuting the theory of using the high public investment to achieve sustainable long-term legacies (Hiller & Wanner, 2018). As a consequence, local protests, referendums, or public

petitions in candidate host communities resulted in the withdraw of four of the six final candidates for the 2022 Winter Olympics and three of the five final candidates for the 2024 Summer Olympics. Concerned with the future of the event, in 2017 the IOC decided to award simultaneously the editions of 2024 and 2028, while implementing the OA.

The intention of change, following the idealism and challenges of the new society's evolution, is clearly expressed in the speech by the IOC President Thomas Bach on the presentation of the OA. Fig. 1 shows the most frequent words in the President's speech. Most of them are related to actions: "change", "want", "progress", "development", and "dialogue". The "IOC" and the "Olympic Movement" appear as the main actors, leading "sport", "society", "athletes", and "people" towards "peace", "diversity", "respect", "credibility", "solidarity", and "sustainability". Three words related with time, "now", "today", and "future", reflect the urge for action.

The ideas of the OA were discussed by all Olympic Movement stakeholders, external experts, and the public which, by request of the IOC, submitted suggestions of issues needing further attention. The ideas were grouped in 25 themes and ranked according to the number of submissions. The "Bidding Process" ranked 1st, while "Sustainability and legacy" ranked 8th (IOC, 2014).



Fig. 1 – Most frequent words in President Tomas Bach's speech upon the presentation of the OA.
Own creation based on (IOC, 2014, p.4-8), using Wordle software tool.

### 2.2 The analysis

The OA is a strategic guiding document published by the IOC in December 2014, consisting of 40 recommendations that aim at driving important changes within

the Olympic Games and Movement. It addresses nowadays overarching topics of sustainability, credibility, and youth, which were made its three broad pillars, with a view of "protecting the uniqueness of the Olympic Games and strengthen Olympic values in society" (IOC, 2014, p.3).

The context of the OA is broad, encompassing the many areas of expertise associated with the Olympic Games. For this research, an analysis was carried to identify which recommendations address, directly or indirectly, the field of urban planning, both in what concerns the event's planning, and the host territory. In total, 28 sub-topics from 10 recommendations were considered to have impacts on the Games' urban concept (recommendations: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 38, 39, and 40). While selecting these recommendations, five urban related objectives were identified (listed below), being assumed here to be the aimed impact of the OA on the Games' urban concept. All the selected recommendations' sub-topics fit into one or more of these objectives:

(1) **Enhance sustainable urban legacies:** recommendations that aim at enhancing the full potential of the urban interventions triggered and/or accelerated by the hosting of the Games, allowing a more consistent alignment of the event with the host's long-term urban development plan.

(2) **Reduce the urban related costs:** recommendations that aim at simplifying the requirements of the Games, increasing their flexibility and, ultimately, contributing to avoid the delivery of unsustainable urban legacies.

(3) **Rely in specialized knowledge:** recommendations that aim at increasing the participation of urban planning experts in all stages of the Olympic cycle and take full potential of experienced and specialized knowledge in event hosting.

(4) **Improve the governance system:** recommendations that aim at improving the interrelationships between all the involved stakeholders, enhance their relations' efficiency, increase their participation, and take advantage of all the potential contributions.

(5) **Ensure best practices:** recommendations that aim at increasing the transparency of the urban processes of the Olympics in order for them to become trustworthy to the public, ensuring that ethical principles within the organization are respected, and according to the values of Olympism.

## 2.3 The implementation

After the approval of the OA, several measures were implemented in the organization and legal system of the Olympic Games. Based on the impacts indicated

by the OA Working Groups (IOC, 2014), together with documental analysis of IOC official files – namely the Olympic Charter, the New Norm, the Host City Contract, and the Code of Ethics –, it was possible to identify and group some already implemented measures that affect the Games' urban concept. In Fig. 2 is an adaptation of the resulting table, containing only the measures related to the first two objectives, which are considered to affect directly the urban and spatial planning i.e., delineate the physical impacts generated by the Games. The contribution of these measures is mainly related to one of the previously identified objectives but can also address secondary ones.



Fig. 2 – Adapted table with the selected measures aimed at the identified direct urban related objectives. Own creation based on the Olympic Charter, the New Norm, the Host City Contract, the Code of Ethics, and minor additional online research from Olympic official sources.

The remaining measures are mostly related to the other three objectives, being considered as having indirect urban effects i.e., contribute for betterment of the direct impacts. An adaptation of the resulting table containing the indirect objectives is shown in Fig. 3.

| Main Objective | Secondary Obj. |
|---|---|
| **Objective 3 – Rely in specialised knowledge** | |
| **Modifications on the IOC members' election process** – The Members Election Commission is responsible for preparing profiles and proposing candidates for the IOC in order to achieve a diverse and balanced membership. It is also allowed to invite candidates for interviews. | - |
| **Increased role of the "Coordination Commission"** – The role of the Coordination Commission changes from a more executive position to a more cooperative one, assisting the entities responsible for the organization of the Olympic Games. | 4 |
| **Creation of the "Olympic Games Framework"** – Published in 2015 for the 2024 Olympic Games as initial assistance to cities interested in bidding. | - |
| **Launching of the "Register of Consultants"** – Mandatory registration of consultants of the broad areas of the Olympics, including consultants assisting host candidates. | 5 |
| **New "Dialogue Stage" in the Candidature Process** – Adaptation of the candidature process, defining an initial non-committal "Dialogue Stage" for cities to explore opportunities of hosting the Games, assisted by the IOC, its stakeholders, and technical experts. | 1 • 4 |
| **Objective 4 – Improve the governance system** | |
| **Establishment of the "Future Host Commissions"** – Shall fulfil their mission following an edition-based approach, in a flexible, pro-active, and contextualised manner, considering geographic, strategic, technological, economic, and societal developments and opportunities. | 1 |
| **Establishment of the "Joint Steering Forums"** – For each edition of the Games, the forum complements the role of the Coordination Commission in facilitating better integration of the various stakeholders through cooperation and dialogue. Its composition is determined by the OCOG to better reflect the local governance, align the Games with local development plans, and reduce the costs. | 1 • 3 |
| **Organization of dialogue forums** – Forums open to civil society, to create opportunities for the IOC to engage with local/national stakeholders. | - |
| **New HCC signatories** – Local, regional, or national authorities, as well as foreign, can be signatories of the HCC. | 3 |
| **Objective 5 – Ensure best practices** | |
| **Preservation of political neutrality** – A new role of the IOC is to maintain and promote the Olympic Movement's political neutrality. | - |
| **Publication of the HCC** – The contract for hosting of the Olympic Games is made public. | - |
| **Review of the host election process** – Ceases to exist the rule placing the date of the host election 7 years prior to the Games. When submitting candidatures to the vote by the Session, the IOC Executive board shall include its assessment of the opportunities and risks of each interested host, as well as sustainability and legacy. | 1 • 2 |
| **Definition of rules for the "Register of Consultants"** – Definition of rules for consultants, including the ones involved in hosts' candidatures. | - |

Fig. 3 – Adapted table with the selected measures aimed at the identified indirect urban related objectives. Own creation based on the Olympic Charter, the New Norm, the Host City Contract, the Code of Ethics, and minor additional online research from Olympic official sources.

## 3. Case Studies

The practical implementation of the OA's recommendations/measures is analyzed resorting to case studies. Most of the observations relate to direct objectives, as the indirect are difficult to identify in the case studies' urban projects. The case studies are grouped according to their similarities, mostly due to the Olympic cycle's phase they were upon the approval of the OA.

### 3.1 Adjusted by the OA: PyeongChang2018, Tokyo2020, and Beijing2022

Although its preparations were already well advanced when the OA was approved, the PyeongChang2018 Winter Olympics has benefited from the reduction of mountain temporary venues, to ease the complexity of the operations (IOC, 2018a). The construction of the temporary Main Press Centre (MPC) was cancelled and substituted by the use of pre-existing facilities, saving the organizing committee USD 15 million (PyeongChang2018 Press Operations, 2018). Furthermore, the initial plans for the construction of the International Broadcasting Centre (IBC) were changed to suppress the need for a second floor, resulting in 30% of savings. The construction of the satellite (smaller) IBC

at the mountain cluster was also cancelled (OBS, 2018).

Regarding Tokyo2020, the candidature file initially indicated the use of 16 existing venues, 12 new, and 11 temporary (Tokyo2020 Olympic Games Bid Committee, 2013). After the OA, an extensive review of the venue master plan resulted in the use of 24 existing venues, 9 new, and 10 temporary, including the additional venues for events added by the organizing committee (Tokyo2020, n.d.). The elimination of restrictions on the location of venues also provided a solution for the concerns of the IOC regarding the heat in Tokyo, resulting in the relocation of the athletics marathon and race walk to Sapporo. The reviewed venue plan saved Tokyo USD 2.2 billion (IOC, 2020a).

The withdraw of four candidate cities for the 2022 Winter Olympics was the key trigger of the OA. The final candidature documents for the edition of 2022 were submitted nearly one month after its approval but, in many ways, the Beijing's bid already reflected many of its principles. However, the implementation of the New Norm, in 2018, resulted in several changes, including the cancellation of plans for temporary Mountain MPC and Medal Plaza in Yanqing, the review of venue capacities, and the optimization of the use of trains for Olympic transport (IOC, 2019). The Beijing's venue masterplan makes use of several existing venues inherited from Beijing2008 and, from the 10 new permanent venues, 5 were already planned as part of the development of the Beijing-Zhangjiakou Sport, Culture and Tourism Belt – the remaining 5 are of public and/or private character. All Medal Plazas and mountain MPCs will be temporary. The new venues will contribute for the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei regional development strategy, which includes the development of local sports events and green leisure industry to attract future investment (Beijing2022 Candidate City, 2014). Part of this cooperation strategy is the improvement of the transport network of Beijing and Zhangjiakou, including the construction of the new high-speed railway linking the three Olympic clusters – Beijing, Yanqing, and Zhangjiakou. Its construction started in 2014 but, reportedly, has been accelerated by Beijing2022 (ibid). Finally, the new event-based approach facilitated the selection of big air freestyle skiing as an additional event but resulting in the construction of a new unplanned venue, with the objective of triggering the development of existing long-term plans for the Shougang Industrial Park (IOC, 2018b).

### 3.2 Designed with the OA: Paris2024, and Los Angeles2028

Designed around the same time, Paris and Los Angeles' candidature files are very similar in rhetoric, constantly referring to issues of sustainability, and showing a deep concern for justifying any permanent construction works and frame them within their long-term urban development plans. The initial venue masterplan of Paris2024 consisted of 40 venues: 27 existing, 5 new, and 8 temporary (Paris Candidate City Olympic Games 2024, 2016). Of the new venues, the Bercy Arena

II and the satellite Olympic Village in Marseille were planned, the latter included in the Marseille Chanot Exhibition Park development plan. The three additional new venues were the Aquatics Centre – with a post-Games capacity reduced by 80% –, and the Olympic and Media Villages, located in Paris' younger and faster-growing outer ring, for which sustainable legacies are considered secured and well included in the city's local urban strategies and long-term development plans (ibid). The candidature files also mention that the locations of temporary venues where strategically chosen to exhibit the Paris patrimony (Eiffel Tower, Esplanade des Invalides, Chateau de Versailles, etc), and that these location will benefit from improvements to the urban domain. All other infrastructure improvements are within planned projects.

As of the end of 2020, after suffering many modifications, the reviewed venue masterplan consists of 38 venues – one less temporary, and one less existing (IOC, 2020b). This number – now accounting with the extra events added by the organizing committee – reflects an exceptional effort to enhance venue sharing, with many sports/disciplines having different venues for preliminary and final rounds. Interesting to note is the choice of Teahupo'o in Tahiti, French Polynesia, to host surfing competitions (Paris 2024, n.d.). The reviewed masterplan also includes the construction of a new unplanned permanent venue for sport climbing – a sport added by the organizing committee as a result of the OA.

Los Angeles (LA) was awarded to host the 2028 Olympics simultaneously with Paris2024, in 2017, implying that LA will have 11 years to prepare. This exceptional circumstance led the IOC to permanently remove the Olympic Charter's rule placing the host election 7 years prior to the Games. Not being a direct consequence of the OA, this change allows a more flexible Olympic cycle, making possible to adjust it according to special situations.

The LA candidature documents were prepared for the 2024 edition and, therefore, present some dated information. However, its urban concept remains unchanged showing the unique hosting capability of the city, as confirmed by its history of hosting and bidding for the Olympics. Its venue masterplan consists of 39 venues, none of them to be built. At the time of the candidature, three new planned venues were indicated, but as of now, they are all completed, and with private investments. From the 29 existing venues, only the velodrome requires permanent works. This venue masterplan includes the main Olympic Village and its adjacent training center, a satellite Village at Lake Perris, the Media Village, and the MPC, all of them using existing facilities of three universities. The IBC will be placed in new facilities of the NBCUniversal, whose construction was carried in 2017/2018 as part of its expansion plan (LA Candidate City Olympic Games 2024, 2016). In what concerns new/renovated infrastructure, all interventions are planned and aligned with the long-term development plans, although the candidature files for 2024 do refer to the catalyst effect of the Games to accelerate them – namely

the renovation of Los Angeles International Airport, the extension of the Metro Purple Line to Westwood, and the creation of community green spaces. Therefore, LA 2028 seems fully aligned with the OA: "(...) we are not changing our city to fit the Olympic Games, rather, we are applying the existing resources of our city to create an exceptional Games Concept that is fully sustainable, because it already exists" (ibid, p.2).

### 3.3 Tailored for the OA: Milan-Cortina2026, Stockholm-Åre2026 bid, and 2030/2032 bids

The Milan-Cortina 2026 will be the first Olympic Games to be hosted at a macro-regional scale, with the furthest clusters distancing 400kms by car. The Italian candidature builds on a vision of a partnership within the Alpine macro-region, supported by the regions of Lombardia and Veneto and the two Autonomous Provinces of Trento and Bolzano/Bozen (Milano Cortina Candidate City Olympic Winter Games 2026, 2019). But the most relevant of this edition regards the improvement of mobility at the inter-urban scale, with the candidature files placing a lot of emphasis on the planned transport interventions to connect all the locations. This is a case that well illustrates the consequences of expanding the geographic location of Olympic venues: although the interventions were already planned, the investment in transport infrastructure can incur in much higher budgets and risks for Olympic hosts.

Like the 2024 bids, the Milan-Cortina and Stockholm-Åre bid concepts for 2026 are very similar, both with four venue clusters. What mostly distinguishes the bids is the relative location of the clusters, and the fact that one of Stockholm-Åre's clusters is in the neighboring country of Latvia. The maximum travel distance, between Åre (Sweden) and Sigulda's (Latvia) clusters, is around 1200kms, including a ferryboat leg of 275kms. However, while the Sweden-Latvia shared bid provides a great opportunity for cross-border developments in interconnectivity and partnerships, the candidature files lack any indications towards so, with Sigulda barely being mentioned in chapters regarding transport and governance. This can either be a failure of the candidature itself or a hint that cross-border bids might be inefficient. Nonetheless, as highlighted in the candidature files, this venue masterplan model allows smaller nations and cities to become Olympic hosts (Stockholm Åre 2026 Candidate City Olympic Winter Games, 2019).

A quick online search provides the array of potential/interested bidders for the Winter/Summer editions of 2030/2032. The possible candidatures are extremely diverse in urban characteristics: from the globalized London, or Shanghai, to the fast-growing Jakarta, Mumbai, or Doha; from the former hosts Salt Lake City, Vancouver, or Sapporo, to the never elected Istanbul, or Madrid; from the national alliances Southeast Queensland, Rhine-Ruhr, or North-Central Italy to the triad Barcelona–Pyrenees (Spain/Andorra/France);  from the inner-border coalitions

Chengdu-Chongqing, or Rotterdam-Amsterdam, to the cross-border ground-breaking Seoul-Pyongyang. Among all, the Rhine-Ruhr2032 initiative stands out for proposing 13 cities to jointly host the event (Rhein Ruhr City GmbH, 2020).

### 4. Discussion and Conclusions

Following a period of strong public opposition against the Olympics, the implementation of the OA has driven important and radical changes to the Games' urban concept. This paper has identified five urban related objectives of the OA and analyzed how the post-OA hosts/bidders have been aligning with them.

The measures within the first objective, "enhance sustainable urban legacies", have drawn a lot of attention to environmental, economic, and social sustainability issues, observed, at least, in rhetoric. The reformulation of the candidature process, together with the new definition of host, has potentiated efficiency and enabled creativity for a diverse range of Olympic projects, mostly expressed by the increased urban scale of the hosts, and allowing smaller nations and cities to be part of the event. Fig. 4 schematically compares the geography of the analyzed case studies. It is important to highlight, however, that due to transport infrastructure improvements to meet Olympic requirements regarding travel times or the "zero cars" policy, the increase in sustainability does not necessarily mean a decrease in costs, as it obliges to a significant reinforcement of the public transport system.
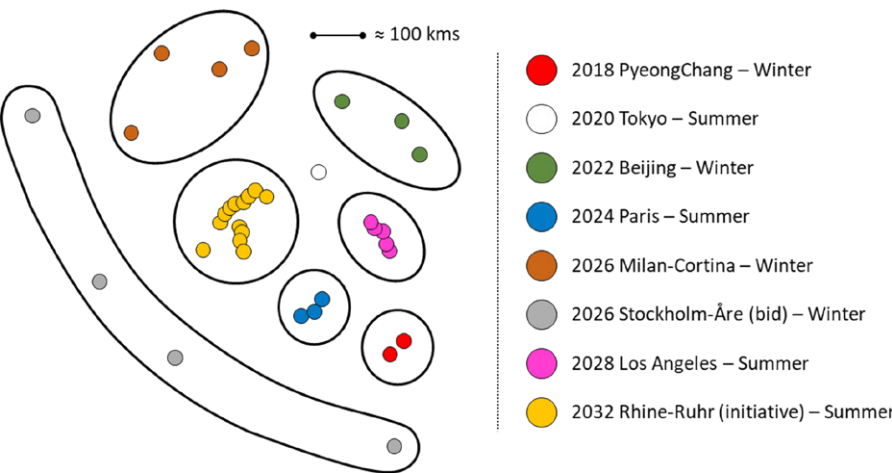


Fig. 4 – Schematic comparison between the case studies' venue masterplans. Own creation.

Regarding the second objective, "reduce the urban related costs", the elimination of restrictions on the location of venues and the limitations on new constructions have increased the flexibility of venue masterplans, contributing for punctual problem solving, and also potentiating the use and advertisement of local

territorial assets, like natural resources and patrimony. Together with the review of venues requirements, it has also contributed to the use of more existing and temporary venues, as shown in Fig. 5. Moreover, it allowed organizers to take full advantage of venue sharing, being able to approximately maintain the total number of venues, even adding new events requiring specialized facilities. In what concerns the measures affecting the events of the Olympic Programme, two observations must be made. First, the limit of events established by the OA has not yet been achieved, although there has been a relevant reduction. Second, the events selected by the organizing committees of Tokyo, Beijing, and Paris, namely the urban sports, surfing, and big air, seem to have generated conflicting results: one the one hand, evaluating by the public's reaction in press and social media, these sports have triggered a positive response, contributing for the popularity of the Olympics and improving public opinion; on the other hand, they require the use of additional facilities, having increased the number of temporary venues in Tokyo by 3, and in Paris by 2. Furthermore, the inclusion of big air freestyle skiing in Beijing and sport climbing in Paris, resulted in two new unplanned permanent venues, raising some intriguing questions as, ultimately, constructions are being induced by the OA.

The Host City Contract was made public, starting in the election of Beijing 2022. Regarding the remaining measures aimed at indirect objectives, no clear conclusions can be taken. However, the new Olympic urban projects are aligning with the OA's vision, which might mean that the dialogue between parties is improving, the role of the IOC commissions optimized, and the efficiency of the candidature and host election processes enhanced. Regarding the latter, the large number of bidding intentions for future editions and their current stage of development (earlier than usual) indicate that the new candidature and election processes are inducing results, but the continuous/targeted dialogue stage might challenge the fairness of the process. New conclusions might be drawn upon the official nomination of the host candidates for the 2030/2032 Olympic Games. Finally, the biggest flaw of the OA is not directly addressing engagement of the organizing bodies and Olympic Movement stakeholders with host/bidding communities, especially since the withdraws that triggered the OA were the result of public opposition. Nonetheless, only in the future will be possible to understand the full scope of the consequences of the OA in the Games' urban concept and in the hosts' urban legacies.

## Summer Olympic Games



## Winter Olympic Games



■ Existing, no permanent works required

■ Existing, with temporary functional reconfiguration

■ Existing, with permanent works required

□ Temporary, minor facilities

■ Temporary, large structure

■ New, previously planned

■ New, aditional for the Games

*The number of competition venues does not match official reports/candidature files. A meticulous methodology was adopted to create consistency for comparison between editions, based on the footprint of fields of play and spectator stands:

- Each footprint of a field of play with the respective exclusive stands counts as one venue (if capacity > 1,000 seats);

- In cases where identical fields of play share the same spectator stands, the footprint of the set of fields of play and respective stands counts as one venue (if capacity > 1,000);

- In cases where differentiated fields of play share the same spectator stands, the footprint of each field of play counts as one venue (if total capacity > 1,000).
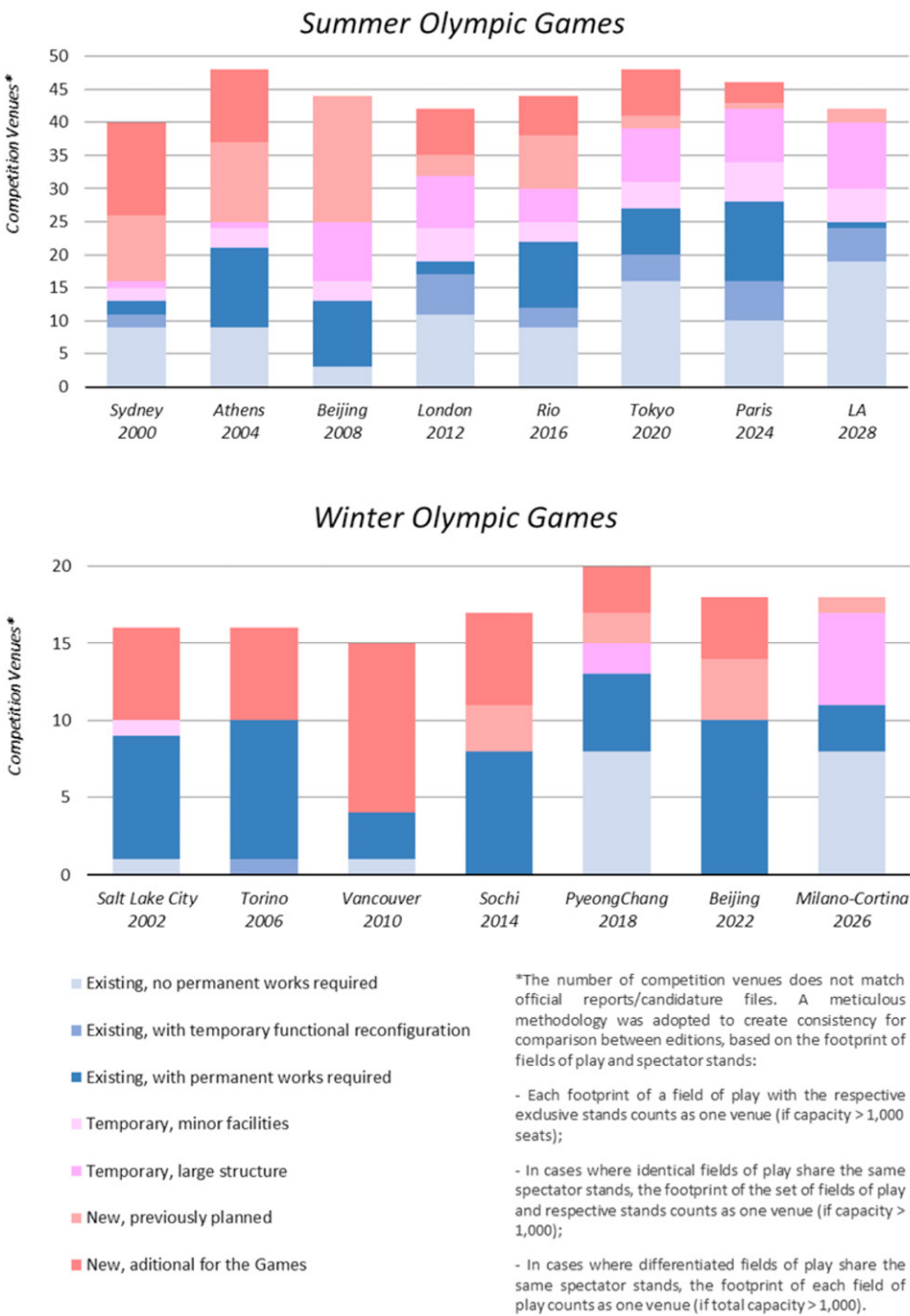
Fig. 5 – Number of venues of the 21st century Olympic Games. Own creation based on the editions' Official Reports and Candidature Files, websites of the current Organizing Committees, and minor additional online research.

## Acknowledgments

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# 93 Margins of the Olympic Rio

## Housing management in the revitalization project of the Harbor Zone of Rio de Janeiro city

ANA CLARA CHEQUETTI
Institute of Social and Political Studies (IESP)/
University of the State of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ)

**ABSTRACT**

Following the mobilization for housing of squatter families evicted from the Harbor Zone of the center of Rio de Janeiro, this work approaches the discourses and practices involved at the construction of the "Olympic City" representation during the "revitalization" megaproject "Porto Maravilha" [Wonder Harbor], started in 2009. Lead by a constructed narrative of the Harbor as an empty location where historical patrimony was being destroyed, the intervention claimed to bring "life" and to "open the gates of the city to the world". The project may be seen as a Grand Urban Project, as it is materially and symbolically connected to the city project of Rio as an Olympic, urban and global city.

Effects of "State" and "Market" present during the evictions are understood through the point of view of governmentality of populations (Foucault 1979) and of an anthropology of the "State". This rehabilitation promoted a reorganization of the distribution of goods, populations and circulations, but also of the urban illegalisms (Telles 2010), inciting certain practices and uses of the city while increasing repression and difficulties to others, as seen with the homeless movement. The moment expected to bring international investment to the area but never landed, and results of the project are explored as "utilities of the failure" (Ferguson 2006).

Seen as places of scarcity and survival, the squats can also be understood as situational "margins" (Das and Poole 2004), where differential forms of political and economic practices take place. Not as exceptions to the "normal" operation of the State, but ways of understanding how government and regulation practices actually work in the Latin-America. Doing so, the Rio Olympic City is thought from its margins, since what is represented as out of the order, out of legality and out of urbanity.

**Keywords**: Rio Olympic City, Homeless Movement, Evictions, Megaprojects.

## 1. Introduction

"The mega-events came running over everything and everyone", says one of my interviewees evicted from a squat building where he lived for seven years.[1] He is part of an autonomous movement led by homeless families that started to occupy empty buildings in early 2000s, reclaiming the Center of Rio as a living place for the workers. They were severely impacted by the Revitalization of the Harbor Zone, and between 2009-2014 around 10 squats and 1.000 families of this movement got evicted.

In 2009 Rio de Janeiro was announced as the city of the 2014 World Cup and, a few months later, of the 2016 Olympic Games. While the works of the Growth Acceleration Program (known as PAC) took over the entire country, several other important policies were inaugurated then, such as the Porto Maravilha Revitalization Operation and, at the same time, the Pacifying Police Units (PPU) in several favelas. Although this moment has its basis in previous policies, it inaugurates what was discursively consolidated as the *Olympic Rio* in the scope of urban planning.

Made possible by the joint cooperation of the three levels of state management, it was marked by the wide public-private investment in urban policy. It was also characterized by a militarized urbanization, in which housing policies, urbanization projects and police-military operations acted in an interwoven and complementary manner. Thus, the construction of the "Rio Olympic City" as a large project meant a decade of megaprojects and urban interventions.

The revitalization project of the Harbor Zone, at the Center of the city, seems to represent the most these ideals among the *Olympic Rio* as a Global City Project. With the objective to recover this historical area, seen as abandoned and degraded, the operation is allegedly the largest public-private partnership of Brazil. This Grand Urban Project follows the international recipes of strategic planning by sharing costs of infrastructural renewal and acquiring the buildings of the area to offer then to private initiative and investors all over the world. With this, it aimed to position the city of Rio de Janeiro on a new international level.

This article proposes to think the narrative of the Olympic City and the rhetoric of Harbor as empty from its conceptual margins, that is, from what is represented as out of order, legality, and from what would be urban and developed: occupations, invasions, slums, settlements, etc.

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1   The data presented in this article is based upon my Master`s research about the impacts of revitalization among this homeless movement carried out in 2015-2017 and the PhD research I conduct about the legacy of Olympic Rio as a major urban policy.

## 2. Olympic Rio

The intense investment in infrastructure and urbanization through public-private partnerships (PPP), although not a new phenomenon, obtained renewed force from a series of international mega-events based in Rio since the 2000s: Pan American Games, World Youth Day, World Cup and Olympic Games. The moment, seen as favorable in terms of financing and opportunity, relied both on the partnership between administrative spheres of government as well as with the support of cooperation agencies, multilateral institutions and large national contractors.

At that time, in addition to PAC in several favelas, followed by the installation of the Pacifying Police Units (PPU) in early 2009, it was consolidated the Minha Casa Minha Vida [My House My Live] development program (2009), the Porto Maravilha [Wonder Harbor] Revitalization (2009), the slum urbanization municipal program Morar Carioca (2010) and requalification of the Center (along with the "Shock of Order" policy).

Although some of Rio`s favelas had already received infrastructural investment mainly with the Favela-Bairro Program (1993), the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) was an initiative to re-urbanize favelas and build infrastructure with great impact on federal level, and that in some favelas of Rio acted associated to the Morar Carioca, a municipal re-urbanization project, and both were financed by the IDB, with the objective of "urbanizing all Rio's favelas by 2020".

PAC's discourse was to "integrate the favela into the formal city", believing in the reduction of urban segregation through infrastructure works. PAC in Rio de Janeiro would integrate a broader security policy of "PACification" of the favelas that, in addition to the UPPs, sought to reorganize Rio de Janeiro due to the reception of the mega sporting events of the World Cup and the Olympics (Cavalcanti 2014).

This is, therefore, a moment of escalation of an intervention model that combines urbanization and militarization. The PPU policy reached the communities with the proposal of permanent occupation with military police in favelas close to touristic areas and Olympic enterprises, forming a "security belt". The installation of the PPU brought the promise of stabilizing territories in counterpoint to the daily uncertainty of shootings and police operations, and "pacification" is seen as a vector of urbanization, land and social policies.

The strategy of mega-events as a vector of urbanization is related to the creation of the so-called Global Cities. From public and private investment policies aimed at attracting tourists to the stylistic choices of the constructions linked to the values of modernity and of the image that the city wants to project internationally. "Regeneration" and rehabilitation projects in degraded, abandoned or neglected urban areas are now associated with the reception of mega-events,

not as a simple public policy, but to improve their image and attractiveness. Thus, the holding of the 2016 Olympic Games would lift Rio de Janeiro from a city related to ideas of *third worldism*, marginality and violence, to the vision of a global, "Olympic" city and integrated with modern networks of international capital flows, technologies and people.

Bridges, walkways, tunnels, elevators, cable cars, corridors, squares and parks were built which, together with other high visibility works, functioned as inscriptions of great symbols of the Olympic Rio in the landscape of the city. Emblematic monumental constructions, especially in favela territories, which can be seen at a distance, represented the ideals of progress and "integration between favela and city", as well as the promises for the future of a Rio that demarcated, symbolically and materially, an entry into the global and urbanized world.

### 3. Revitalization of the Harbor

In 2009, a municipal law was approved that classified the Harbor Zone of Rio as an Area of Special Urban Interest and established the "Porto Maravilha" Urban Operation. It proposed intervention to improve infrastructure via PPP (public-private partnership) together with the creation of special conditions for the purchase of land by the private sector: tax exemption laws of all kinds, payment of public and private property debts, anticipation of investments, reduction of production costs, etc. Its method was based on the purchase and sale of additional construction potentials, in which the Municipality acquired a large part of the properties with public funds and made them available to the market through a Real Estate Investment Fund.

Understanding the port area as the historic center of the city's founding, there was an urgent appeal for the preservation of this heritage that would be ruined by "abandonment and degradation". When alluding to a mythological past of Porto as a "gateway to the country", the idea of the risk of "loss of origins" due to the alleged ruin is triggered, justifying a rescue in a double sense: historical rescue and territorial rescue. In this sense, the discourse that underpinned the revitalization encompasses, on the one hand, the idea of threat to heritage, and on the other, the construction of an attractive image of the place for investment, based on the notion that this space would be both empty and available.

Although it presents itself as an innovative initiative, Porto Maravilha comes in the wake of a series of speeches and policies that call for the rescue of the central areas of Rio, idealizing them as degraded and ruined environments for decades. The rhetoric of the Port as a "void to be filled" was gradually built and spread over the years, associating the categories of abandonment, ruin, degradation and marginality.

The harbor, characterized as "empty" and "lifeless", is represented as a space out of order and out of the ordering, plenty of irregular and illegal activities, practices and housing, where degradation and marginality prevail. This space supposedly without regulation, out of order, or where *other* orders would act, therefore, would be up to a retaken, rescue and reintegration, urging to standardize it, regulate it and put it in useful operation to the city.

The discourse that the port was abandoned is also problematic because it removes the responsibility of governments for the degradation of the properties. Most empty and idle properties are public property of all kinds, belonging to a wide range of State instances. Also, if for a long time several properties in the locality remained idle, it is not because the region would have been abandoned and remained without any function, but precisely because it worked in a specific way for the city fulfilling speculative purposes and generating a value reserve.

Based on the rate of vacant properties, the rehabilitation project pointed out that the Harbor Zone was suffering from a "housing void" and promised to attract 100 thousand new residents to the place. Nevertheless, this vision is contradicted by population density growth rates of residents in the region for the past ten years. The population density without the increase of available properties would reveal that the central neighborhoods would have experienced a recent increase in the number of families living in slums, tenements and informal housing. This phenomenon is proven when we get closer to the experience of the homeless occupations that populated the port region. For many years, while real estate speculation kept buildings empty, many poor families moved there.

### 4. Producing Void

Especially since 2009, not only the attempts to occupy new properties in the central region have become increasingly difficult due to the strong police repression, but even the occupations that were already consolidated were being evicted or pressured to leave accepting the negotiations the City Hall offered: social rent, indemnities or registration for the assisted house purchase in the My House My Live program, far away from the center.
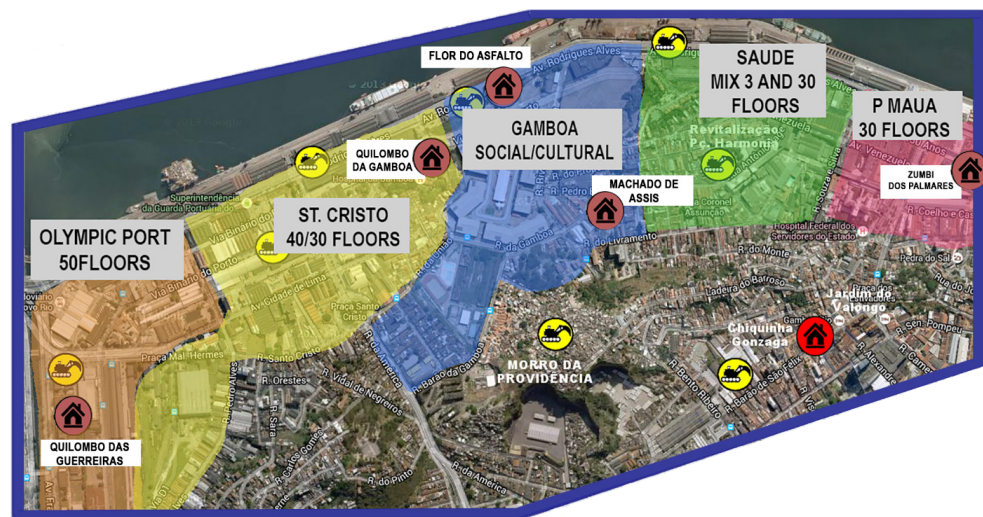
Fig. 1 – Location of the main squats studied and interventions at the Harbor Zone of Rio de Janeiro city.  Source: Own creation based on (Chequetti 2017)

One squatted building in particular, called *Quilombo das Guerreiras*, has an interesting case. The part of the Harbor it was located was meant to be turned into the "Olympic Port", where buildings could be the highest and buyers should be the wealthiest. A rumor was spread that the terrain would be bought for the construction of the Trump Towers Rio, although this was never confirmed. Despite that, the squatters had a deal with the Company of Urban Development of the Port Region to move to a promised Social Housing project to be built inside the intervention area for the relocation for poor families.

It`s surroundings became a horror movie set: open tubes, sidewalks destroyed, trees felled, mountains of sand and the street constantly without public lighting. The dirt, noise, and problems that a collective occupation in that region already had, got worse and the climate of insecurity increased. They were forced to keep the doors open for the circulation of men and machinery of the Consortium responsible for the Porto Maravilha works, so next to the building's entrance piles of sand and materials for construction were dumped. The supply of light and water, which was already irregular, was constantly dropping, contributing to the precariousness of living conditions in the building. With the lack of light and security, gradually the pedagogical and political activities of daily life inside the squat also stopped happening.

However, it was a move from the City Hall that changed everything and led the squatters to move out without a proper housing where to go. They evicted a group form another part of the city and "dumped" then, "as human waste", remember an interviewee, in a building close to them. Suddenly, disputes for space started to happen, the other group invaded the building and took over rooms, some squatters of the movement were threatened and expelled. After that, the City Hall came

back and evicted both groups, regardless of the deal they had. They also had to leave without any furniture, taking just a few personal things. When they got authorization for entering and getting their stuff, the building was already emptied.

During this fieldwork, various eviction techniques applied against the occupations, by the most diverse actors, were identified: production of debris and ruins left in the doors, material (and symbolic, therefore) degradation of the surroundings, cuts and destruction of infrastructural supply networks (water and electricity), turning living conditions precarious, turning the buildings security vulnerable, destabilization of the collective, misinformation, rumors and provocation of conflicts between homeless groups. This apparatus, justified above all by the exceptional moment of the works, was applied to a greater or lesser extent to all squatted buildings of this social movement network, causing the evictions to occur by a temporal process that involved the multiplication of the risks of death for that population.

In this sense, processes and agents linked to the state agency itself often act to maintain precarious and "illegal" conditions in occupations, which reinforces, in a cyclical way, the appeal for eviction. The degradation of the minimum conditions of survival reinforces the perspective that the squats would be insufficient, undeveloped forms of housing, and thus also the argument of abandonment and precariousness of the place.

Seen as outside - the legal, the urban, the adequate, or even what is considered life - this work proposes to think these occupied buildings, represented in the revitalization project as non-integrated, underdeveloped, and on the limit as empty and lifeless places, as situations of negotiation of the margins between legal/ illegal, order/ disorder, "life"/ emptiness, in the sense proposed by Das (2004). The author states that "margins", as "spaces where borders are negotiated", are privileged places of analysis to understand the relationship between laws, bodies and discipline.

The occupations are usually referred to as "precarious informal settlements", unhealthy, "improvised", as if they were not "real" homes, always represented by lack, insufficiency, underdevelopment and emphasizing precariousness. This perspective reproduces a recurring view that brings poor populations closer to a certain concept of "state of nature", as if they were on the edge of survival, fighting against forces that overlap with them for minimum subsistence conditions. Thus, through apparently technical measures such as "good living conditions", dividing practices are established that institute and regulate the ways of living in the urban space. As seen, however, the occupations are not necessarily precarious, but there is a joint movement to undermine their conditions of subsistence that is configured as a strategy to remove these groups.

These practices can be seen as inscriptions of the "State" in these "margin" terri-tories seen as "disorderly". The "State" manifests itself in the "margins" through the illegibility of practices, not because its reason is not understandable by lay-people, but because it is unreadable for its own agents and representatives. This is because the State is not a cohesive entity, but made of local agents and authori-ties constantly re-founding the State's jurisdiction through private appropriation of justice and violence (Das and Poole 2004, p. 14).

The power to govern, in the sense proposed by Foucault (1979), to order and ar-range groups in the urban space, is understood as a process that permeates the structure political and bureaucratic than what would be the "State", but it goes upon it, being carried out by multiple actors, devices, techniques, knowledges, etc. Power is approached, therefore, from the point of view of the devices that man-age the population, fix identities, representations and categories that organize groups socially.

Rabinow (2003) seeks in Foucault's thinking how power relations generate an un-derstandable ordering of space. Modern urbanism would have been founded on colonialism in which colonies were used as social and aesthetic laboratories of urban plans. Architecture became involved with problems of population, military control, health and urban issues, becoming a question of how to use the spa-tial arrangement for political-economic purposes. In this sense, space becomes a central component of a specific form of power in the West (Rabinow 2003, p. 356).

Thus, the city and its organization from the point of view of biopower is thought through the logic of population regulation: measure its rates, control its circulation and maximize its efficiency. The space is related to demography, social and com-mercial characteristics, a place to be known, controlled, regulated and maximized. In this form of organization in which the question of space becomes a problem of circulation, of how to increase prosperity, but in an orderly, efficient and coherent way. Thus, the growth for which the opening of roads, tunnels, ports and bridges prepares is deeply linked to the development of security technologies.

In this sense, biopolitical interventions aim to organize the circulation - of goods, people, capital - stimulate certain flows and hinder others. The government in this sense is intrinsically related to the emergence of the population problem (Foucault 1979, p.288). Governing is not only concerned with property, but with how to live, who lives and under what conditions. Housing, in turn, is placed in this perspective as a privileged space for reflection of these forms of management and control. Thinking from this perspective, the urban reform of revitalization is not simply an operation that aims to combat irregular or illegal housing, but that aims to man-age population rates and the organization of bodies in urban space.

While promoting the reorganization of circulation, the revitalization reform is also,

according to Telles (2010), a redistribution of *urban illegalisms*, where the crite-ria of tolerance and incrimination of certain practices are modified, increasing the persecution and criminalization not only of occupations and invasions, but of these "popular illegalisms", such as informal street commerce, among others. At this point, the regularization of houses and lands has a major role, showing itself not as a technical and neutral process, but a political one.

The status of illegality or legality of occupations is not fully given and defined, operating across porous borders. The various obstacles to squats to achieve reg-ularization point to bureaucracy as instruments of power that keep these groups in constant instability, in which full guarantee and legitimacy are hardly achieved, and they can always be exposed to vulnerability again and can be removed. Therefore, it is never a question of combating and eradicating irregularities and illegalities, but of reducing the rates of these "bad" uses, regulating flows, optimiz-ing their operation.

The process that delimits legitimate and illegitimate houses is not due to their essential characteristics, but due to a political process of differentiation and in-ternal subdivisions. Regularization appears as a differentiating process between "needy" x "invaders", not only repressing, but inciting appropriate behaviors that are modeled on a predetermined victim identity. The effective result is less the eradication of these precarious informal settlements than the demobilization and withdrawal of these occupations, in which a tiny minority managed to remain and advance in bureaucratic regularization processes.

### 5. Conclusions

When approaching the perspective of these groups we see the functioning of a rhetoric of the void as a device that creates the need for filling, while in practice this emptying has been produced by the revitalization endeavor itself through evictions. The harbor as a void is not only produced discursively and symbolically, but materially by house evictions and destructions in the region.

Thus, within this endeavor that establishes divisions between what should be re-moved and what should be preserved, processes of militarization and evictions are complementary, and not opposite to, construction of social housing, condo-miniums, museums, squares and avenues. In this sense, the regulation of pop-ulation in the reform of the harbor of Rio was, as seen, by multiple practices of creating conditions and incentives for the construction of specific commercial and leisure areas, aiming to attract the middle and upper class to live, frequent and consume. While at the same time we can follow a series of processes that affect-ed the population of the occupations, invasions and slums in the region in order to multiply the difficulties, obstacles and obstacles to stay in place, attempting against their living conditions or even against their lives directly.

I would say, then, that the revitalization reform promoted a resignification of these *informalisms* and of life itself in that territory by removing the poor resident population - and among these the poorest, the homeless, occupants, invaders, homeless and slum dwellers - multiplying the risks of death and obstacles for them. Biopower works so that the life of certain groups such as squatters and invaders can be attacked, as if they were previously considered to be lifeless, and allowing them to be targets of processes that vulnerability, precariousness and even death.

Years after the evictions, none of these empty evicted buildings in the area were transformed into a new business or social housing project. What would be the point then of evicting these families and keeping the buildings empty and closed? What is the functionality of producing Port as a void? Housing policies that evict, preservation policies that destroy, revitalizations that produce voids: what logic would permeate these policies? What would be the use of ruin?

Ferguson (2006) addresses what he considers to be the "utility of failure" in this type of development project, which appears to be the norm. The Port was produced as a material and conceptual ruin in the sense of continually inviting for reconstruction. In building this void and these ruins, the rhetoric of loss, abandonment and degradation is refounded, constantly justifying rescue efforts against a process of destruction. Also, the revitalization may have not brought new investments to the area and kept all vacant properties empty, but had the effect of demobilizing this group of occupations that opposed the current city model and "made" another city in their daily lives.

The "politics of the poor" issue often arises from the view that these populations have no politics, being passively determined. This is because their political practices largely take place outside spaces formally understood as "political". Their policy is in daily life, in a detailed work in which they weave strategies to deal with processes that involve personal and social contexts, from facing precariousness until learning to negotiate with public and private agents of all kinds. The occupations of downtown Rio definitely had a role in the city-making process.

The "third world" cities, and the functioning of the "State" in them, have been seen as underdeveloped, unfinished, precarious spaces in relation to the Eurocentric model in which a rational democratic state is supposed to operate in the so-called "global cities". It is necessary, however, to learn from the Global South, and develop theories and practices from the South. The experiences of urban squatters bring central developments for an analysis of the functioning of population controls that manufacture the boundaries of the "city" and the "State" and, in this sense, operate in such a way that the boundaries between legal and illegal, public and private, are indiscernible.

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# 98 Ecological design strategies for urban spaces in European World Expos

## From Bioclimatic Control to Sustainability

DR. RAFAEL ORTIZ MARTÍNEZ DE CARNERO
University of Seville, Spain

### ABSTRACT

Since its inception, World Expositions have anticipated innovations and new design systems in relation to the issues that concern the society of every historical period. Producing an important contribution and impact on the design solutions of each era as pilot experiences and experimental systems.

Our investigation focuses on the analysis of bioclimatic and ecological design strategies together with technological solutions for urban spaces in European World Expos during the 1990 to 2000 decade. From Seville World Expo in 1992 to Hannover World Expo in 2000. Thus, highlighting the evolution from a user comfort point of view in terms of bioclimatic control into an ecological sustainable approach, identifying the experiences of the Seville World Expo as a turning point in a global planning for the development of ecological oriented strategies in urban scale.

The systems are exposed and analyzed within their historical and geographical context, showing their ability to adapt in urban or geographical situations of a similar nature in contemporary contexts and proposing possibilities for their use and future development.

This decade of World Expos, highlight the development of experimental systems, bioclimatic experiences and ecological design in urban spaces that will have an impact for its adequacy and implementation in future solutions.

We will witness a redefinition of the parameters and values that Expos represent with the arrival of the end of the century. Where the recovery and preservation of balance with the ecosystem will be part of the conceptual ideology of these international events.

**Keywords:** Expo, ecological, bioclimatism, sustainability.

## 1. Introduction

In the European Universal and International Exhibitions held in the last decade of the twentieth century, we will find an important influence of themes related to ecology and sustainability, which will lead to the development and establishment of objectives that will lay the foundations for the emergence of a new way to conceptualize and understand these types of events.

This will be largely due to the holding of a significant number of summits and international conferences during the decade. These will generate a global sensitivity and set up the foundations for concepts such as sustainable development and the interdependence of different socio-economic factors in the development of humanity and its relationship with the environment.

The most prominent the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Earth Summit, held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992, will serve as support for the development of the so-called Agenda 21:

> *(...) a daring program of action calling for new strategies to invest in the future to achieve overall sustainable development in the 21st century...from new methods of education, to new ways of preserving natural resources and new ways of participating in a sustainable economy. (United Nations, n.d., p. 4)*

Afterwards and inspired on the Earth Summit, will be held in Alborg, Denmark, 1994, the first European Conference on Sustainable Cities and Towns, this conference will take place on its second and third edition in Lisbon 1996 and Hannover in 2000.

On the other hand, this historical period coincides with the birth and first years of development of the European Union, *Treaty on European Union*, signed in 1992 and effective from 1993. New socio-political context in which the countries that host these events are included. Thus, these exhibitions will also serve as integrative elements in this new socio-political and economic reality.

Motivated by this context, we will witness a redefinition of the parameters and values that World´s Fairs represent with the arrival of the end of the century. Where the recovery and conservation of balance with the ecosystem will be part of the conceptual ideology of this type of international events. Thus, the Universal and International Exhibitions of this period will include, intrinsically or in some area of their development, strategies for the achievement of ecological or sustainable objectives on their agendas.

In events of this magnitude and impact, within urban and architectural contexts, the term ecology expands, considering strategies of: integration and adaptation in dialogue with the existing territory and city, landscape implementation or urban space and recovery and preservation from sustainability.

An important characteristic of this type of events is its duality. They should serve both the development period of the Expo and the subsequent Post-Expo. With the particularity that its function and its duration in time are very different. The Expo period is very compact and with clearly defined functionality and the Post-Expo period is long lasting, hosting less specific functions. Thus, the implantation of Expos will generate infrastructural problems related to their location and socio-cultural and economic problems in relation to their adaptation and functional transition over time.

World´s Fairs involve not only the development of a temporary international event but also the development of proposals for urban insertion of catalytic nature in hosting cities. This fact raises challenges in strategic management that influence the territorial definition and the development of infrastructures both at the state level and at the metropolitan level, such as highways, airports, bridges, high-speed railway lines, accesses to the city, etc.

In the case of this research, we would like to highlight strategies carried out at four World and International exhibitions of this period, see table 1, all of them within the European context.

Table 1 – Universal and International Exhibitions in Europe in the 1990s

| Expo (Official Designation) & Year | Type | Participants Countries (Official) | Schedule / Duration | Size (ha) | Visitors (n° people) | Location | Theme |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Universal Exhibition of Seville - 1992 | World Exhibition | 108 | 20/04/1992 12/10/1992 / 5 Months - 22 days | 215 | 41,814,571 | Seville, Spain | The Age of Discovery |
| Specialized International Exposition Genoa 1992 | International Specialized Expo | 54 | 15/05/1992 15/08/1992 / 3 Months | 6 | 1,706,148 | Genoa, Italy | Christopher Columbus: The Ship and the Sea |
| Lisboa Expo'98 - 1998 Lisbon World Exposition | International Specialized Expo | 143 | 22/05/1998 30/09/1998 / 4 Months - 10 Days | 50 | 10,128,204 | Lisbon, Portugal | The Oceans: a heritage for the Future |
| Expo 2000 Hannover | World Exhibition | 174 | 01/06/2000 31/10/2000 / 5 Months | 160 | 18,100,000 | Hannover, Germany | Humankind - Nature – Technology |

Source: Own creation based on (BIE, Bureau International des Expositions, n.d.).

The relevance of the chosen examples lies in the demonstration of the transition from classic World´s Fairs models to new models where a new sensitivity prevails. Characterized by: the proposal of solutions for urban insertion at territorial and metropolitan scale, the development of environmental and landscape proposals for urban spaces, the generation of solutions of programmatic continuity post-Expo and the importance of sustainability in the governance of this type of event. Highlighting specifically:

- The recovery and urban integration in Genoa 92. Adaptation of existing structures and regeneration of areas of the city of important historical character.

- The importance of landscape and bioclimatic design for the implementation of urban space in Seville 92.

- The Expo as a strategy for implementing the objectives of the Urban Plan of the City and the enhancement of large urban areas of metropolitan level in Lisbon 98.

- Sustainability as conceptualization and governance in Hannover 2000.

These strategies will be paradigmatic examples and will set guidelines for the development of future Universal and International Exhibitions not only in Europe but also in the World. They will also serve as a laboratory for the implementation of this type of urban and architectural interventions in non-related World´s Fairs contexts.

### 2. Genoa 1992. Urban Restoration and Rehabilitation

The Genoa 92 International Specialized Expo took place at the same time as the Seville 92 World Exhibition. The event was located at the Porto Antico area, developed through a process of urban renovation and architectural adaptation. The intervention will produce a harmonious spatial and functional transition with the ancient city.

The architect in charge of the project, Renzo Piano, proposes a global intervention in the area, consisting on an adaptation of the public space for the Expo purposes that include the renovation of existing buildings and the creation of new iconic buildings. The solution will involve the transformation of the pier and its urban space creating a connection between the Expo site and the historical urban fabric.

This urban renovation opportunity involves a relevant intervention, with the predominance of pedestrian spaces that will connect the historical city with the planned Expo area. Thus, the access roads to the port area will be expanded and esplanades will be developed generating spatial openness and a clear connection with the port.

Via Aurelia, SS1, built in the 60s and one of the most important highways in the country, passes through this area of the city as an elevated highway, generating an important barrier between the historic city and the port area (Archilovers, 2017). Expo 92 will create a spatial continuity between both areas of the city, below the highway, through the treatment of urban space.

In terms of architectural renovation and adaptation the project of *Magazzini del Cotone*, cotton warehouses, one of the oldest buildings in the port, will be transformed into a library and auditorium, currently a conference center.

On the other hand, within this growing interest in ecology, the sea pavilion, the city's current aquarium, stands out, where the emblematic Biosphere is included. The latter, inhabited by 150 animal and plant organisms as a fragment of a tropical rainforest artificially maintained and included in a spherical steel and glass building.

### 3. Expo 92 Seville. Bioclimatic Landscape

**3.1 Expo 92 Master Plan**

An environmental approach with the predominance of green spaces characterizes the winning proposals of the international competition for the development of the Expo 92 master plan in 1986. Although the comprehensive use of the site after expo is still not conceived from sustainability principles, the master plans propose the creation of large public spaces with parks, lagoons and gardens that will give the city a new landscaping reference at the end of the fair. From an ecological position, an important reforestation program is proposed in the Universal Exhibition area, *Isla de la Cartuja*, complemented with a bioclimatic treatment of public spaces during the Expo 92.

The winning proposal, unrealized, by the Argentine architect Emilio Ambasz, poses three large lagoons that adapt to the banks of the Guadalquivir river where floating pavilions can be removed at the end of Expo 92. The Ambasz plan proposes a minimal use of infrastructures but the use of ferries to transport the visitors from the city into the Expo site.

Finally, a team of architects composed by: Rafael de la Hoz, Alejandro de la Sota and Julio Cano Lasso will be in charge of making the final master plan proposal. Where the environmental approach is limited in favor of a classic type of Expo arrangement in which the pavilions are organized around avenues and streets with clearly sectorized spaces.

**3.2 The Landscape Project**

Prior to the development of Expo 92, *on Isla de La Cartuja*, ideas were already

being raised for the creation of a metropolitan park and its connection with the existing green spaces in the city through the riverbank, enhancing their use as landscaped public spaces.

It is not surprising that for Expo 92 an ambitious landscape plan is developed where parks and gardens will be created both within the Expo and in its neighboring areas. All of this complemented with the creation of *Programa Raices*, a program to incorporate a large number of foreign species from the American continent. According to Forgey (1992) in Seville Expo 92: "Greenery proliferates. About 25,000 trees and 300,000 shrubs have been planted on formerly desolate land, officials report. The main streets are covered with a two-tiered trellis system, with leafy vines growing from both upper and lower tiers (…)" (p. 13)

### 3.3 Urban Design Strategies. Bioclimatism at Expo 92

Urban design at Expo 92 stands out for its great aesthetic cohesion and spatial continuity throughout the site, facilitating its use as an outdoor space for rest and leisure. Water, see fig. 1, will be the structuring element in the form of masses and curtains of water, fountains and waterfalls. Together with its use in bioclimatic systems within circuits under paving, irrigation, sprinkling and mircronization.



Fig. 1 – *The Lake in Expo 92.* Source: (Ortiz Martínez de Carnero, 1992)

Bioclimatic strategies in Expo 92 are based on an adaptation of vernacular passive conditioning strategies in dry climates combined with the use of new technologies for its application in urban spaces (López de Asiain, 2001). These proposals aim to solve problems related to visitor comfort during the Expo 92 period, especially in summer months. They will consist of shade production systems, water evaporation systems, fresh air confinement systems, systems for using the thermal mass of pavements and other built elements; that together with the vegetation will collaborate in obtaining a global effect. As a detail of these solutions,

one of the symbolic landmarks of the urban space in Expo 92, the Bioclimatic Sphere, consisting of a large 22-meter diameter sphere composed of micronizers that cover its surface.

An important aspect for the development of the bioclimatic project during Expo 92 was the creation of a full-scale model, *La Rotonda Bioclimática*, which will serve as an area for experimentation and testing of the systems. Thus, natural air-cooling techniques, covers for different types of passageways, ponds with fountains and dimensions of elements are tested. The evaluations will be registered during the summers of 1988 and 1989. This space also serves as a sample of the overall effect of urban space design, its scale, composition and materialization.

### 4. Expo Lisbon 98. Urban Transformation and Integration with the Existing City

#### 4.1 Expo 98 Master Plan

In the case of Lisbon, the urban insertion plan and post-Expo, is more ambitious compared to Expo Genoa. With practically 10 times more area, 6 hectares at Expo Genoa versus 50 hectares at Expo 98. Both international exhibitions. In Lisbon 98, its conceptualization and planning model establishes the creation of a new centrality within the metropolitan context of Lisbon. Thus, *Parque das Nações*, is conceived with capacity to integrate the Expo and allowing its development after the end of the event.

While at Expo Genova 92, we identified a local urban renovation, Expo Lisbon 98 will transform a larger post-industrial strategic area, enhancing the city's relationship with the Tagus River and modernizing its identity within the context of the newly formed European Union.

Composed by a team of architects and urbanists, *Parque Expo SA*, was in charge of the complete planning of the event, led by the architect and urban planner Vassalo Rosa. They will set among its objectives the integration of Expo 98 urban plan on the 1992 strategic plan of Lisbon and generate a new urban center for the city after the Expo (Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht, 2014). Thus, the inclusion of mixed uses such as residential, services or commercial, and the improvement of the infrastructures will facilitate the creation of a neighborhood and its integration in the city after the event.

#### 4.2 Expo 98 Architecture and Urban Space

The architecture in Expo 98 is planned from both permanence and temporality. With outstanding permanent works such as the Portugal Pavilion, designed by Alvaro Siza, currently used as an exhibition space, and others such as the Atlantico

Pavillion, nowadays Altice Arena that hosts concerts, conventions or sporting events. On the other hand, the temporary pavilions of participating countries were planned as modular solutions of 16 x 16 m., 256 m2 (Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht, 2014).

With the idea of their future incorporation into the city, public spaces are organized through axes that incorporate different functions equipped with pedestrian and road access. This strategy is reinforced with the location of the main public buildings on the site periphery. (Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht, 2014) Along the riverbank, reserved for pedestrian access, the activities will be concentrated on leisure functions.

Finally, important infrastructural projects are developed to solve access problems to the Expo´98 programmed area such as the Vasco da Gama Bridge, the construction, extension or reconstruction of numerous road axes and interventions in the national road network.

### 5. Expo Hannover 2000. Sustainable and Environmentally Sensitive

**5.1 Expo Hannover 2000 Master Plan**

Hannover 2000 planning is conceptualized from parameters based on sustainability with an important ecological character. In order to promote sustainability and its values in a comprehensive and exemplary way, the exhibition will establish principles that will serve as guidelines for the assessment of important strategic decisions in the development of the event.

Expo Hannover 2000, will be the first World Fair in which the BIE.[1], will allow the use of existing structures (Chappell, n.d.), in this case the ones corresponding to the Hannover fair, complemented with two areas of pavilions and thematic gardens. This aspect will entail, according to Bonomini[2]. (2017),

> "(...) a significant change in terms of environmental and economic impact in the conception and realization of large events. It has only been necessary to build 30% of the facilities, which at the end of the Expo must be dismantled, recycled or reinstalled (...)". (p. 266)

The winners of the international competition for the development of the master plan of the Expo Hannover 2000, in 1992, were the Swiss architects Arnaboldi and Cavadini. They propose the use of the existing exhibition structures of the Hannover fair and their extension.

The update and documentation of the definitive master plan, will be developed by the office of the German urban planner Albert Speer, AS&P. This office will also be in charge of the construction of the site in collaboration with the architect Thomas Herzog and the landscape architect Dieter Kienast.

Hannover 2000 Post-Expo: Continuity and Evolution. The development of the urban management after Expo, *Hannover 2001 Program*, will propose the application of sustainable models for the development of the site within the Kronsberg neighborhood. According to Bonomini[3]. "(...) an attempt is made to put into practice what is required by Agenda 21, responding not only to its ecological but social requirements (...)" (p.269).

**5.2 The Hannover Principles and World Wide Projects**

 "By choosing 'Humanity, Nature, and Technology' as the theme for EXPO 2000, (...), humanity will redefine itself, its placement in nature, and refine the role of technology within the environment." (McDonough, 1992, p. 2).

*The Hannover Principles*, by the American architect William McDonough, 1992, poses a guide for the design and development of a sustainable Expo project in all its scales from urban infrastructures to national pavilions, not only in relation to construction parameters but also as a guide to the thematic contents. With an important didactic and exemplary approach based on the practical application of a new design philosophy based on sustainability.

A new design philosophy that enhances interdependence with nature at every level: land use, water, air, materials, wastes, energy and responsibility. Along with the learning from natural models and their cycles, the efficient and sustainable use of energy and the disappearance of the concept of waste.

The transport systems in Expo 2000 will prioritize pedestrians and cyclists, the use of efficient zero-emission vehicles and public transportation running on clean renewable energy sources.

On the educational side and dissemination of the values associated with sustainability, Expo 2000 proposes expanding beyond its borders and visitors. Thus McDonough (1992) will propose: "(...) approaches to decentralizing the fair (...) incorporate pavilions or centers in other countries, (...), that might be linked by electronic means such as" tele-presence "communications technology." (p. 11)

This initiative will be developed during the Expo through the *World Wide Projects* program[4], which are public calls for financing projects in different areas of the

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1  BIE, Bureau International des Expositions. Intergovernmental Organization in charge of evaluating the quality and integrity of the Exhibitions
2  Citation translated from Spanish to English by the author

3  Citation translated from Spanish to English by the author
4  More information on World Wide Projects at, www.nwwp.de

planet. These will present concrete solutions in relation to sustainable develop-ment and ecology and will propose strategies for the implementation of living conditions on the planet.

### 5.3 Architecture in Expo Hannover 2000

The parameters of sustainability and temporality will lead to interesting architec-tural solutions such as: the Swiss pavilion designed by Peter Zumthor in wood that will be reused when disassembled, or the Japan pavilion by Shigeru Ban consist-ing of a hybrid vaulted structure of cardboard tubes and laminated wood.

The most emblematic pavilion of the Expo, the pavilion of the Netherlands, de-signed by MVRDV, will perform an interpretation of the principles, where nature will be considered from its hybridization with technology. Valuing its redefinition as a concept from artificiality and raising questions and problems of global na-ture, such as the increase in population density and quality of life.

"Reflection on these issues may be the contribution of Holland to the ecological objective of this universal exhibition, which seems to have simply remained in a romantic vision of rejection of technology and consumer society." (MVRDV, 2000, p. 48).

## 6. Conclusions

Throughout the 90s, we will witness a process of evolution related with the inte-gration of the impact of this type of events in the cities that host them. We must not forget that these cities undergo an acceleration process in their development, from hosting an event of global magnitude for a short period of 3 to 5 months, which will become obsolete after its completion. In addition, the event will pro-vide the city with a powerful infrastructure and urban fabric that has to be repro-grammed to absorb new functions.

Through the introduced examples, we have been able to understand the transition from a classic approach in the planning and conceptualization of the Expos, at the beginning of the decade, to a sustainable understanding of the Expo and its Post-Expo development at the end of the decade.

In the case of the International Exhibitions, Genoa 92 and Lisbon 98, the event will be the opportunity to carry out the renovation of an area of the city from strate-gies of restoration and urban adaptation that will generate new urban identities and areas of centrality.

On the other hand, in the case of the Universal Exhibitions, Seville 92 and Hannover 2000, we observe an evolution of the master plan from landscape-type approaches

to sustainable proposals that pose long-term strategies for the development of the urban fabric in relation with the territory.

In the case of urban design, we observe proposals of different nature in each exhibition, although it seems that urban design proposals with great acceptance during the period of the Expo do not have the capacity to continue after the Expo and vice versa.

The permanent architecture of emblematic pavilions will evolve into temporary sustainable proposals with the prevalence of recycling materials and the integral use of existing structures. Thus, in Genoa 92 we oversee the adaptation and res-toration of existing buildings to host Expo functions. In Lisbon 98, there is a clear differentiation between permanent pavilions and temporary structures and in Hannover 2000 the architecture as a whole will be conceived primarily on a tem-porary basis.

Finally, it is interesting to highlight the pronounced change in the conceptualiza-tion of the Expo model during this short period. In which we witnessed an im-portant renewal of ideas regarding insertion and development models, from the influence of currents of thought based on ecology and sustainability.

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# 103 How mega interventions are shaping Tokyo

## A critical review

DR. NAOMI C. HANAKATA
National University of Singapore

### ABSTRACT

Urban transformation is increasingly determined by singular mega interventions. Some are outlined as mega developments from the outset, others are initiated with temporary character like Olympic games. The legacy of these projects, however, has become an integral part over the past two decades. Both have the capacity to change the image of their cities on a global stage and impact their urban development lastingly.

This contribution investigates, how the growing number of urban mega interventions have been shaping Tokyo, and it looks at their potential to function as trendsetters for new development practices. I focus on two areas in which mega interventions are increasingly setting the tone for a particular mode of spatial production and defining new benchmarks for subsequent projects: sustainability standards and the digitization of our urban environment. While I will draw from a larger selection of case studies of urban megaprojects and Olympic games, I will focus on projects situated in Tokyo including the deferred 2020 Olympic Games.

Mega interventions are spectacular moments of spatial commodification which allows to gather the resources necessary to realize such projects. New practices within the realization of mega interventions are facilitated by an accumulation of local and global investment putting the projects on the top of the list of local and global agencies involved. While powerful catalysts to push urban development at a large scale they are also proliferating urban inequity and uneven distribution of power and resources.

Urban space is central in the making of mega interventions and impacted within and beyond the perimeter of intervention. It also holds the key to building an inclusive and sustainable urban practice.

**Keywords:** Urban megaprojects, mega events, urban development practice, Tokyo

### Introduction

Over the past decades, urban transformation has increasingly been determined by singular mega interventions (Hanakata 2021). These include mega development projects as well as events with a seemingly temporary character like Olympic Games. The latter, however, have increasingly lasting effects considering the aspect of 'legacy' that has become an integral part of these events. Both, mega projects and mega events have the capacity to change the image of their cities on a global stage and impact their urban development lastingly.

This contribution looks at how mega projects and mega events have been shaping Tokyo over the past decades and how they have the potential to function as trendsetters for new development practices. On the basis of my research urban mega projects1 and urban transformation related to the Olympic Games in Tokyo 2020/21, field visits, official documents, media reports, and scholarly work I focus on two areas in which urban mega interventions take a key role in exploring new development strategies and setting new benchmarks for subsequentially realised projects: These are sustainability standards and the digitization of the urban realm. With an increasing number of mega projects over the past decades and as the first Asian city which prepared itself for two Summer Olympic Games, Tokyo offers a rich empirical setting for this research.

### Defining Urban Mega Interventions

Urban megaprojects much like mega events are large scale interventions in the urban structure that are comprehensively planned, with a variety of uses and "facilitated by a coordinated application of capital and power" (Hanakata and Gasco 2019:15). Urban space is central in the making of these interventions as well as it is impacted within and beyond the perimeter of intervention. Both types of interventions require years of planning and execution. Mega projects that informed this research were also high-density developments within concentrated urban areas, including residential, office and commercial spaces (aedem). In the case of mega events and Olympic Games in particular, their built interventions are no longer limited to sports venues but include housing projects, media centres, transport infrastructures, tourist attractions and more.

Urban megaprojects and mega events are usually conceived, realized and managed by a specially created governing body. As a single actor, this authority has greater freedom in mobilising, planning and operating the intervention in its own interest. This governing authority is usually especially created and consists of publicly owned private entities, public-private partnership, or private enterprises

1  The research was carried out between 2015 and 2019 under the title The Grand Projet at the Future Cities Laboratory of the ETH in Singapore; results were published in a monograph *The Grand Projet. Understanding the Making and Impact of Urban Megaproject* with Nai010 Publishers 2019.

(Hanakata 2019b). In the case of Marunouchi, a mega project in central Tokyo, it is the Council for Area Development and Management of Ōtemachi, Marunouchi and Yūrakucho (OMY Council). In the case of the Tokyo Olympic Games 2020 it is The Tokyo Organization Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (TOCOG). For these and similar actors, power manifests as a dispositional quality and resource which allows them to shape a project throughout and usually despite a large pool of stakeholders including property owners, developers, urban planners, residents, tenants, visitors and volunteers.

Historically, both types of interventions have been around for centuries, including for example imperial cities like the forbidden city in Beijing (72 hectares, early 15th century) or the Palace of Versailles near Paris (815 hectares, late 17th century) to political centralities like Brasilia (11,268.92 hectares, 1960-), city centres like Le Havre in the Normandy (133 hectares, 1945-1965) or business centralities like Lujiazui in Shanghai (180 hectares, 1970s), all comprehensively planned and mixed-use projects. As for the modern Olympic revival, games in the late 19th century and early 20th century had little impact on their host city with Paris (1900) and St Louis (1904) not even having a stadium. Events took place using existing infrastructures and venues and had little of the spectacle that is intruding host cities today (Roche 2017). The 1964 Tokyo Olympics provide an early example that triggered large and lasting urban transformation measures. In line with the efforts to rebuild and advance the city after devastating air raids during World War II, the Games mark a physically as well as psychologically decisive moment in overcoming the wartime devastation.

The ambition to initiate a mega intervention often has numerous, converging motivations including the stimulation of local economies, the aim to change the image of a city, and to obtain a (new) place on a global map. Both types of interventions commonly mark a turning point in the city's presence in a global consciousness and they are synonymous with a promotion of the host city's international recognition.

A prerequisite for the realization of any mega intervention is the availability of large plots of land which are notoriously scares in Tokyo, where private property is well protected and passed on over generations. Therefore, most of the city's mega interventions are constructed on the few existing mega plots rather than on consolidated land (Hanakata 2019a:67). This was the case for Marunouchi, an urban development which started out on a former military exercise field in the 1890s. The 1964 Olympic Games were largely erected on a former U.S. military training and housing compound, and the Olympic Athlete's Village for the 2020 Games is built on a former industrial site in the reclaimed section of Tokyo Bay. This starting condition reduces cases of eviction and expropriation which are otherwise justified with the aim for worldclassness by governing authorities and host cities. The intensification of a societal divide with an uneven distribution of benefits created through mega interventions, however, is still taking place and can be

considered endemic to the nature of these projects (Ziakas 2015). With this corollary and massive financial and often regulatory capacities at the disposal of a few powerful urban actors mega interventions are persistently critiqued for causing a disruption of livelihoods, displacement of uses, eviction of residents and for proliferating urban inequity and uneven distribution of power and resources (Davis 2011; Essex and Chalkley 1998; Flyvbjerg 2005; Hiller 2000; Moulaert, Rodriguez, and Swyngedouw 2003; Müller 2015).

Mega interventions, however, also have the capacity to innovate and progress sustainable urban development. Because they are planned comprehensively and designed, implemented and managed by the same governing body, it is possible not despite but because of their scale to conceive and implement new development practices.

### How megaprojects are transforming Tokyo

Mega interventions have a great impact on our cities in various ways. Physically, they transform and or extend the urban fabric; conceptually they represent and or spear head a new image for the city's economic agenda; socially, they disrupt and or introduce (new) livelihoods, inhabitants and uses into existing urban milieus. In doing so they alter these structures and lastingly transform our cities beyond the project site. This is commonly generated by a push and pull effect: pushed to broadcast the host city's ambitions to the region as well as a to a global audience. Marunouchi for example was designated to become Tokyo's modern front door to the world (Hanakata 2019a); the 1964 Games presented a resurrected modern city to an international audience and similarly, the 2020 Games where meant to present an energetic and sustainable global city after decades of economic recession, a crisis only aggravated by the 2011 triple catastrophe.[2]

In Tokyo, where urban mega projects are still the exception, these three mega interventions have all marked significantly large areas within the city, that is otherwise characterized by small to super small plots with a dense but low-rise built-up. Marunouchi, is a 120 hectares large urban development area that contains the city's central business district. It is located between Tokyo station and the Imperial Palace with a first comprehensive development plan for the site in 1908. The 1964 Olympic Games were primarily located on a 92.4 hectares large site around Harajuku and Gaien Mae - not considering all the other venue sites and infrastructures that were undertaken to vamp up the city in preparation for the Games. For the Games in 2020 part of these venues have been reactivated (Heritage Zone) with a major 38 hectares addition of new development on Harumi Island for the Athlete's Village (Tokyo Bay Zone).

2   The triple catastrophe of 2011 included an earthquake with a magnitude of 9 in the Tohoku Region in northern Japan, followed by a Tsunami along the north-eastern coasts of the Japanese archipelago and a nuclear meltdown in the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant in Sendai.

Urban mega interventions rarely follow established development practices and trajectories. In fact, they oftentimes disrupt and reconfigure existing norms and power structures and provide an opportunity to create new ones (Hanakata 2019b:562). With concerted project control, exceptional financial backing, and political attention they have presented an ideal urban condition and testing ground to explore and incorporate new development practices.

The site of Marunouchi was a government owned, open field at the beginning of Tokyo's early days as Japan's new capital and the beginning of the country's modernization at the end of the 19th century. The first parcels were bought and developed by Iwasaki Yutaro, an industrial oligarch and founder of the Mitsubishi company. Marunouchi was spearheading the modernization of the city with the first buildings modelled after brick buildings seen in Paris and London showcasing the city's progressive and modern agenda and available technology. While the project steadily grew under the Mitsubishi Estate management with many Mitsubishi Estate developed and owned buildings it is still setting new benchmarks for development practice and building technology including the latest proposal for a 350m wooden skyscraper.

Beyond the central site of the 1964 Games, the Olympics presented the opportunity to make large investments into the city's infrastructures including the introduction of new technologies such as the bullet train, inaugurated days before the Games opened, a monorail connection to Haneda Airport, but also additional sections of four new expressways, further land reclamation, twenty-two new highways as well as two new subway lines. Furthermore, in preparation for the arrival of Olympic visitors, the port was extended, and new water sewage and piping facilities installed (Olympic Committee, 1964).

The Olympic Games which were scheduled for 2020 had the bidding slogan "Discover Tomorrow" emphasising the transformative experience of the 1964 Games making active use of the existing venues and infrastructures built for the last games (The Tokyo Organization Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games 2015). With that, interventions in the urban structure are concentrated within Tokyo on the area of the new stadium, replacing the old coliseum, and new developments in Tokyo Bay.

### Sustainability Standards

Sustainability standards are an important aspect in the discursive and practical realization of mega interventions. The Olympic Charter has officially incorporated them in the mid-1990s, making sustainability goals a key part of the bidding protocol. Beyond that, however, mega interventions are also increasingly taken as a moment to showcase new environmental sustainability efforts. Local actors see them as an opportunity to service an environmental consciousness

that has come to determine a city's stage of maturity in a global comparative perspective.

Urban mega interventions in Tokyo have contributed to efforts in increasing green and open spaces within the city centre to allow for better cooling effects and create more recreational spaces in an otherwise densely built-up city. As a "Pilot Project for Cool City Central Zone" in 2002 (Mitsubishi Estate Co., Ltd. 2013) Marunouchi has introduced micro-parks providing not only remedies in fighting the urban heat island effect but also creating a continuous network of green patches, linking to the imperial palace and Hibiya Park in support of a greater and more variegated habitat for biodiversity (Mitsubishi Estate Co., Ltd., Sustainable Management and Promotion Department 2019). Because every development in the area is subject to the approval of the OMY Council, it can set building standards and requirements such as unsealed surface ratio and a green vegetation ratio for individual plots. Efforts, however, have so far been limited to the ground floor with landscape compensation areas on upper floors and green facades yet to be explored. The 1964 Olympics provided a first, larger scale opportunity to tackle the degraded environmental condition in the central city which occurred due to a rapid and relentless industrialization since the beginning of the century. This led to a pollution of canals, a contamination of land and a deterioration of air quality. With the anticipated global attention on the Games as one of the first widely broadcasted TV events, efforts were made to present a clean and modern city to the world (Kietlinski 2020). Moreover, the event can be seen as the first one to leave a 'green legacy' without calling it such at the time: the reused military housing barracks for the visiting athletes were demolished after the Games and turned into Yoyogi Koen, a 54,1 hectares large public park and an extremely popular outdoor space in the city centre today.

With the latest project of the 2020 Games, the city has also intensified its efforts towards a renewable energy transition that is to effect not just Olympic venues but the city as a whole (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2016). In preparation for the Games, TOCOG has created a set of guidelines for all Olympic venues to become a "world leading smart energy city" (Bureau of Olympic and Paralympic Games Tokyo 2020 and Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2018). This builds up on the *New Tokyo. New Tomorrow. Action Plan for 2020* (2016) by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and specifies that competition venues are to be equipped with solar panels, seawater heat pumps, with electric cars servicing athletes and visitors, and other technologies to facilitate a "hydrogen society" (idem), spear headed by the Athletes' Village as an "urban residential 'smart city pioneer model'" (Takeda 2014). The sustainability pre-games report released in April 2020 still presents a proud and optimistic picture of the various achievements so far (The Tokyo Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Game 2020). The expected cost of $US 800 billion due to the deferral, however, is high and so will likely be the social and environmental impact considering empty sitting venues and

advertisement material, medals, banner and outfits that have to be reproduced for 2021, aggravating the economic implications of the global pandemic.

In a country where "sustainability is still in its infancy" (Hidemi Tomita in Deccan Herald, AFP 2020) the Games still offer a rare opportunity for Tokyo to realize environmental efforts – and do so on a large scale and within an urban system that is otherwise characterised by decentralized planning measure and fragmented urban development practices (Hanakata 2020).

**Digitization of the urban realm**

The increasing digitization of our environment has also transformed urban development practice (Hanakata 2021). Within urban mega interventions, new technologies have more specifically been applied on two ends: for planning, execution and monitoring of mega interventions and for the provision of services for citizen, a.k.a. users (Hanakata and Bignami forthcoming). Latter ranges from integrated car sharing apps to biometric fingerprint door locks as well as the securitization and surveillance of public and private open spaces. In this process, individual developers, property owners, tenants and/or visitors often have no choice to opt out but have to subscribe to the technological utilities intertwined with the urban environment. The Japanese government started a 'super city initiative' in 2018 to support the digitization of urban services and use artificial intelligence for planning efforts. In early 2020 a bill was passed which designated zones within Tokyo where local governments together with private companies and citizens where asked to develop proposals to improve daily life, create new opportunities for citizen's participation and a vision for 2030 (Office for Promotion of Regional Revitalization, Cabinet Office, Government of Japan 2020).

As one of the selected test sites, Marunouchi started to implement a 5G network in early 2020, it began to deploy block chain and sensor technology, and to develop a digital twin for the entire 120 hectares project site, to allow for integrated and informed planning decisions. The project is carried out under 'ideal' conditions given that the area is largely owned and administered by a single entity, namely Mitsubishi Estate. Hence the tedious and usually contested process of data collection, management, and use encountered in larger urban areas, that do not fall under the governance of a single urban actor, are significantly eased.

The Tokyo Olympics 2020, also labelled by media as the "smartest Olympics ever" (Hallett 2020) have promised various digital services platforms to enhance the Game experience for visitors and participants through virtual reality (VR) replays, robotic chaperones taking care of visitors' inquiries and security, intelligent transport systems within and in between Olympic venues, including automated driving systems, and automatic translation technologies that use ICT.

The Super City Smart City Forum held in Osaka in 2019, a matching event for ICT providers and local governments, provided an overview of all recent efforts and innovations related to the digitization of the urban realm. The presented technologies and cooperation agreements have also highlighted the pioneering role of mega interventions as testbeds for digital services, including planning, surveillance, care and mobility applications. For the critical listener, however, it has also underpinned the risks of urban space being jeopardizing as a common and political good and the risk of it being reduced to an intermediator between users and service providers. While the digitization of urban data is crucial to allow for a coordinated and sustainable urban development, it becomes increasingly critical with the expansion of digital networks to ensure everyone is enabled to navigate and choose within digital urban services and to highlight the pitfalls of the underlying algorithms.

Beyond functioning as pioneers for certain development practices, mega interventions have also had an impact on the city via a spill-over effect whereby surrounding areas were drawn into the vortices of transformation with growing pressure for redevelopment and making space for new uses and people. In Marunouchi, it was not until the latest redevelopment cycle in the area, however, which started with the new Marunouchi Building in 2002, that in the directly adjacent area of Nihonbashi and Muromachi started to undergo redevelopment including a 390m tower by Mitsubishi Estate scheduled for completion in 2027. The 1964 Games and the unprecedented international media attention at the time have fostered Harajuku to become the city's trend hotspot for fashion, new cultural trends and gadgets. Harumi Island is expected to catalyse further developments in the Tokyo Bay area, an effort for which various attempts in the past were futile.

### Outlook

As comprehensively planned and executed projects, mega interventions constitute spaces which allow for new practices to be applied, tested and revised. As capital-intensive projects with commonly great international attention they are expected to advance urban development practices in a way compelling to its creditors as well as local and national governments. Looking at the possibility these circumstances create, urban mega interventions also have the ability to define future urban development practice because they present a convergence of interest and capital at a large scale which allows to introduce and test practices that would otherwise be dependent on ample support from different administrative levels and stakeholders, cumbersome to consolidated in the reality of urban development otherwise. Rather than just serving as a "quick fix" (Müller 2015) to urban grievances by creating a momentary spectacle necessary to justify fast-tracking regulations, and absorbing and augmenting capital value, the driving actors of mega interventions should understand it as a responsibility to

leverage on the capital and attention attained and use these projects as testbeds for new forms of spatial practice.

In order for new standards and new procedures and practices to become transferable to the surrounding urban context, it is decisive to build on local capacities and established skills and consider the urban culture on the ground. Otherwise, the argument of exceptionality will inhibit a productive translation and up-scaling of innovations. It is only through a localizing of knowledge as well as benefits and an enabling of co-creation and participation from the early stage in the making of urban mega interventions that the legacy can be more than a documented media event, enriching a few, with cost overruns or a redundant spatial surplus. Sustainable and inclusive intentions within the development of urban mega interventions need to be concerned with both the result and the process of urban development practice: guidelines for inclusive and sustainable projects have to be incorporated at the very beginning with for example inclusive participatory practices, sustainable benchmarking development principles, and diverse urban actors involved throughout the process, reflecting the people invested, concerned and/or impacted by the intervention.

For urban mega projects to become positive trendsetters for urban development practice, these interventions also require new modes of evaluation: they need to be assessed as a process with the capacity to evolve and adapt and not merely based on the design schemes or promised benefits at the time of their competitive creation. Governing agencies need to be held accountable beyond the momentary spectacle but regarding the extent to which they leverage on the extraordinary circumstances for the benefit of the entire city and the strategic contribution of the project in the development of the host city's urban condition in general and lastingly.

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# 109 Peak event

## The growth and decline of large events

MARTIN MÜLLER
Department of Geography and Sustainability, University of
Lausanne, Switzerland

DAVID GOGISHVILI
University of Lausanne, Switzerland

SVEN DANIEL WOLFE
University of Lausanne, Switzerland

CHRISTOPHER GAFFNEY
New York University, USA

MIRIAM HUG
Universität Bern, Switzerland

ANNICK LEICK
University of Lausanne, Switzerland

**ABSTRACT** [1]

Large events such as the Olympic Games and the Football World Cup have grown with the spread of modernity across the globe. As modernity now enters a crisis phase, so do large events. This paper tracks the growth, and recent crisis, of the world's largest events – the Olympic Games and the Men's Football World Cup - since the 1960s. It draws on a unique longitudinal dataset that contains 43 events, with a total cost exceeding USD2018 100 billion. We show that the largest Summer Olympics took place in London in 2012, the largest Winter Olympics in Sochi in 2014 and the largest Football World Cup in Brazil in 2014. Overall, the size of the three events has increased 80-fold since the 1960s. The strongest growth happened in the marketing dimension and the weakest in the sports dimension. We identify four different growth periods and show that we have entered a crisis phase in the late 2010s that likely has brought us to 'peak event' – the point at which the size of mega-events starts to decline. Two scenarios are possible from here: a decline and then a rebound, or a rapid decline with little chance of a rebound.

**Keywords:** mega-events, modernity, growth, host cities, Olympic Games, Football World Cup

1  By option of the authors this article will be published in another journal

# 129 Great event, more troubles

## Difficulties with the urban heritage of athens 2004 as a turning point in the history of the olympic games

ADAM OMORCZYK
University of Silesia in Katowice

### ABSTRACT

The Olympic Games had a significant impact on their organising cities almost every time. As technological advancements intensified, the Olympics turned into a gigantic project that consumed a lot of resources and money. Successive organisers tried to surpass the previous ones. With time, countries and governments realised that the power of the Olympic Games was in their international recognition, where they can demonstrate their strength, power and influence. Increasing media interest and easier social access meant that more and more cities applied for the rights to the Olympics. When Athens was granted the right to organise, the machine of gigantomania was scattered for good. Lots of new facilities were built, large spaces were transformed, communication and city transport were improved, etc. The shortcomings and huge errors in planning came to light after a few years. When in 2008 China organised the Olympics with even greater flourish in its propaganda fashion, the IOC already knew that fundamental changes were needed. The Olympic facilities in Athens at that time were already in decline and overgrown with weeds. Many of them turned out to be simply useless and unnecessary. All this made the preparations for the Olympics in London take on a completely different character. Attention was paid to the use of existing buildings, the revitalisation of degraded areas was carried out in a more sustainable and socially responsible manner, and temporary facilities were also erected. Therefore, Athens turns out to be a turning point in the cities' urban and planning strategy that host the Olympic Games. Although the mistakes made, there has a cost and still cost the Greeks a lot, perhaps thanks to them, the IOC and subsequent cities understood that the organisation of such a great event is intended primarily for the benefit of the inhabitants, only then for the country and its image.

Keywords: Olympic Games, urban space, Athens 2004, host city.

## 1. Introduction

The biggest, cyclical sporting event which is the Olympic Games is undoubtedly a turning point for almost every city that wants to organise it (the infamous exceptions are Paris in 1900 and St. Louis four years later). The first Games in 1896 allowed for the construction of several new facilities and the reconstruction of the famous Panathenaeum Stadium. The machine of changes and interference in the city moved faster after World War I, having its first culmination during the lavish Nazi games in 1936. The world had to postpone a sports competition twice. After the war, everything started again. The countries where the Games were held began to compete in sports and politics and image. Their strong position and economic power (or aspirations to become such a power) were most comfortable demonstrating visible and tangible means. The host cities with its space was a perfect showcase for this purpose. Hundreds of thousands of tourists, and with time millions of viewers in front of the TV sets, soaked up the organisers' vision of presenting their architectural achievements. Impressive buildings, innovative construction techniques, and spectacular ceremonies confirmed that this country has to be reckoned with. Organisers additionally decorated everything with more and more extensive graphics and colourful decorations. At the closing ceremony of the Games in Sydney, outgoing IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch concluded that it was the greatest Olympic Games in history and thus - from today's perspective - ended the history of the city race without consequences. Then came September 2001, the economic crisis of 2008 and the sobering up that sport is at the heart of and at the source of Olympism, not politics, finance or propaganda.

## 2. Battle for Athens

Before the decision was made about who would organise the 2004 Olympics, the existing infrastructure, environmental issues and social favour were already discussed. Stockholm seemed to be a candidate as perfect as Lillehammer in 1994 (Miller, 2012). However, the choice fell on a small country that did not belong to world powers. Athens, however, had been waging a fierce battle for the role of organiser for many years. The leitmotif was Greece's contribution to the sport's culture, the revival and development of Olympism's idea.

In 1998, the IOC's future president, Jacques Rogge, stated a need to "review places with smaller capacity, program, number of events, fixed costs, especially related to technology" (2012). There were also assurances from Greece itself that the 2004 Olympics would be a return to their roots. The then IOC member Nikos Filaretos said after the election of Athens that the 2004 Olympics would be "a return to simplicity" and that athletes would be at the centre of the Olympics (2012). As it turned out, he was only partially right. The Olympics in Lillehammer were a significant signal that the Olympics could be a great event, but friendly to athletes, residents, the environment and the city. The Norwegians have shown that spectacular facilities

are not necessary to break records. The money saved on visionary plans can develop sports infrastructure in harmony with the surrounding nature.

However, the situation in Athens was utterly different. Personnel changes in the Organizing Committee, financial shortages, and problems with the construction of facilities were just among the many issues plaguing Greece's capital. More than a year before the opening ceremony, the IOC and the president compared the preparations for the music of "sirtaki"[1], characterised by a slow start and development and a breakneck tempo (GreekNews, 2003). The Athenians did not have most of the required facilities, and the existing ones needed urgent modernisation. Another obstacle was the distance between individual objects scattered all over Athens. However, the Athens 2004 Organizing Committee (ATHOC) decided to concentrate the vast majority of sports facilities within three generous sports zones: OAKA, Hellinikon and Faliro.

The main 2004 complex (Greek: Ολυμπιακό Αθλητικό Κέντρο Αθηνών "Σπύρος Λούης" OAKA) was built in the 1980s. However, it required considerable modernisation, including roofing the main stadium's stands and the entire velodrome, reconstruction of tennis courts' training fields, and tennis courts' construction. The modernisation was designed by the famous Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava, who created a modern Olympic park with numerous squares, ponds, fountains and trees, which refers to the Greek tradition and history (ATHOC, 2005). As it turned out later, the areas surrounding the complex's main arenas were systematically falling into oblivion. The pools were emptied, the fountains turned off, and most of the trees were drying up. The area became a vast, sunny zone, hostile to humans, especially during the Greek summer.

The Faliro Coastal Zone Olympic Sports Complex was built on the site of a degraded and abandoned area. Therefore, it was decided to organise special workshops to which specialists in spatial planning, architecture and construction were invited to choose the best possible development of the coastal zone (2005). This project proves how important the issue of revitalising the degraded area was. The site has been turned into a modern complex connected by paths and thoroughfares. After the Olympics, only the indoor arena and marina remained in constant use, and the avenues and the beach soccer stadium fell into disrepair.

However, the worst situation was in the Hellinikon Olympic Complex, built on the former airport's tarmac. Huge, flat and almost devoid of trees and shrubs, space was filled with two airline hangars turned into indoor sports halls and completely new stadiums for baseball, softball, field hockey and canoe slalom. Only the indoor arenas and the baseball stadium were used after the Olympics, the rest, along with all the surrounding space, had been abandoned and overgrown with weeds.

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1  This quote by Jacques Rogge is also available on the YouTube channel at this address: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kueQJ3v5AFI

The lonely objects, scattered around Greece's capital, and beyond, fared best after the Games. Some of them are used for primary sports purposes; others have been converted into auditoriums or lecture halls.

### 3. Unconsidered decisions

Undoubtedly, the situation in Athens after the 2004 Olympics was caused by ill-considered decisions, often taken rashly and under the influence of emotions or time pressure. Modern and large sports complexes were tailored to the numerous tourists visiting the Games. However, for the Athenians, they were utterly useless. On hot days, because man looks for refreshment in the shadows of the streets and trees and stormy weather and wind. The squares and avenues filling the space were the opposite of the needs of residents and tourists. The lack of funds resulted in negligence on the part of the managers and, as a result, the drying out of lawns and vegetation, non-functioning of fountains and lights, contamination of ponds or, finally, rusting of metal elements (incredibly dominant in OAKA).

Another mistake was to put sports facilities permanently in places where, for obvious reasons, they would not be used by society (little or no interest in beach ball, baseball, field hockey or softball among Athenians) (Mendick, 2012). In these cases, the best solution would be temporary facilities and temporary stands (which were only erected for three facilities: a swimming pool, a beach ball stadium and one of the indoor halls).

In the organisational confusion and the rapid pace of construction at the end of the preparation stage, it turns out that there was not enough time to rethink the functions of places and buildings, focusing more on "here and now", forgetting "what will be". Additionally, pressure from the environment (and the IOC itself) and the risk that not everything might be ready on time did not give a chance for the Olympic legacy's successful future.

### 4. Not all bad

There is no doubt that Athens is an example of what mistakes to avoid. However, it would be a great injustice to treat this case only in the context of an error and failed decisions. The Greeks organised a relatively smooth event which undoubtedly - thanks to its many references to history and tradition - became, as Jacques Rogge put it in his speech at the closing ceremony, an unforgettable dream game. Apart from image issues, it is also worth paying attention to the urban space of Athens, which gained many valuable amenities thanks to the Olympics: a new airport, metro lines, a tram, as well as a network of new roads (including ring roads) (ATHOC 2005). The Athenians gained numerous sports facilities, some of which are still in use, but above all, the infrastructure that influenced their daily lives in this crowded city.

The issues mentioned above are undoubtedly one of the most important benefits of the city's Olympic Games organisation. In addition to new roads and public transport, cities gained new housing estates, remaining after Olympic villages, public buildings in which communication centres and the administration of organisational committees were placed, and many small investments accompanying the Games accelerated to implement them. In addition to tangible effects, residents can count on numerous intangible heritage, a new cultural offer, or sports and tourism development. The question, however, is how well thought out all these matters are. From the moment of planning, it is essential how far into the future.

### 5. Not only Athens

Both unsuccessful investments and significant momentum were not only the domain of Athens. Four years later, it turned out that the Olympics can be incomparably more magnificent and sumptuous. China has shown the world that nothing is impossible for them and has started building spectacular sports facilities on a grand scale. "Everyone wanted something exciting, and maybe it was unreasonable" says Dong Hao, an architect from Beijing and studying in New York (McDonell, 2018). Hao described the atmosphere before the Beijing Olympics perfectly - "Maybe not functional, maybe not necessary: it doesn't matter, let's have it!" (2018). It is this sentence that perfectly reflects the decision of many organising committees and authorities. In the case of Athens, Beijing, Sochi and Rio, what mattered was the result and an attempt to show strength and possibilities. Social, environmental and financial issues were relegated to the background.

Missing investments and abandoned, neglected buildings have become almost a classic of the genre for photojournalists, who from time to time - especially during the next Olympics - resemble photographs of destroyed sports fields, Olympic villages and swimming pools. Not all have fallen victim to poor planning. In the case of Sarajevo, the war after the collapse of Yugoslavia played an essential role in the destruction of the Pool Olympics buildings, and in the case of Berlin, the historical fate of this city both during World War II and the post-war period. However, the situation is changing slowly. The recent games in Rio did not learn from the mistakes of their predecessors. Ciaran Varley from the BBC points to an uninteresting problem in the Olympic Park, among others (Varley, 2018).

The situation related to the enormous costs spent every four years on the Games' organisation is also not without significance. The summer Olympics cost was systematically rising to $15 billion in Athens (Itano, 2008). However, the next Olympics in Beijing already exceeded 44 billion (Rabinovitch, 2008). Yet, this amount was beaten by the Olympics in Sochi, for which $ 51 billion was spent (Gibson, 2013). However, it is no secret that it is the games in undemocratic countries or in which democracy is questioned that spend the most, usually treating the games as an excellent tool of their propaganda.

The world not only paid attention to the problem of human rights violations in China before 2008. Before 2014, the media raised alarms about Sochi residents' resettlement, whose houses were demolished to make room for investment, and compensation was not paid regularly (West, 2014). The situation was not better with the protection of the natural environment. The interference with forests and nearby mountains (Koerkamp, 2014) was another scratch on the Russian Games' polished glass.

### 6. The IOC is waking up

The beginning of the 21st century brought more and more spectacular games for the Olympic movement and more and more problems on the other. In addition to rising costs, unnecessary investments, a lack of respect for the natural environment, a lack of social participation, and many wrongs and ill-considered decisions, the IOC continued to struggle with its internal problems. The IOC members' corruption scandal continued to echo, and to make matters worse, cases related to doping grew stronger (Miller, 2012). For the worse, the world was hit by the economic crisis in 2008, and fewer and fewer cities entered the race to host the Games. It became evident that the way out of the situation was a firm and steadfast move by the entire Olympic movement, led by the IOC.

The Agenda 2020, published in 2014, became the flagship document of the changes that awaited the entire Olympic world. It contained 40 recommendations for changes that were to be implemented successively (IOC website). Among them are the most crucial ones: "Changes to the candidature procedure, with a new philosophy to invite potential candidate cities to present a project that fits their sporting, economic, social and environmental long-term planning needs" or "Reducing costs for bidding, by decreasing the number of presentations that are allowed and providing a significant financial contribution from the IOC" (IOC, 2014). The Games were to become an event friendly not only to athletes but also to cities. Due to lower costs and the most generous possible use of existing facilities or the construction of temporary facilities, smaller towns will again afford the Olympics. In this document, the IOC wanted to return to Olympism's original principles, with its philosophy and traditions. From then on, the Games were to become a genuinely social festival that everyone could benefit from while not destroying natural resources or the local community. The IOC finally noticed the signals coming from the abandoned and devastated Olympic venues around the world.

### 7. A breeze of sense

One of the first examples of changes in the Olympic movement was the London Games. Efficiently organised, almost USD 30 billion cheaper than the Beijing Olympics (Gibson, 2012), the London Olympics have renewed faith that this project's organisation may not only be financially but above all socially profitable.

Until now a post-industrial and degraded place, Stratford's revitalised space in London has already become an almost cult example of well-thought-out and reasonable changes that have occurred thanks to the Olympics (Bostock, 2012; Clugston 2016). However, London decided to make this move before the proposal of Agenda 2020 appeared in the IOC. This example shows that a lot depends on the organiser and those good and bad ideas can be implemented thanks to or despite various guidelines.

In the year of publishing Agenda 2020, Olympism was already shaking off the most expensive games in history - and besides the winter ones (which were usually much cheaper than the summer games). The next winter games at PyeongChang in 2018 were four times less expensive than those in Sochi four years earlier (Settimi, 2018). Everything indicates that the following organisers are well aware of what the games should look like.

One of Tokyo's hallmarks as an Olympic city is that sports facilities are scattered throughout the town as individual structures, a definite break with the previous tradition of building large sports complexes known as Olympic Parks (Shirai, 2020). Lonely facilities, which are the only sports facilities in a given region, can more easily attract residents' attention after the Olympics. In research conducted by me, among others in Athens, I proved that individual sports facilities are much better used than large sports complexes, which require equally large investments and mass events on a larger scale. Perhaps, this solution will prove to be the best solution for the subsequent maintenance of buildings and Olympic heritage. Also, the virus epidemic Sars Covid-19, which forced the Games' unprecedented 'postponement to the next year, forced the IOC to reorganise its rules and recommendations, taking into account more dramatic and unpredictable occurrence for the future.

The organisation of the Olympic Games in Paris for the third time is surrounded in many respects by numerous changes that show, more clearly than the previous games, the direction in which Olympism is going (or should go). The return to the old continent of the Games and, in addition to such an important and symbolic place as Paris, is to set trends for the next organisers. For 2024, only two new facilities are to be built, and 95% of all structures will be either existing or temporary (paris2024.org). The city also wants to be the first in history to be carbon neutral. So it is visible that the efforts of the organising committee are aimed at showing the world how to reduce costs and at the same time cooperate with the environment, setting new directions.

A very similar situation is expected to take place in Los Angeles in 2028. The American city selected simultaneously with Paris, probably has the most time to prepare for the Olympics. Like four years earlier, the Americans want to use the existing buildings by modernising them only for the Olympics. Many facilities will

also be temporary, so there will be no problems when the Olympic fire goes out (Pacheco, 2019). As of today, however, it is still such a distant date that a lot may happen in the meantime.

It is also worth mentioning that all the places and facilities that have so far testified to the Games' poor planning and organisation do not have to be in a lost position. Many of them can still be renovated or rebuilt using fewer funds than if they were to be demolished and a new facility built. In 2016, the Greek government announced that the abandoned Olympic Beach Volleyball venue would be converted into a courtroom (Petzinger, 2016), which could be a harbinger of positive changes where it seemed that nothing could be changed.

### Summary

Although there is no indication that the legacy of the Games of the XXVIII Olympiad in Athens was a turning point in the activities of the IOC, pushing him to specific and quick actions, it was a turning point in the minds of the media and, consequently, the public opinion. Until now, no Olympics have left such a sad picture in such a short time. The IOC did not refer to these reports for a long time, usually presenting only positive changes in individual cities. However, both the endless list of wrong decisions, internal problems of the IOC, galloping commercialisation and gigantomania of the Olympics in Beijing and Sochi led to a change in the vision of the entire Olympic movement. The Agenda 2020, introduced in 2014, was a reflection of this. However, it only contains recommendations. The IOC has more to say in the initial stages than at the end of preparations. It is up to the national authorities to take into account comments and proposals by the organising committee. The IOC can only gently but firmly steer the course towards wiser and more sensible games. Thanks to these changes, cities will gain more than lose, and residents will start to support the preparations more, being aware of the - real - benefits that come from them.

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# 137 Protests and Mega-events

## The mobilizations in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

ALDREY CRISTIANE ISCARO
Federal University of Rio de Janeiro

**ABSTRACT**

In Brazil, from 2006 to 2016, the city of Rio de Janeiro and other large Brazilian cities hosted several sport mega-events: The Pan American Games and Parapan American Games in 2007, the Military World Games in 2011, the Confederations Cup in 2013, the FIFA World Cup in 2014, and the Olympics and Paralympics in 2016.

However, the grand urban projects, such as the sports mega-events that took place in Brazil, trigger a diversity of ruptures in the city. We aim, here, to describe and map these ruptures by looking through the protests related to mega-events in the city of Rio de Janeiro from 2006 to 2016.

For this research, we will use the 'Observatory of Urban Conflicts of the City of Rio de Janeiro' public database of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro as research material. Thus, using the Observatory's existing database, all urban conflicts will be reviewed, seeking to identify those that are connected to the issue of mega-events. After this selection, we will refine our search by extracting our research material, namely, the protests related to the issue of mega-events in the city of Rio de Janeiro, with a time frame from the years 2006 to 2016.

As a research methodology, we use bibliographic research and cartography. To map these protests, we will use the QGIS program (Geographic Information System).

Our main findings are that the sports mega-events, while large scale urban projects, should focus on broadening and deepening democratic citizenship as well as reducing existing socio-spatial inequalities. However, both in the city of Rio de Janeiro and in Brazil, they have not contributed to making our cities more democratic and less unequal. They have a significant potential for disruption in the cities.

**Keywords:** Protests, Urban Conflicts, Mega-Events, Cartography, Brazil.

### 1. Introduction

The sports mega-events have gained importance in Brazil since the bid for the candidacy of the city of Rio de Janeiro in 1995 to host the 2004 Olympic Games. However, the city chosen was Athens[1].

Once again, the city of Rio de Janeiro tries to bid in 2002 to host the 2012 Olympic Games. But the city chosen was London. Then, the city of Rio de Janeiro held its official candidacy for the 2007 Pan American Games in 2000. And, in 2002, the city was announced as its official venue.

Then, during 2003, the sports mega-events gained more evidence in the Brazilian political scene after the South American Football Confederation (CONMEBOL) announced that Brazil would be a candidate to host the World Cup of the International Football Federation (FIFA) of Men's Football 2014, being officially chosen to host the event in 2006 (to be held in 12 cities[2]: São Paulo[3], Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Belo Horizonte, Porto Alegre, Brasília, Curitiba[4], Recife, Fortaleza[5], Cuiabá, Natal and Manaus).

In 2007, in addition to hosting the Pan American Games in Rio de Janeiro, the city bided for the third time to the Olympic Games, being announced, in 2009, as the official venue for the event to be held in 2016. Also, the city of Rio de Janeiro hosted the Military World Games in 2011 and the Confederations Cup, held in Brazil in 2013.

However, large urban projects, such as the mega sporting events that took place in Brazil, trigger a diversity of ruptures in the city, as explained by Vainer, Oliveira and Novais (2012). We aim, here, to describe and map these ruptures by looking through protests related to mega-events in the city of Rio de Janeiro during the period from 2006 to 2016.

For this research, we will use the public database of the 'Observatory of Urban Conflicts of the City of Rio de Janeiro', which records urban conflicts[6] in the city of Rio de Janeiro, as research material. Thus, using the Observatory's existing database, all urban conflicts were reviewed, seeking to identify those that are connected to the issue of mega-events. After this selection, we refined our search by extracting our research material, namely, the protests related to the issue of mega-events in the city of Rio de Janeiro, with a time frame from the years 2006 to 2016.

1 To understand the sports mega-events in Athens, see Stavrides (2016) and Samatas (2011).
2 About the Brazilian case, consult Nobre (2016).
3 To comprehend the sports mega-events in São Paulo, see Nobre et al. (2017).
4 To understand the World Cup in Curitiba, see Faria and Poli (2014).
5 About the city of Fortaleza, see Vianna (2015).
6 About the Rio de Janeiro contexto, see also Vainer (2013).

As a research methodology, we utilized bibliographic research and cartography. To map these protests, we employed the QGIS (Geographic Information System) program as a tool. We also used as a research material a series of data provided by official governmental bodies, such as the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) and the Pereira Passos Institute (IPP) as a basis for the construction of our cartographies georeferenced in QGIS.

To understand the issue of protests related to mega-events in the city of Rio de Janeiro during the years 2006 to 2016, we will briefly explore two key concepts. In this section of the article, we will first outline the concept of protest, and then we will work on the debate about mega-events in Brazil.

Protests, according to della Porta and Diani (2020), are spaces of contestation where speeches, practices, identities, symbols and bodies are used to prevent or contest changes in institutionalized power relations. They are forms of collective action that challenge established norms that are considered unfair by citizens. According to the authors, the protests are characterized by the use of indirect channels to influence decision-makers and, in their most innovative and radical form, have been considered the typical form of action of social movements since, unlike political parties and pressure groups - which also make use of protest - social movements have few channels for access to government decision-makers. In the case of this article, we will analyze protests related to mega-events in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

For this article, we understand the mega-events (Vainer, 2013; Vainer Et Al., 2016; Oliveira Et Al., 2016) As grand urban projects (Novais, 2012; Oliveira; Novais, 2013; Cuenya; Novais; Vainer, 2013).

In the case of large urban projects, such as mega-events, Vainer, Oliveira and Novais (2012) describe the same as those that trigger disruptions in the physical and social spaces of the city, in their multiple dimensions, contribute to the consolidation of changes in socio-spatial dynamics, characterized by scalar reconfigurations, in addition to causing institutional, urban, legal, political, symbolic disruptions, and, moreover, disruptions in the city's real estate dynamics.

### 2. Protests and Mega-Events

In this research session, we will describe the cartographies of protests related to mega-events in the city of Rio de Janeiro during the years 2006 to 2016. Here, we will present the heat maps of the protests that occurred each year, generated from the function 'Heatmaps' from QGIS, which is one of the best visualization tools for dense point data. This tool is used to identify groups where there is a high concentration of activity. And then, we will describe the protests, reporting categories such as the form of action of the protest, where they took place, the actors involved and the content of the claim.
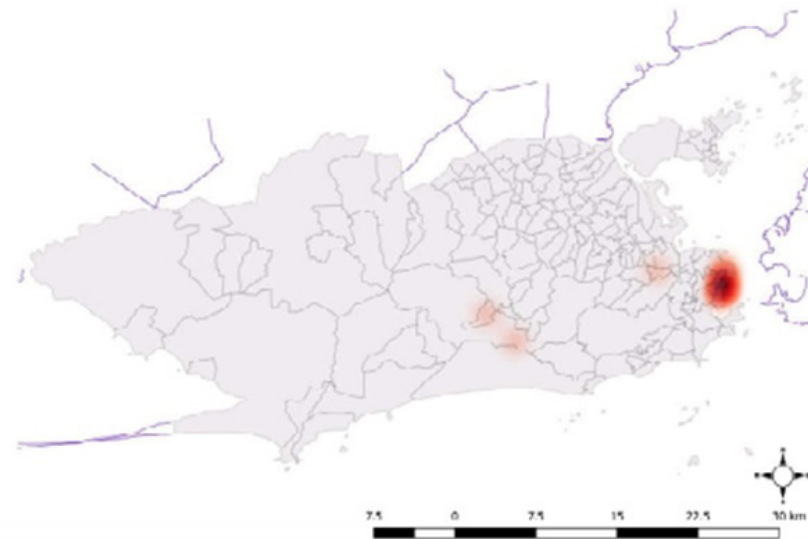
Figure 1 - Heatmap Protests 2006

In 2006, we can observe that eight protest events were held in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Four of them were carried out on the axis of the Gloria-Flamengo neighbourhoods and were related to the 2007 Pan American Games[7], three of which were protests against the works at Marina da Glória, namely the construction of a garage for boats at Marina da Glória for the yacht race. Two of them were held at Marina da Gloria and the other at Parque do Flamengo. Pan Social Committee members, entities and residents of Gloria and Flamengo stated that the garage project harms the historic heritage and impairs the view of the cove since the facilities would obstruct the view of the Cara de Cão, Pão de Açúcar and Urca, which today can be seen from Parque do Flamengo, listed by federal law. The National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN) had secured the embargo of the works in court and the concessionaire who was carrying out the works appealed the decision. The execution of the project still depended on an agreement with IPHAN. The other protest took place in Parque do Flamengo to demand the stoppage of works in the Park, namely, the privatization of almost one hundred thousand meters of the Park.

During 2007, there were 20 protests related to mega-events in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Three of them took place in the Engenho de Dentro neighbourhood, specifically around the João Havelange Olympic Stadium, also known as Engenhão Stadium In one of these protests, 500 workers involved at the Engenhão renovations and constructions described the working conditions at the construction site as unworthy and disrespectful. The workers demanded an increase in their wages

7   About the Pan American Games and its legacy in Rio de Janeiro, consult Mascarenhas and Borges (2009).
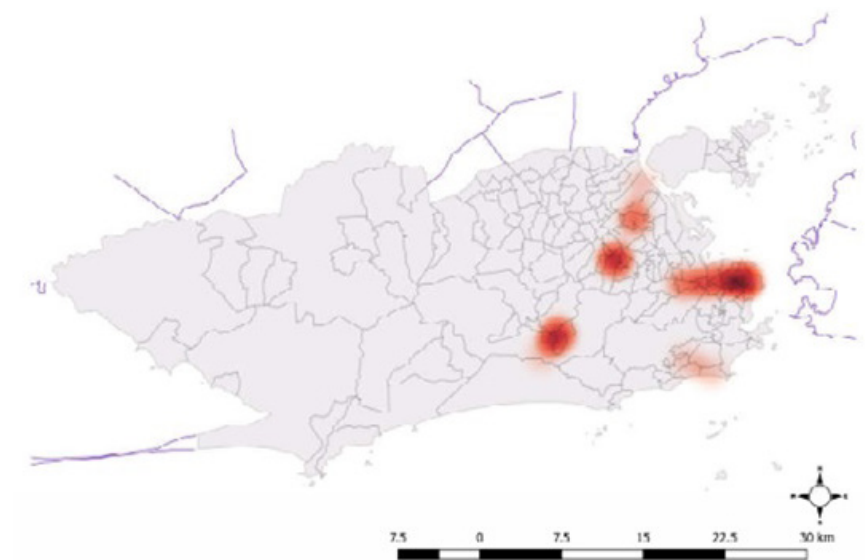


Figure 2 - Heatmap Protests 2007

and demanded better working conditions and pointed out activities in unhealthy places. The other two protests were from residents around Engenhão Stadium, who were protesting against the removal of five houses that are on the way to the Pan 2007 works, namely, the houses will be demolished for the construction of one of the stadium's entrances.

Also, three protests took place in the Canal do Anil neighbourhood, where residents threatened with eviction from their homes as a result of the construction of Vila do Pan for the Pan American Games in 2007 protested against their evictions.
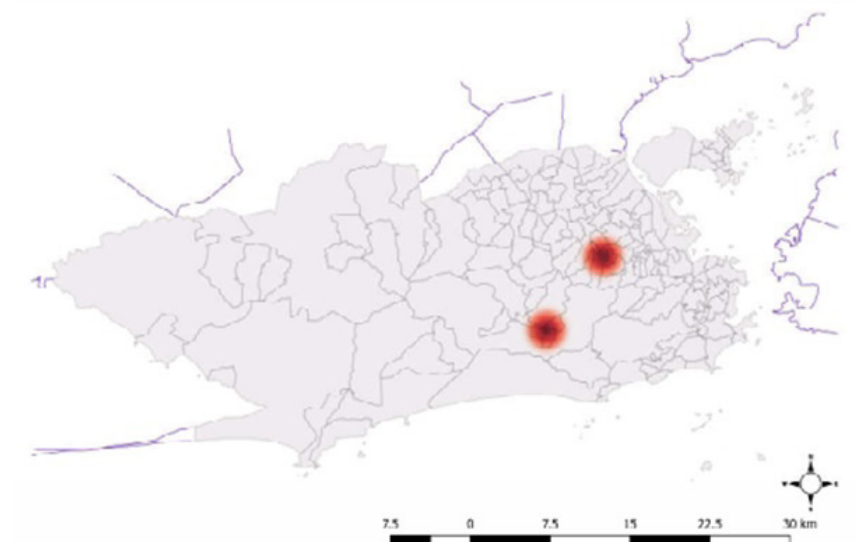


Figure 3 - Heatmap Protests 2008

In 2008 there were two protests. The first took place at Engenho de Dentro, where a protest against the City Hall of Rio was held by the Association of Residents of the Surroundings of Engenhão, claiming the postponement of the payment of Urban Property and Land Tax since what the City Hall promised during the construction of the Engenhão Stadium, it was not fulfilled. Among the promises was the construction of the Olympic Talent Development Center next to the stadium, which would serve 6,000 children, with a medical centre, multimedia rooms and sports courts.
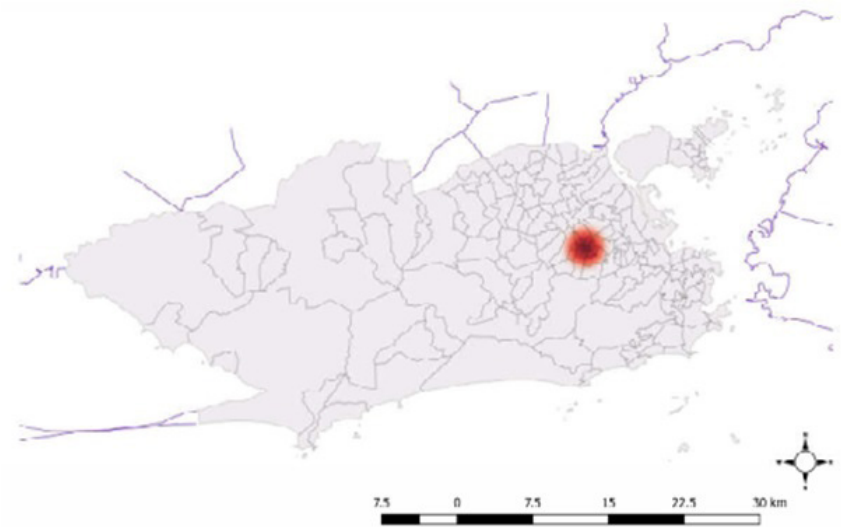


Figure 4 - Heatmap Protests 2009

In 2009 there was one protest in the neighbourhood of Engenho de Dentro, where residents of the surroundings at João Havelange Stadium, also known as Engenhão, denounced a series of problems that they have been suffering since the time
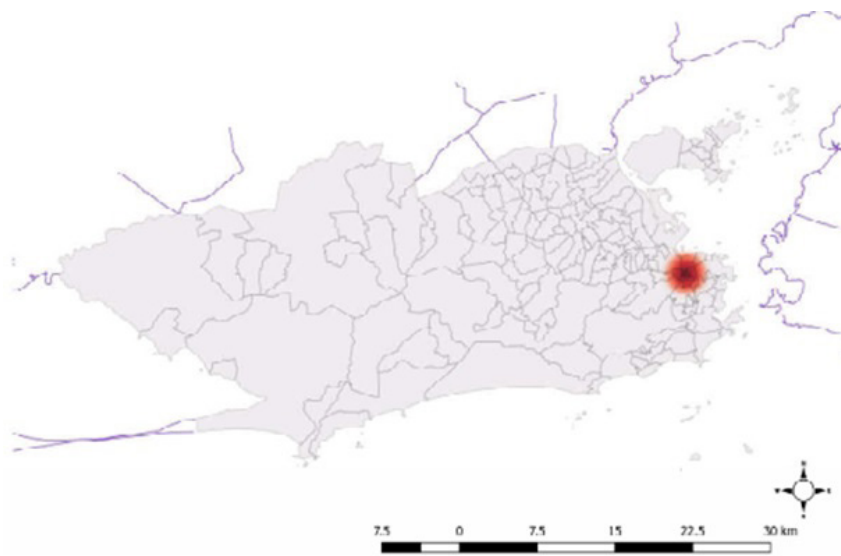


Figure 5 - Heatmap Protests 2010

of the stadium's constructions, a year and a half ago. They said that the humidity of the Engenhão land, which was grounded for the construction of the Pan American Games, caused infiltration and cracks in their homes.

In 2010 there was one protest, in which the residents of Vila Autódromo protested in front of the Rio de Janeiro City Hall, demanding land tenure regularization in addition to improvements in the region of their homes. The residents affirm that the hosting of the Olympic Games is just a pretext to remove the community, which is located in Barra da Tijuca, a noble region in the west of Rio, and has already been threatened to go out other times. The removal of Vila Autódromo is fundamental to the real estate speculation of the site that will receive the Olympic Park and the expansion of Barra da Tijuca.
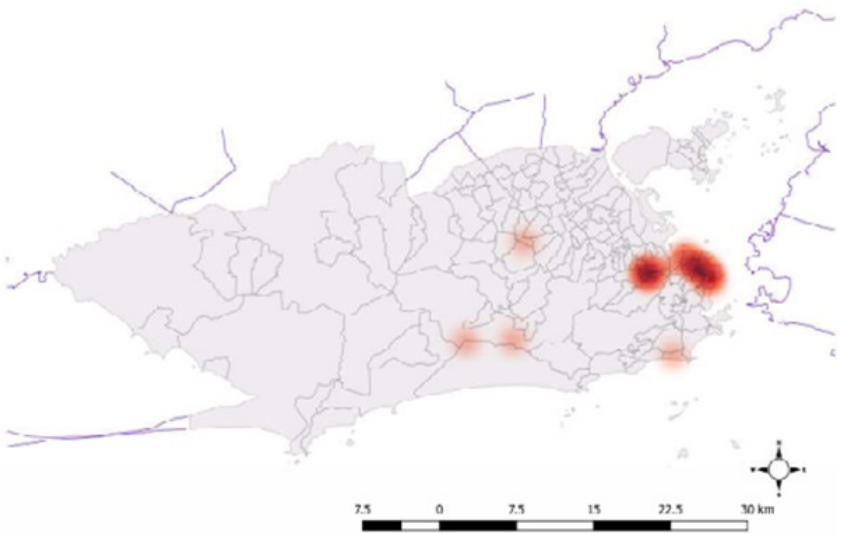


Figure 6 - Heatmap Protests 2011

In 2011, 12 protest events related to mega-events were held. One of the protests took place in the Campinho neighbourhood, where residents protested against the removal of their homes. The City Hall states that removals are necessary for the implementation of Transcarioca BRT (exclusive bus lane that will connect Barra da Tijuca to Tom Jobim International Airport, on the island). These works are part of the change package for the Olympics and the World Cup.

Besides, two protests took place in Cinelandia. The first one, 100 people protested against the evictions. The protest was an offshoot of the Urban Social Forum, the result of the mobilization of several social movements in Rio de Janeiro and the Brazilian cities that will host World Cup games in 2014. These organizations formed the Popular Committee for the World Cup and the Olympics[8]. Protesters denounced economic spending many times higher than announced initially for the holding of the Pan American Games in 2007 and that the mega-events served as

8   About the Popular Committee, see Tanaka and Cosentino (2014).

a pretext for real estate speculation and disrespect for human rights. The second protest took place simultaneously in several host cities of the 2014 World Cup to mark the launch of a dossier with data on human rights violations due to the works and urban transformations for the 2014 World Cup, such as the removal of 160 thousand families. In the case of the city of Rio de Janeiro, the document also includes complaints against the works for the 2016 Olympics.

Two protests also took place in downtown Rio de Janeiro, more specifically at Morro da Providência. One of them against removals and arbitrary actions on be- half of the Games Olympics in 2016 and the World Cup in 2014. The other protest was against the removal of about 700 houses for the construction of a cable car, one of the works inserted in the community's redevelopment plan, included in the Porto Maravilha Project.

Three protests took place in Maracanã[9], all carried out by workers whom they were working on renovating the Maracanã Stadium for the World Cup.
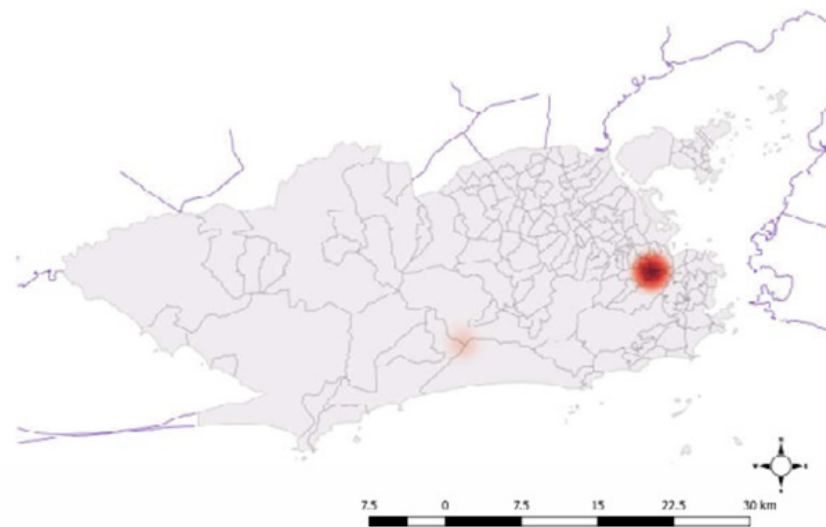


Figure 7 - Heatmap Protests 2012

In 2012 there were six protests related to mega-events. Five protests took place in Maracanã, against the privatization of the Maracanã Stadium, organized by the Popular Committee of the World Cup and the Rio de Janeiro Olympics against the demolitions at the Maracanã Stadium.

9   About the Maracanã Stadium renovations, see Oliveira, Sánchez and Bienenstein (2015).
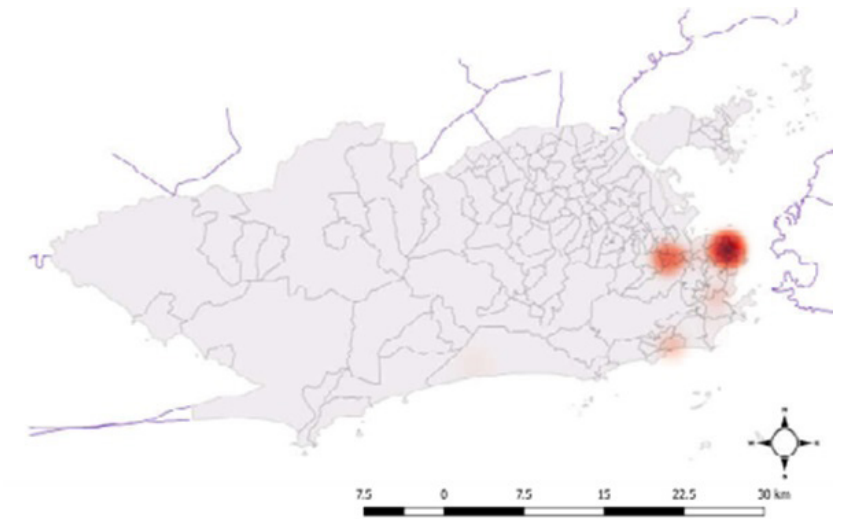
Figure 8 - Heatmap Protests 2013

The year 2013 was the year where there were more protests, totalling 44. Most of these protests belong to the 2013 June Uprisings cycle of protests.

Two protests took place in Barra da Tijuca, called 'Golf for whom?, where pro- testers defended the preservation of the Marapendi Environmental Protection Area (APA), in Barra da Tijuca neighbourhood, where the municipal government planned to build a golf course for the 2016 Olympics.

Five protests took place in the former Indigenous Museum at Maracanã Stadium, which generated also a brief period of occupation of the Museum. A group of in- digenous people settled in the former Indian Museum to resist the demolition of the building, which the government wanted to demolish to increase the parking area of the Maracanã Stadium.

There were also five protests in the Leblon neighbourhood, which included a brief occupation, called 'Occupy Cabral', during the June Uprisings, at the corner of the street where the governor Sérgio Cabral lives. Among the demands were the end of corruption, the installation of a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry for the World Cup and the contracts of the state government with the construction company Delta.

Two protests took place at the Guanabara Palace, headquarters of the state government of Rio de Janeiro. The protest, including 'Fora Cabral', 'Fora Renan Calheiros' and 'There won't be a World Cup', was against the authorities disregard for the people of Rio de Janeiro.

There were four protests in the city centre, walking along with Avenida Presidente Vargas from the Igreja da Candelária to the City Hall of Rio de Janeiro, belonging

to the June Uprisings. In three of them, the protests were called by social networks and their main agenda was the increase in bus tickets, as well as criticism of the expenses with the World Cup and the Olympics, the terrible conditions of Rio's public transport, health, education and, even, the Mayor and the current Governor of Rio de Janeiro, as well as the end of removals and demilitarization and the subsequent end of the Military Police. The other protest, also in front of the City Hall, was carried out by residents of Vila Autodromo, against the removal of their homes.
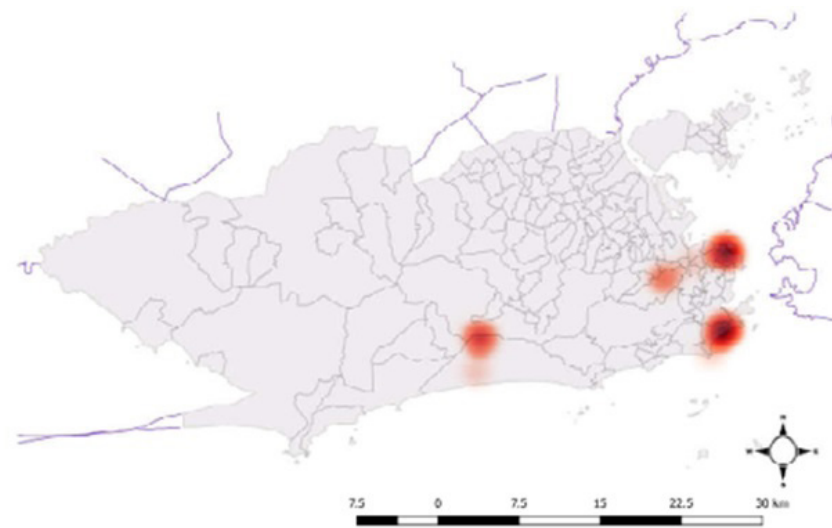


Figure 9 - Heatmap Protests 2014

In 2014, there were 16 protests related to mega-events. Three of them in front of the Copacabana Palace. In the first, about 300 people protested against Senator Marcelo Crivela's bill, which considers any popular demonstration that occurred during the World Cup as an act of terrorism, with sanctions ranging from 15 to 30 years for potential convicts.

Four protests took place on the Barra da Tijuca-Jacarepaguá axis. Two protests were of workers that were working on the construction of the Olympic Park in Barra da Tijuca. The strike was for better wage conditions. The other was part of the occupation 'Occupy Golf', symbolized by 'Golf for whom?', the occupation and the protest were related to the accusations about environmental crime and evidence of administrative illicit practices by Mayor Eduardo Paes, as well as explanations on why to build another golf course in the city, and there were already two others, Gávea Golf Club and Itanhangá Golf Club. The other protest, on the other hand, was from residents of Vila Autodromo, whose city hall actions regarding infrastructure works in the community so that they could proceed with the implementation of their alternative plan. The residents demanded the construction of a sewage network, the implementation in Vila Autódromo in the Family Health Program, the recovery of the marginal strip of Jacarepaguá Lake, the construction of a day-care centre and a municipal school, as well as an area for leisure and sports.
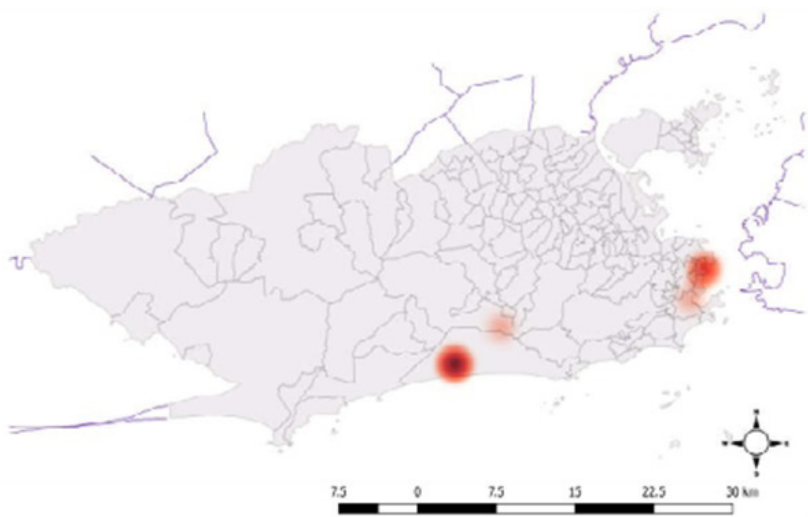


Figure 10 - Heatmap Protests 2015

In the year 2015, there were seven protests. Four of these protests in Barra da Tijuca, belonging to the occupation 'Occupy Golf', protesting against the construction of a golf course for the Olympics in an area of Environmental Reserve, on the margins of Marapendi Lake.

The other two protests took place in Flamengo Park, demonstrating against the constructions in Marina da Glória, elaborated for the 2016 Olympics. The protest was against the privatization of Marina da Glória and Flamengo Park and demanded an embargo of the constructions as well as the cleansing of the waters of Guanabara Bay.



Figure 11 - Heatmap Protests 2016

In 2016 there were four protests. Two of them in the São Conrado neighbourhood, to collect clarifications on the collapse of the Tim Maia cycle path, a work that is part of the legacy of mega-events.

The other protest was from residents of Vila Autodromo[10], against the demolitions at the site. The area is home to several sports arenas for the 2016 Olympics, and most of the residences have been removed[11] to allow access to the Olympic Park[12].

### 3. Final Remarks



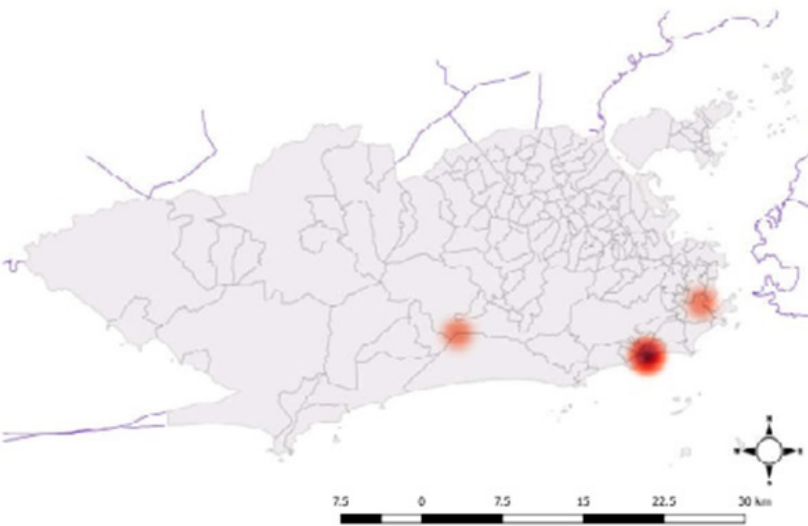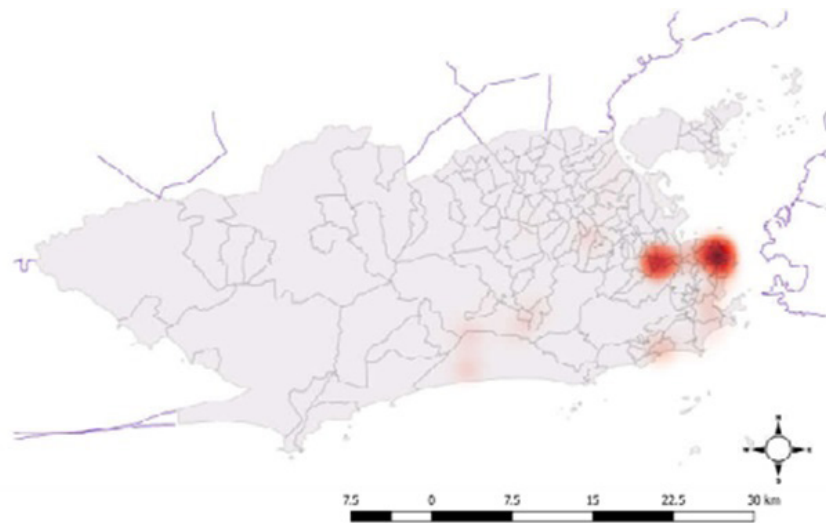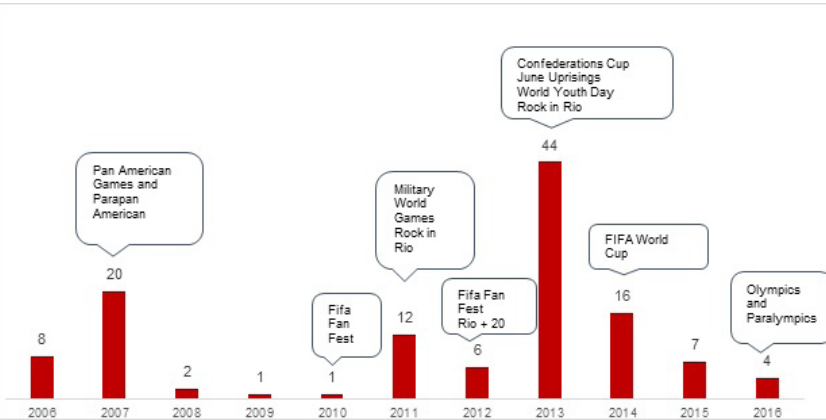Figure 12 - Heatmap Protests from 2006 to 2016



Figure 13 - Protests related to mega-events in Rio de Janeiro from 2006 to 2016

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10      To better understand the Vila Autodromo context, see Tanaka and Bienenstein (2016).

11      About the evictions in Rio de Janeiro, see Nacif and Faulhaber (2014).

12      About the London Olympic Village, see Muñoz (2006).

When we analyze the cartographies of protests related to mega-events in the city of Rio de Janeiro in this research, we can see that the city was the scene of many struggles due to the most diverse urban interventions carried out by the federal, state and municipal governments for the realization of mega-events in Rio de Janeiro.

The disruptions in the city are numerous. The eviction process, for example, was the largest in the city's history. Some cases became emblematic and symbols of this removal policy, such as the case of the Favela of Mangueira Subway, which was removed due to being less than 1 km from Maracanã Stadium, and Vila Autódromo, located next to the Olympic Park, where the most families were removed because they are next to an area of intense economic appreciation.

Also, there is the environmental impact. No clean-up targets have been met. In particular, we have the case of Guanabara Bay, which did not reach 50% of the total, and the case of cleaning and channelling the Jacarepaguá Basin rivers, which were interrupted.

About labour violations, some workers were in a condition similar to slavery, and many of them were in precarious working conditions and their employers were not respecting labour laws. Street vendors, for example, suffered repeated harassment and were banned from working around stadiums.

In addition to the various human rights violations, the level of militarization[13] in the city was high and the military occupation of the city is directly related to the preparation for mega-events. The Peacekeeping Police Units, for example, were strategically created to 'provide security' for the World Cup and Olympics, privileging access to the airport, tourist areas and places that received sports equipment.

The Maracanã Stadium was the biggest sports equipment affected, which was privatized, as well as the Marina da Gloria.

Despite the legacy of the discourse and the opportunities, the mega-events presented many threats and aggravated the social and economic political inequalities, leaving a trail of political mobilizations in the attempts to create a fairer city.

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13      About the militarization of the city, see Silva (2012).

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# 142 Cultural mega-events in heritage-rich cities

## Insights from the European Capital of Culture and broader policy perspectives

ZACHARY M. JONES
Dept. Architecture and Urban Studies, Politecnico di Milano

DAVIDE PONZINI
Dept. Architecture and Urban Studies, Politecnico di Milano

**ABSTRACT** [1]

The European Capital of Culture (ECoC) is a well-known and long-standing European policy that annually awards the title of Capital to one or more cities to deliver cultural initiatives during one year of celebrations. It has invested over 50 cities throughout Europe during the last 35 years. In the past, it has involved large projects for urban branding and regeneration (e.g. the facilities on the new waterfront of Marseille, made for the 2013 ECoC) and, more frequently, projects that adapted existing facilities and places as well as smaller scale interventions in the city fabric. It seems interesting to see, in the wide variety of cities that hosted such event, how the ECoC contributed to urban transformation at different scales, with particular reference to historic and heritage-rich settings, but,. Also, the long-term effects in terms of cultural facilities and venues, tourism appeal, etc… are quite relevant but, so far, this received limited attention in the scholarly and policy debates. Drawing on the HOMEE (Heritage Opportunities/threats within Mega-Events in Europe) ongoing European research project, this contribution will discusses the large-to-small-scale planning, the (re)generation of cultural facilities and places for of mega-events in historic cities and heritage-rich areas to accommodate cultural mega-events. In the conclusions, the paper will expand beyond the ECoC (in the direction of sport mega-events) to highlight the challenges for urban policy-making and planning mega-events in Europe.

**Keywords:** Cultural mega-events, heritage-rich cities, European Capital of Culture, Olympics

# 149 Olympics and urban form

## Evolution of the scales of representation, planning and construction

ELENA BATUNOVA
Politecnico di Milano

STEFANO DI VITA
Politecnico di Milano

**ABSTRACT**

For a long period, hosting the Olympic Games has been viewed as an opportunity to promote and accelerate urban development, a driver of economic growth, a way for fast urban regeneration, also improving transport accessibility and cultural life. Being the most prestigious world mega-event and having over a hundred years of history, the Olympic Games have impacted many hosting cities' development trajectories. However, a general shift in attitude to the Olympics' organization that involves concepts of sustainability and territorial cohesion could change the mega-events local effects.

In Italy, the twentieth century's Olympics were localized in a small but prestigious town as Cortina d'Ampezzo (1956 Winter Games) or in a big metropolis as Rome (1960 Summer Games), contributing to significant urban transformations and international repositioning. In 2006, the Turin's Winter Games had a regional scale and involved several localities and regional infrastructure. The Winter Olympic Games 2026 will spread in the macro-regional dimension in which the four territorial clusters will be located: 1) Milan and 2) Valtellina (200 km from Milan) in the Lombardy Region; 3) Cortina with Anterselva between the Veneto Region and the Autonomous Province of Bolzano (370 km from Milan); 4) Val di Fiemme in the Autonomous Province of Trento (300 km from Milan).

Based on Italy's case, the study aims to shed light on the evolution of the Olympics projects' representation, planning, and construction scales. The event's macro-scale diffusion further raises the question of its territorial impact in places, directly and indirectly, involved and the transformation of local expectations and event's perception. At the same time, in a global context of long-term regionalization of cities but also of recent restrictive measures to mobility due to the Covid-19 pandemic, this contribution aims to reflect about the potential role of mega-events in representing, planning, and constructing the spatial structure of a macro-region.

Keywords: Mega-event, Olympic Games, Italy, urban form.

## 1. Introduction

Mega-events in the last century became essential drivers of post-industrial urban transformations, and accordingly, their impact on the cities' development attracted increasing attention (Caramellino, De Magistris & Deambrosis, 2011). However, both concepts – of 'urban development' and 'mega-events – evolve and the approaches to planning and policymaking.

Globalization, integration of global economy, planetary urbanization, and shrinkage of the world through transport and information systems cause changes in spatial imaginaries and urban governance (Kirsch, 1995; Zimmermann, Brenner & Schmid, 2015). Enormously raised urban population and settlements density, especially in some parts of the world, together with new fast transport systems and increased population mobility, transform understanding of governance and planning in highly urbanized areas, of the relationship between 'local'-'regional'-'global' and between 'rural' and 'urban' (Haas & Westlund, 2018). It requires looking beyond the existing administrative city borders and creating new perceptions of urban spaces that could better serve to discuss, conceptualize, and manage urban development (Thierstein & Förster, 2008). The changing space perceptions, which evolution accelerated in Europe in the after-WWII period when fast urbanization provoked a necessity to think on a scale bigger than local, has been transforming local, regional, national, and even supra-national policies that introduce new approaches and tools for the territorial governance, and the crisis of traditional planning (Brenner, 2004). The same Covid-19 pandemic could be considered a consequence of growing world urbanization, demanding further updating territorial policies, governance, and planning (Lutterbeck, 2020).

Simultaneously, the concept of mega-events is being transformed under the influence of global challenges and new global agendas. Thought in the second half of the 20th century to bring significant local transformations, nowadays mega-events could become drivers of new global trends at the local level, involving the hosting cities into the world movements towards more integrative, responsible, and sustainable development. This process has been occurring yet, but not without contradictions. Growing dissatisfaction and the crisis of mega-events in the last decades caused by the progressive decrease of available public resources and the negative impact of the remaining underused legacy on urban development led to a shift in approaches to mega-events planning and organizations (Di Vita & Morandi, 2018). Thereby, sustainable development goals have become an essential part of the policies and regulations that shape requirements for hosting mega-events (Kassens-Noor, 2020). However, these objectives' effectiveness still needs to be proved and implemented beyond rhetoric (Gaffney, 2013). For sure, this transition has been resulting, yet, in evolving content, scale and form, and mega-events growing complexity in relationships with host cities and regions: from the needs of large-scale urban transformation towards more sustainable, flexible, and economically significant interventions with minimum new constructions and maximum use of existing infrastructures/venues or temporal solutions. This trend, that could force the hosting nations, regions, and cities to rethink mega-events geography, is rising at multiple levels and according to frequently implicit and sometimes explicit agendas: from the evolution of the European Capitals of Culture (Jones, Ponzini, 2018), to the side events of the Expo 2015 in Milan (Di Vita, Ponzini, 2020), up to the Olympic Agenda 2020 promoted by the International Olympic Committee (IOC, 2016).

Due to the event's specific features and needs, the Winter Olympics geography typically includes different venues, sometimes located far enough to affect the territory's large extent. In particular, since the 2000s editions, the Winter Games have often become a combination of urban-mountain areas that force rethinking imaginaries of the territories, operating within a framework of a temporary spatial system of regional scale (Dansero & Mela, 2012). This temporary spatial structure leaves permanent legacies –always tangible and intangible – such as sports venues, accommodation facilities, and transport infrastructure, as well as new planning and policy tools, approaches, and relationships. However, these legacies are not easy to enhance, generating multiple lights and shadows.

Within this multi-faceted context, the Milano-Cortina 2026 Winter Olympic Games project, having an unprecedented macro-regional scale in the history of Italian Olympiads, set ambitious goals: on the basis of the success perception of Expo 2015, the 2026 Winter Games aim to consolidate Milan's international repositioning, as well as to promote 'greater cooperation in the entire Alpine macro-region, 'more developed and enhanced connections between regional neighbors to improve the attractiveness of the mountains as a place to live, contributing to reverse the trend of depopulation (Milano Cortina 2026, 2019).

This paper attempts to shed some light on the Milano-Cortina Olympic project's evolution since June 2019, when the International Olympic Committee (IOC) awarded Italy the 2026 Winter Olympics. Based on the analysis of the Olympic Dossier, regional and municipal strategic and planning documents and publications in media sources, it explores the changing perceptions and appearing challenges in the construction of the new macro-regional spatial form of a mega-event going beyond the traditional evaluation of mega-events impact on the development of urban cores or national states by exploring the urban-regional dimension of contemporary city-regions or post-metropolises (Soja, 2000; Scott, 2001).

The current research is based on the project 'FIVE of Olympics' Flag - Framework for Impact eValuation of the Effects of Olympics For Long-term Achievement of (common) Good', the Politecnico di Milano finances that under the 2019 Polisocial program (The social engagement and responsibility program).

## 2. The Italian Olympic Games evolution (1956-2026)

The Milano-Cortina 2026 Winter Olympic Games will be the fourth Olympiads hold in Italy: the country hosted two Winter and two Summer Olympic Games.

The first edition of the Winter Games in Italy was celebrated in winter 1956 in Cortina d'Ampezzo, a small town in the Veneto region's Alpine area. Those Olympic Games were small in terms of the participants' number compared to the contemporary Olympic Games: 32 nations and 920 athletes participated in 24 Olympic events (Chappelet, 2002). They were also spatially very compact and avoided significant investments and the increase in local accommodation capacity due to opposition from local hoteliers (Gold, J.R. & Gold, M.M., 2010).

In 1960, Rome hosted the Summer Olympic Games, which became the first mega-event in the history of the modern Olympics to extend its impact on urban transformation beyond the construction of sports facilities and Olympic villages. It went in line with the post-war urban expansive development and provided a new paradigm of mega-event perception as a catalyst of grand urban interventions and transformations (Liao & Pitts, 2006). The main facilities were concentrated in three peripheral sites: two of them in the northern part of the city (Foro Italico) and one in the southern sector, which was initially planned for the 1942 Universal Exhibition (Eur) and later transformed into a new residential and business area (Chalkley & Essex, 1999). The northern-southern connection was developed through the so-called Via Olimpica (Olympic Way); such new transport axes were composed of the existing and newly constructed infrastructural elements. In addition to the main construction and transport infrastructure sites, Rome realized a new water supply system, improved streets network and their lighting, and urban landscaping (Liao & Pitts, 2006). However, in the short term, such significant transformations provoked canceling of the calls to the next Games and decreasing in a number of bids receiving from the potential host cities, anticipating the wave of mega-event disaffection then occurred in the 2010s: the Olympic Games became too expensive (Chalkley & Essex, 1999) and, since 1964, the Olympic Games have been mainly awarded to big cities (Viehoff & Poynter, 2015).

The territorial evolution and scale of the third Italian Olympics – the XX Winter Games in Turin 2006 – was impressive: from venues within walking distance in Cortina, the Olympiads reached the regional scale in Turin the distribution of venues in the distance of around 90 km. The organization of the 2006 Winter Games aimed to enhance a close relationship between Turin and the surrounding Alpine municipalities. The representation of the hosting area as the 'Olympic region' – that is, the integration of different areas and networks that have never been considered together before – became a peculiar feature of this mega-event edition. However, this integration has not transformed into a legacy of the Olympics and has vanished in a short period after the event (Dansero & Mela, 2012).

On June 24, 2019, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) awarded Italy the 2026 Winter Olympics, whose Olympic Dossier has been inspired by the requirements of the new Olympic Agenda: it has promoted the cheap, flexible, and sustainable event with minimum new constructions and maximum use of existing infrastructures/venues or temporal solutions. Besides other political reasons, at both local and national levels, such an approach has contributed to the upscaling process and plan of the mega-event. The forthcoming XXV Winter Olympiad will spread in the macro-regional dimension in which the four territorial clusters will be located: 1) Milan and 2) Valtellina (200 km from Milan) in the Lombardy Region; 3) Cortina with Anterselva between the Veneto Region and the Autonomous Province of Bolzano (370 km from Milan); 4) Val di Fiemme in the Autonomous Province of Trento (300 km from Milan). The mega-event extends to three regions[1], where it directly involves nine municipalities, in which 14 Olympic venues are located, and it indirectly expands to other areas, which are crossed by crucial transport infrastructure.
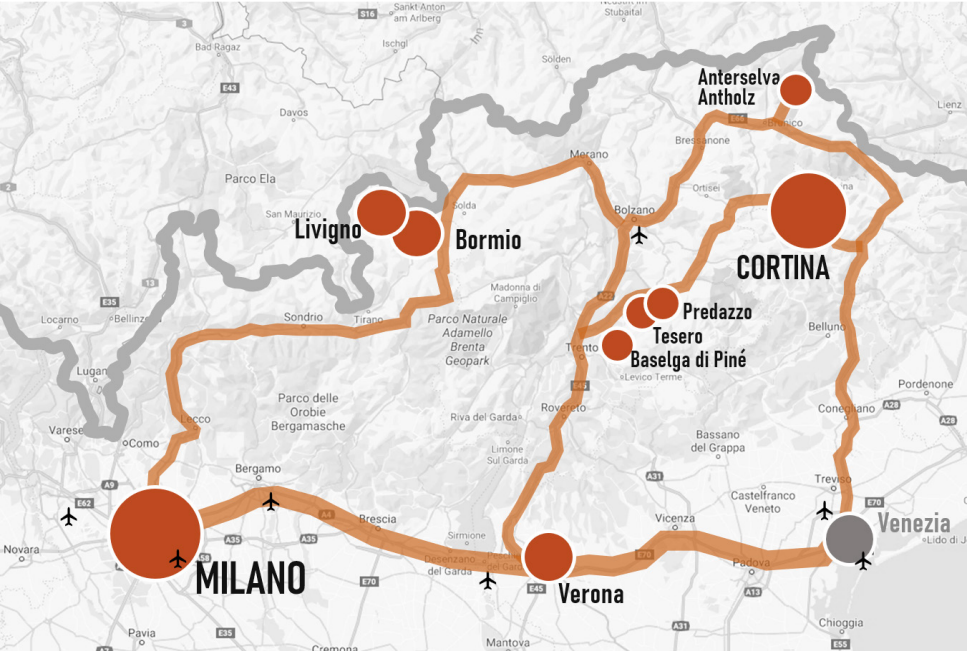


Fig. 1 – Map A. Olympic Games Concept. On the basis: Milano Cortina 2026: Candidature Dossier / Milano Cortina 2026 Candidate City Olympic Winter Games

This mega-event macro-scale calls for rethinking planning and development in a highly urbanized context that is traditionally characterized by complex governance structures.

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1  That is, Lombardy, Veneto, and Trentino Alto Adige (in turn, formed by the Autonomous Provinces of Bolzano and Trento).

### 3. The territorial and planning context of the Milano-Cortina 2026 Winter Olympic Games

Northern Italy, where the Olympic Games 2026 will be implemented, is a part of the most economically developed areas in Europe, such as 'blue banana' or 'European Pentagon.' It is made by a polycentric urban system (Gualini, 2002) that is characterized by spatial and functional connections between middle-sized centers and regional capitals placed in the metropolitan network of Eurocities (Camagni & Salone, 1993). Industrial development historically contributed to urbanization and metropolitan nation processes in the area. In this light, the Milan metropolitan area's development, which got the role as 'Italy's economic capital, is emblematic. Milan has become a central city with superior metropolitan functions and complementary solid relations with its peripheral territorial system (Salet, Thornley & Kreukels, 2002), extended from Turin to Verona and Venice Bologna and Rimini. The development of fast transport infrastructure corridors squeezed the space between this polycentric urban network's critical elements. In this extended city region, Milan also plays as a gateway to global flows (Bolocan Goldstein, 2017), attracting global events and significant investments.

The first attempts to change approaches and scales to planning for the Milan metropolitan area beyond the city limits were made in 1945, and since that period, different projects of bigger-than-local scale were proposed trying to address the city's extensive spatial development. In the 1960s, different planning proposals considered the regional and macro-regional urban systems, including the Turin and Venice metropolitan areas. Since the 1970s, the national, regional, and local governments have made significant efforts to coordinate their planning acts and tools. The implementation of such planning acts and tools was often hampered by administrative fragmentation and a lack of vision of integrated future development (Di Vita, 2020).

The need to cope with the complex relationship between municipal and regional administrative units and compact cities and wider city regions becomes an essential issue for many European countries (Herrschel, 2014; Armondi & Hurtado, 2020). At the same time, the acceptance of regional and macro-regional spatial systems as 'territory of differences' has led to the recognition of the relevance of specific dynamics in the relationships between diverse territorial systems, the extreme complexity of autonomy and interdependency, and the need for area-based approaches to spatial development in contrast to comprehensive centralized vision (Salet, Thornley & Kreukels, 2002). In such a context, the imagined macroscale mega-event planning and implementation raise new issues concerning the multiple components of the 'territory of differences.'

Considering this territorial context and referring to these issues, this contribution aims to analyze the Milan-Cortina 2026 Winter Olympics plans. Within the macro-regional spatial structure of this Games' edition, Milan is thought of as the major center where the most planned interventions are concentrated. Thus, among 14 Olympic venues planned to be used during the mega-event, only two objects are planned as totally new constructions. Both are located in Milan: the major Olympic Village in the former railyard of Porta Romana and the hockey arena in the brownfield redevelopment project of Santa Giulia. The other venues are either existing, existing with permanent works required (only three), or temporary (Milano Cortina 2026, 2019). The minor Olympic Village in Livigno initially planned as partially permanent and partially temporary, has been recently discussed and criticized by local stakeholders, rejecting the construction of a new village and promoting existing hotels' temporary use.

A shift from the 'Olympic city' to the' Olympic region' and later to the 'Olympic macro-region in the development of the mega-event temporary spatial structure prioritizes the issues of mobility, accessibility, and transport infrastructure development. The Bidding Dossier considers the road and rail backbone between Milan and Venice as the most crucial transport axes connecting the two main cities and airports to the mountains' complementary road and rail infrastructures. The mega-event infrastructural development's essential notion is that there is no newly planned component: the Olympic plan includes already existing infrastructures, already planned, or already under construction. Thereby, the mega-event aims to catalyze an infrastructural development that is already in progress. All this questions the implementation of the claimed objective to reshape and straighten the relationship between large urban centers and peripheral mountain areas.

This goal achievement is also complicated by the underrepresentation of the small communities, especially those located in-between the main clusters, in the mega-event project. For the project implementation, a broad and interconnected structure of governance defined by the Olympic dossier in 2019 and then confirmed by the Olympic Law in 2020 Legge 8 maggio 2020, n° 31, which includes different bodies: 1) the Milano-Cortina 2026 Foundation – the Organizing Committee of the Games, formed by the national Olympic and Paralympic committees, the Regions and the Municipalities of Milan and Cortina – responsible for management, promotion and communication activities of the sport competitions and the side cultural events; 2) the Joint Milano-Cortina 2026 Olympic Council, formed by 15 representatives of national Olympic committees, and national, regional and provincial authorities, with general and high level of surveillance guidance functions on the implementation of the Games program; 3) the company Infrastructure Milano Cortina 2020-2026 Spa, in which the Ministries of Infrastructure and Economy, and the Regions and autonomous Provinces are involved, responsible for carrying out the works necessary for the Games; 4) the Forum for Sustainability and the Olympic Legacy, a permanent body coordinated by the national Government, aimed at protecting the Olympic legacy and promoting initiatives to assess the long-term use of the infrastructure built for the Games.

Despite the complex structure that should coordinate activities, the current situation demonstrates fragmentation and disconnection of the further development plans in the absence of a territorial vision for the macro-region.

### 4. Discussion and conclusion

Being extraordinary events that divide a hosting city's existence into 'pre-, ''during' and 'post-event 'phases, the Olympic Games, creating a temporary territorial system of an event, leave permanent legacies to be managed after. The spatial change (expressed through different scales, from a neighborhood to a region) is the most apparent aspect of a territory's material transformation and the mega-event most prolonged-lasting consequences. The Olympic mega-events reshape a hosting space's territorial structure, they privilege the selected spots, but they also provoke those not chosen. They require a transformation of space, adaptation, reuse, and sometimes abandonment after the event (Viehoff & Poynter, 2015).

Observation of the evolution of the Italian Olympic Games territorialization makes us think about a re-evaluation of their impact and legacies. A shift from the concentrated and 'heavy' urban redevelopment to a more diffuse but much more complicated process involving many stakeholders and different levels of public actors might bring unknown values and challenges that should be understood. The first year of the pre-Olympic period demonstrates many challenges appearing on the way of new macro-regional spatial system construction: fragmented and not coordinated planning, the concentration of the main interventions in the Milano urban core, difficulties in the harmonization of local needs, and supra-regional objectives.

An intention to promote the macro-regional scale of the Olympic Games could correspond to the European Union's attempts to formulate a strategy to achieve polycentric and balanced spatial development and to reshape the relationship between urban and rural areas. The creation of the new zones of economic prosperity and the existing most economically developed 'European Pentagon' area through enhancing cooperation between less potent economic areas is the European approach to spatial development. Hosting the Winter Olympic Games 2026 in the Milan urban core (one of the 'Pentagon' peaks) and the peripheral mountain areas (some of which, being international mountain resorts, at the same time experience depopulation and accessibility problems), could be thought of as a driver for boosting economy and infrastructure development of both the territorial clusters and the macro-region. However, a potential 'Olympic Ring' is about 900 km long, which raises some questions – what kind of relationships and between which areas should be/could be reshaped and in which way? Can the diffused infrastructural elements or local facilities become a macro-regional strategy?

The planned governance and organizing structures are mainly oriented to provide the efficiency objectives for the pre-event and during-event phases. However, the

plans are characterized by the absence of deep reflections and tools for the post-event and the legacies for the host cities and regions, beyond the goals for the reuse of the Olympic venues and transport infrastructures. The complexity of the 2026 Winter Olympics governance risks simultaneously producing a weak representation of local territories. In contrast, the Olympic project's macroregional scale and its long duration imply the involvement of many different stakeholders and the development of new sectors and secondary projects that have to be integrated into the complete story to achieve the Olympic Dossier's ambitious goals. The re-established relationships between different stakeholders and 'territories of differences' during the event preparation can become another essential Olympic legacy. However, in the Winter Olympiad 2026, its macro-regional scale, the event's diffusion, significant distances, and need for the complex management of a multi-component and inter-regional communication system challenge the establishment of a strong horizontal relationship between the stakeholders. So far, the system risks to be too large for the synchronized management and transformation of its perception into something solid and well-connected, and it needs a vision that could make it possible to enhance the multiple components of the 'territory of differences' coordinate projects not only for the event but also for the territory beyond the event.

Our study's first results call for further investigations in several directions: 1) can sport be a driver for reconnecting multiple territories and how? 2) in the perspective of a widespread regeneration, could the vision for the macro-region and the "territories of differences" be based on a system of "networks and nodes"? 3) how the tendency of disconnection and 'de-globalization caused by the pandemic situation can affect the construction of a macro-regional territorial vision and its implementation considering the high level of uncertainty?

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# 154 Olympic waterfronts

## Wasted opportunities and lasting legacies

PEDRO PINTO
CiTUA – Instituto Superior Técnico, University of Lisbon

GUSTAVO LOPES DOS SANTOS
CiTUA – Instituto Superior Técnico, University of Lisbon

### ABSTRACT

Mega-events like the Olympic Games are frequently used as platforms for urban development, creating physical, political, social, and economic legacies. With a clear strategy of city-branding, cities, regions, and countries may use these events to reposition themselves in the global market. Globally, waterfront redevelopment has become a primary mechanism for revitalizing urban spaces, especially through brownfield requalification. The Olympics have not been indifferent to this trend, and over the last decades several important Olympic interventions have rehabilitated waterfronts. Yet, these 'Olympic Waterfronts' have emerged in very different urban contexts and resulted in diverse urban, social, and environmental legacies. This paper analyses such waterfronts by evaluating their: economic sustainability; environmental impact; connectivity and accessibility; role in the hosts' urban and marketing strategies; social impact of the event; visibility/perception of these locations. These are framed in the political and social contexts in which each intervention was carried. Results show that the Olympic Waterfront can drastically change the image of the city, greatly contributing to the perceived success of the event's legacy and creating new urban centralities. However, the inadequate management in the planning, the delivery and, especially, the legacy stages of the event can compromise this 'Olympic Effect'.

**Keywords:** urban waterfronts, urban redevelopment, Olympic Games, mega-event planning.

## 1. Introduction

Although frequently marred in controversy, the Olympic Games have been seen as a catalyst for urban interventions that otherwise would hardly be implemented, bringing opportunities for rapid development (Gold, & Gold, 2011). They have the power to trigger economic, social, and urban renewal, providing "entrepreneurial cities" the unique branding opportunity to boost their global status (Hiller, 2006). At the same time, they present unquestionable inherent risks as they are associated with demanding schedules and requirements, hardly matching any city's strategic planning, and often draining public funds (Müller, 2015; Kassens-Noor, 2016; Lauermann, 2016).

Waterfront regeneration has become one of the most important forms of urban intervention, triggered by the relocation of industries, ports, and linear infrastructure. Brownfields, located in central locations within metropolitan areas, on the shores of rivers, lakes, and seas, are often perceived as prime real-estate opportunities within dense urban fabrics. Large urban regeneration projects have become desirable investments, but often lead to unequally balancing of desired outcomes among different stakeholders, fostering land-use conflict and the commodification of public space (Avni, & Teschner, 2019).

Where the two phenomena meet, is at what we call the "Olympic Waterfront". These are, evidently, waterfront spaces, often brownfields, that were selected as Olympic sites. Throughout time, the host cities adopted different urban strategies to develop these areas. At their best, they could draw from the exceptional character of the Olympics and combine it with the unique character of waterfronts, generating attractive locations with the potential to set-off entire urban renewal processes at the city scale. Despite this enormous potential, some of these sites are quite underwhelming, which begs the question of what actions led to less-than-successful outcomes. Olympic Waterfronts might substantially improve cities but, at the same time, can incur in all problems usually affecting both waterfront and Olympic projects.

## 2. Methodology



Fig. 1 – "The Wrongs" and respective criteria. Own creation based on (Pinto, & Kondolf, 2020).

In Pinto and Kondolf (2020), we proposed an evaluation tool for the quick assessment and identification of elements of waterfront projects that have failed or are prone to failure. The tool is here adjusted to better reflect the specifics of Olympic sites. It consists of a basic classification system based on five typical "wrongs" often present in waterfront interventions, which are further divided into five criteria each (Fig. 1). A binary classification is used, where -1 indicates that a specific problem is present and 0 indicates it is not.

The methodology was applied to ten case studies, selected through the following criteria: (i) contemporaneity, starting with Barcelona 1992; (ii) location, considering only Olympic interventions in waterfronts (rivers, lakes, or seashores); (iii) coherence, selecting the areas with significant urban interventions. The evaluation of each case study regards the site itself and its post-event evolution, disregarding the Olympic event.

Qualitative evaluation of the case studies resorted to documental analysis (scientific publications and official Olympic files). GoogleEarth's time-lapse tool was used to observe the sites' transformation dynamics, and StreetView to further survey their current state. Criteria were evaluated only if supporting data was found, being rated "0" otherwise.

### 3. Olympic Waterfronts

#### 3.1 Barcelona 1992: Parc de Mar

Following its successful hosting of Expo 1929 and the 1992 Olympic Games, Barcelona is often presented as a role model for mega-event urban planning. The latter have completely renovated the area of Parc de Mar (Fig. 2), a former industrial and illegal settlement seafront area, separated from the remaining urban fabric by a railway (Gold, & Gold, 2011). After the Games, the area became a vital and dynamic centrality of the city, combining residential areas with economic, leisure, and tourism activities.

Barcelona is lauded for framing the interventions in a broader, and long-term, existing planning strategy, that built on Ildefonso Cerdà's plan for the *Eixample* of Barcelona. Hosting the Olympics represented the opportunity and justification for the costly and complex restructuring of the city's waterfront. One of its fundamental aspects was the transformation of the Ronda del Litoral, an urban highway, which was partially converted into a trench-tunnel system. Although very expensive, the intervention allowed unimpeded street-level connection between La Vila Olímpica and adjacent blocks with the seafront.

#### 3.2 Sydney 2000: Sydney Olympic Park

Matching the decision of the International Olympic Committee to make 'environment' one of the three main strands of Olympism, the organizing committee of the 2000 Sydney Olympics committed to deliver "Green Games". As such, a massive sports area was built at Homebush Bay (Fig. 3), bringing the opportunity to remediate heavy pollution problems in the former brownfield, and promote its regeneration (Gold, & Gold, 2011). Together with the adjacent Olympic Village, the intervention resulted in a new suburb of Greater Western Sydney, the Olympic Park.

While adhering to somewhat classic zoning, with clear separation of the sports complex, residential areas, and the large urban park, it nevertheless succeeded in creating a new centrality within Sydney Metro, along the shores of the Harbour. The Olympic Park contains several large green areas, including the Bicentennial Park and Wentworth Commons, and other areas were carefully designed to preserve wetlands (such as the Badu Mangroves). This intervention brings out Sydney Olympic Park as the only case study having no significant problems regarding "the wrong colour", that is, with its system of green spaces and consideration for existing natural values, the site holds up to the "Green Games" commitment. Nevertheless, its location, far from central Sydney, rendered some facilities and public transport routes underutilized, which raised questions over its long-term financial sustainability.
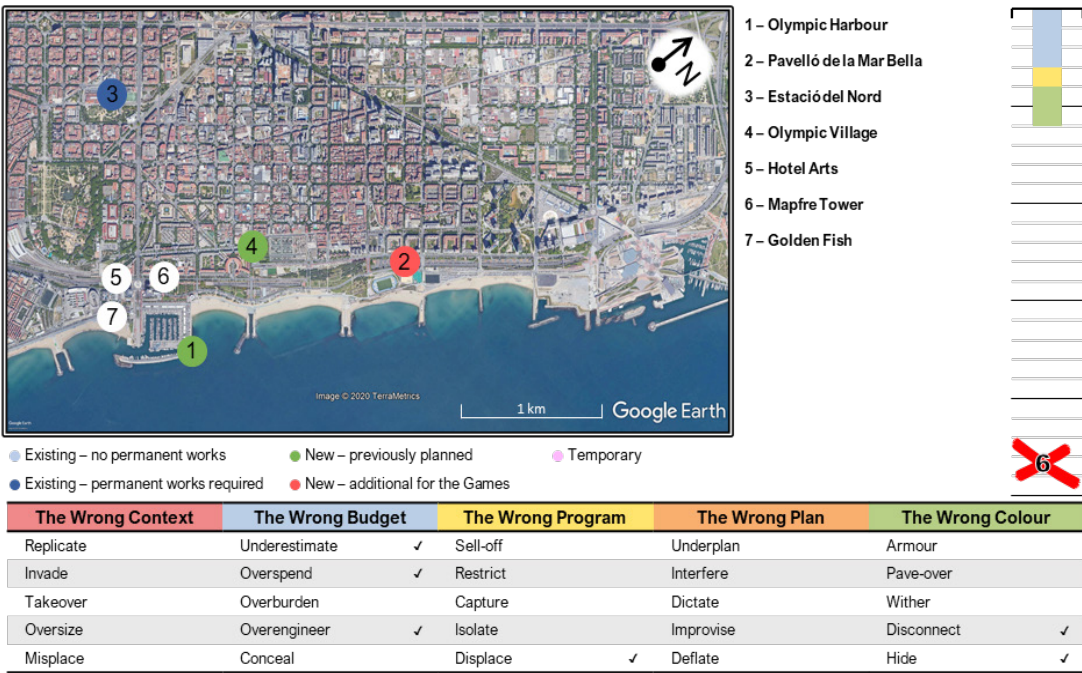
PARC DE MAR – BARCELONA 1992

1 – Olympic Harbour
2 – Pavelló de la Mar Bella
3 – Estació del Nord
4 – Olympic Village
5 – Hotel Arts
6 – Mapfre Tower
7 – Golden Fish

Existing – no permanent works    New – previously planned    Temporary
Existing – permanent works required    New – additional for the Games

| The Wrong Context | The Wrong Budget | | The Wrong Program | | The Wrong Plan | The Wrong Colour | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Replicate | Underestimate | ✓ | Sell-off | | Underplan | Armour | |
| Invade | Overspend | ✓ | Restrict | | Interfere | Pave-over | |
| Takeover | Overburden | | Capture | | Dictate | Wither | |
| Oversize | Overengineer | ✓ | Isolate | | Improvise | Disconnect | ✓ |
| Misplace | Conceal | | Displace | ✓ | Deflate | Hide | ✓ |

Fig. 2 – Parc de Mar: venues/facilities, and classification. Own creation. Maps Data: Google, ©2020 TerraMetrics.



SYDNEY OLYMPIC PARK – SYDNEY 2000

1 – Olympic Stadium
2 – Super Dome
3 – Baseball Stadium
4 – The Dome & Exhibition Centre
5 – International Aquatics Centre
6 – State Sports Centre
7 – State Hockey Centre
8 – New South Wales Tennis Centre
9 – International Archery Park
10 – Olympic Village
11 – International Broadcasting Centre
12 – Main Press Centre

Existing – no permanent works    New – previously planned    Temporary
Existing – permanent works required    New – additional for the Games

| The Wrong Context | | The Wrong Budget | | The Wrong Program | | The Wrong Plan | | The Wrong Colour |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Replicate | | Underestimate | ✓ | Sell-off | | Underplan | | Armour |
| Invade | | Overspend | | Restrict | ✓ | Interfere | ✓ | Pave-over |
| Takeover | | Overburden | ✓ | Capture | | Dictate | | Wither |
| Oversize | ✓ | Overengineer | ✓ | Isolate | | Improvise | | Disconnect |
| Misplace | ✓ | Conceal | | Displace | | Deflate | | Hide |

Fig. 3 – Sydney Olympic Park: venues/facilities, and classification. Own creation. Maps Data: Google.

## 3.3 Athens 2004: Faliro Coastal Zone Olympic Complex, and Hellinikon Olympic Complex

Athens submitted a bid relying heavily on the concept of concentration of Olympic activities in the Faliro coastal area. Following a series of changes, immersed in controversy, the final plans resulted in the spread of venues between the seafront areas of Faliro (Fig. 4) and of the former Hellinikon Airport (Fig. 5) (Gold, & Gold, 2011).

The initial objective of the Faliro Bay project was to break the barrier between the waterfront and the Tzitzifies quarter, by redirecting and burying some sections of the coastal highway and giving access to an ecological leisure area, to be created in the landfills, which would include cultural and sports facilities. However, due to concerns of mass concentration during the Olympics, several of these facilities were moved to Helliniko. After the Games, most of the site remained undeveloped, and the burial of linear infrastructure was postponed. Following 14 years of stagnation, works have recently resumed and the project, with significant revisions, seems headed towards a successful conclusion. The completion of the highway tunnels makes the reconnection of Athens' urban fabric with the seafront finally possible, complementing the pedestrian crossover purposely built for the Games. A newly-built cultural center provides an anchor to the area, improving its attractiveness.
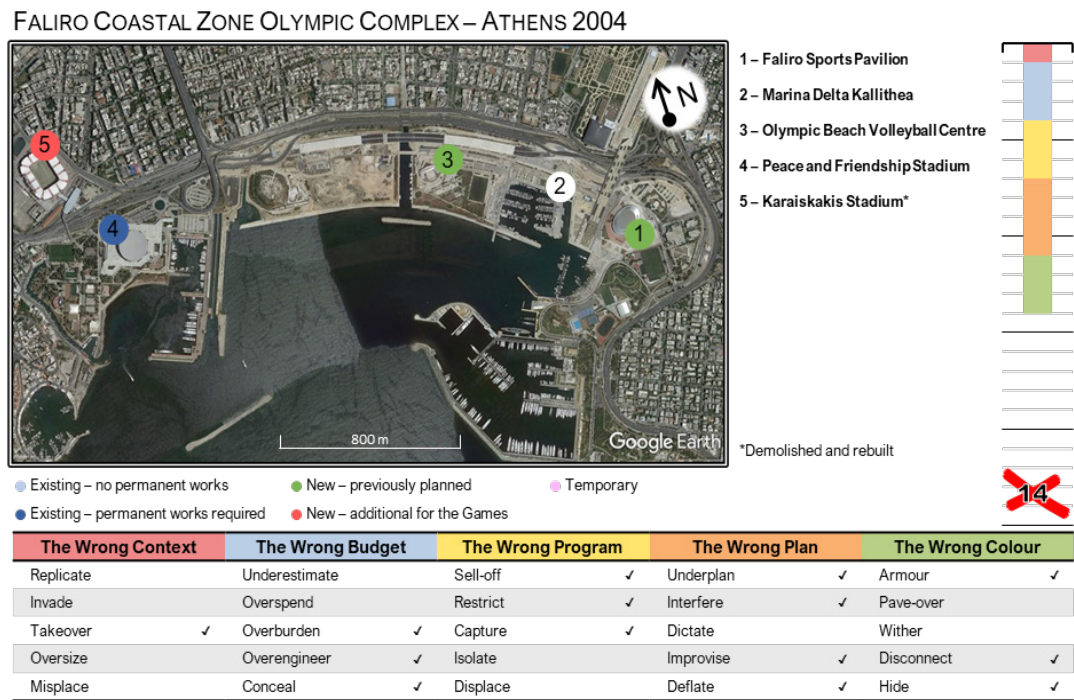
The Hellinikon site acted as a depository for the relocated venues, leading to rushed planning and little character and design. While the reuse of the former airport's site and facilities was expected, the mix of uses (or lack thereof) rendered most of the site in a state of disrepair soon after the Games, with most of the venues not having a post-event purpose. The connection with the waterfront was not valued nor improved for the Games or afterwards, and linear barriers have been kept in place. Nevertheless, future projects foresee the development of a large metropolitan park.

Issues of "the wrong plan" affect both case studies. In Faliro, these could be attributed to the late relocation of venues and to stagnant development due to economic issues. Helliniko was the result of an impromptu last-minute solution for venue relocation, lacking a coherent post-event strategy. These cases perfectly illustrate how a lack of resilience to externalities can influence expected urban outcomes, with funds being redirected from an existing sophisticated plan to a rushed and improvised project. This affected the project's redundancy and diversification, as well as its integration within existing urban fabric, thus resulting in a "wrong program" with "the wrong budget".



FALIRO COASTAL ZONE OLYMPIC COMPLEX – ATHENS 2004

1 – Faliro Sports Pavilion
2 – Marina Delta Kallithea
3 – Olympic Beach Volleyball Centre
4 – Peace and Friendship Stadium
5 – Karaiskakis Stadium*

*Demolished and rebuilt

Existing – no permanent works    New – previously planned    Temporary
Existing – permanent works required    New – additional for the Games

| The Wrong Context | The Wrong Budget | The Wrong Program | The Wrong Plan | The Wrong Colour |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Replicate | Underestimate | Sell-off ✓ | Underplan ✓ | Armour |
| Invade | Overspend | Restrict ✓ | Interfere ✓ | Pave-over |
| Takeover ✓ | Overburden ✓ | Capture ✓ | Dictate | Wither |
| Oversize | Overengineer ✓ | Isolate ✓ | Improvise ✓ | Disconnect ✓ |
| Misplace | Conceal ✓ | Displace | Deflate | Hide ✓ |

Fig. 4 – Faliro Coastal Zone Olympic Complex: venues/facilities, and classification. Own creation. Maps Data: Google.



HELLINIKON OLYMPIC COMPLEX – ATHENS 2004

1 – Hellinikon Indoor Arena*
2 – Fencing Hall*
3 – Olympic Softball Stadium**
4 – Olympic Baseball Centre**
5 – Olympic Hockey Centre
6 – Canoe/Kayak Slalom Centre***
7 – Agios Kosmas Sailing Centre

*Initially to be newly-built (previously planned) in Faliro
**Initially to be newly-built (additional for the Games) in Faliro
***Initially to be newly-built (previously planned) in Schinias Olympic Rowing and Canoeing Centre

Existing – no permanent works    New – previously planned    Temporary
Existing – permanent works required    New – additional for the Games

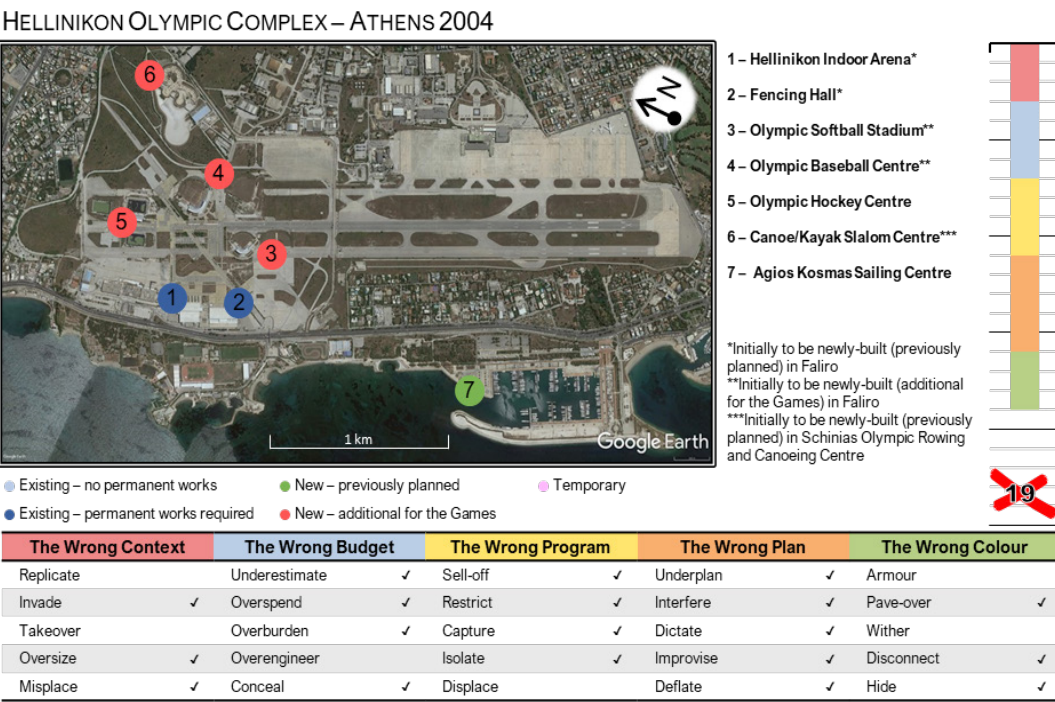| The Wrong Context | The Wrong Budget | The Wrong Program | The Wrong Plan | The Wrong Colour |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Replicate | Underestimate ✓ | Sell-off ✓ | Underplan ✓ | Armour |
| Invade ✓ | Overspend ✓ | Restrict ✓ | Interfere ✓ | Pave-over ✓ |
| Takeover ✓ | Overburden ✓ | Capture ✓ | Dictate ✓ | Wither |
| Oversize ✓ | Overengineer ✓ | Isolate ✓ | Improvise ✓ | Disconnect ✓ |
| Misplace ✓ | Conceal ✓ | Displace ✓ | Deflate ✓ | Hide ✓ |

Fig. 5 – Hellinikon Olympic Complex: venues/facilities, and classification. Own creation. Maps Data: Google.

### 3.4 Beijing 2008: Olympic Green & Forest Park

The "Efficiency Games", in Beijing, were recognized as so not only because of its majesty and organizing competence, but also because of its ecologically friendly approach: the mitigation of air pollution; the improvement of the sewage and wastewater treatment; the promotion of energy efficiency in Olympic venues and village; or the creation of green areas, as the new Olympic Green and Forest Park (Fig. 6) (Gold, & Gold, 2011). The Games are also seen as an example of city-branding through mega-events, within a broader effort to assert Beijing as a global city. Yet, the construction of the Olympic Park required extensive residential displacement and the direct costs were very high – at the time, second only to Barcelona. The Olympic Park stretches along a canal/reservoir, formed by damming of the headwaters of the Yangshan River. While man-made, this "river" is very successful in bringing the water element to the fore in structuring the new urban centrality. The Forest Park created extensive artificial wetlands, providing much-needed habitat and recreation areas within the dense metropolitan region.

### 3.5 Vancouver 2010: Vancouver Olympic Village

Vancouver 2010 was committed to deliver the first "Sustainable Games" ever, focusing on topics of social inclusiveness, and post-event legacies for everyone. A significant share of the Olympic Village, at the southeast end of False Creek (Fig. 7), was promised for social housing, in a prime waterfront area of the city. However, the economic crisis of 2008 forced the government to intervene and temporarily assume part of the funding, following the insolvency of the original developer. The share of cost-controlled housing was partially sacrificed so as to render the project economically viable, with the municipality having to sell the blocks at market prices (Gold, & Gold, 2011). Controversy marred the process of removal of homeless people and tenants in the neighboring Downtown Eastside quarter. These actions were to be partially mitigated by the never-delivered affordable housing at the Village. Nowadays, the Olympic Village is evidently a successful neighborhood, though gentrified, comprising attractive commercial, touristic, and leisure areas.
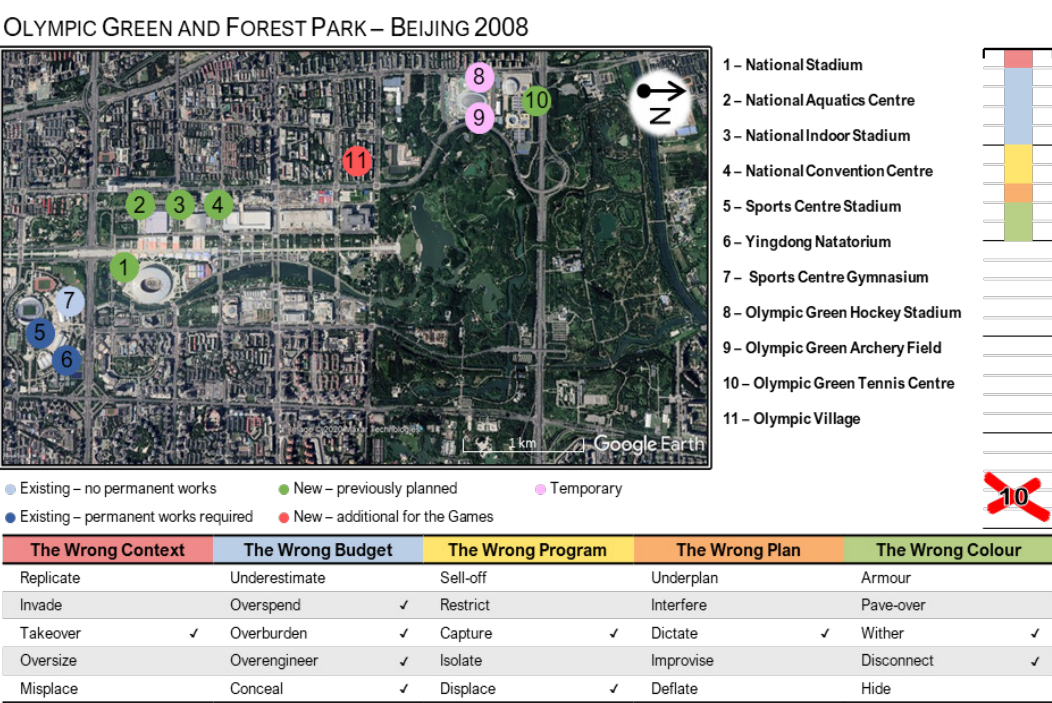


OLYMPIC GREEN AND FOREST PARK – BEIJING 2008

1 – National Stadium
2 – National Aquatics Centre
3 – National Indoor Stadium
4 – National Convention Centre
5 – Sports Centre Stadium
6 – Yingdong Natatorium
7 – Sports Centre Gymnasium
8 – Olympic Green Hockey Stadium
9 – Olympic Green Archery Field
10 – Olympic Green Tennis Centre
11 – Olympic Village

● Existing – no permanent works   ● New – previously planned   ● Temporary
● Existing – permanent works required   ● New – additional for the Games

| The Wrong Context | | The Wrong Budget | | The Wrong Program | | The Wrong Plan | | The Wrong Colour | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Replicate | | Underestimate | | Sell-off | | Underplan | | Armour | |
| Invade | | Overspend | ✓ | Restrict | | Interfere | | Pave-over | |
| Takeover | ✓ | Overburden | ✓ | Capture | ✓ | Dictate | ✓ | Wither | ✓ |
| Oversize | | Overengineer | ✓ | Isolate | | Improvise | | Disconnect | ✓ |
| Misplace | | Conceal | ✓ | Displace | ✓ | Deflate | | Hide | |

Fig. 6 – Olympic Green & Forest Park: venues/facilities, and classification. Own creation. Maps Data: Google, ©2020 MaxarTechnologies.



VANCOUVER OLYMPIC VILLAGE – VANCOUVER 2010

1 – BC Place
2 – Canada Hockey Palace
3 – Olympic Village
4 – Vancouver Convention Centre – West Building
5 – Vancouver Convention Centre – East Building

● Existing – no permanent works   ● New – previously planned   ● Temporary
● Existing – permanent works required   ● New – additional for the Games

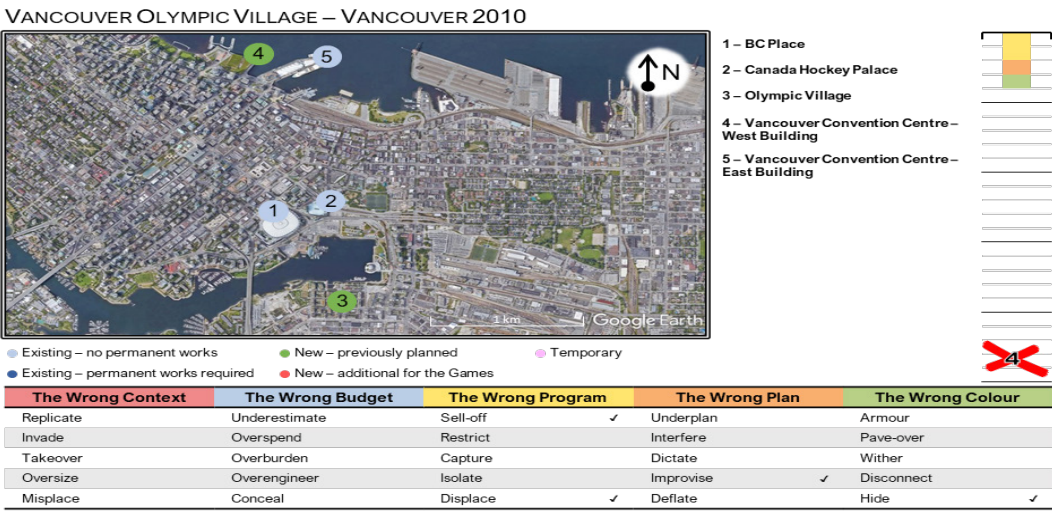| The Wrong Context | | The Wrong Budget | | The Wrong Program | | The Wrong Plan | | The Wrong Colour | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Replicate | | Underestimate | | Sell-off | ✓ | Underplan | | Armour | |
| Invade | | Overspend | | Restrict | | Interfere | | Pave-over | |
| Takeover | | Overburden | | Capture | | Dictate | | Wither | |
| Oversize | | Overengineer | | Isolate | | Improvise | ✓ | Disconnect | |
| Misplace | | Conceal | | Displace | ✓ | Deflate | | Hide | ✓ |

Fig. 7 – Vancouver Olympic Village: venues/facilities, and classification. Own creation. Maps Data: Google.

### 3.6 London 2012: Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park

The London Olympic Games mark the history of Olympic planning for breaking the record of the number of temporary venues used, and for being the first to have a legacy plan in execution long before the hosting of the event. The "Regeneration Games" have completely transformed the decaying mixture of green and brownfields resulting mostly from deindustrialization and the closing of the London

Docks, in Stratford, East London (Gold, & Gold, 2011). The new urban centrality, the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (Fig. 8), now lies at the valley of the River Lea, providing the cosmopolitan life with leisure and culture green areas rooted within the river's canals.

The project seems to have benefited from earlier experiences (Sydney's Olympic Park) and mistakes (London's own Docklands, Wembley Stadium, or Millennium Dome). The ongoing plan proposes a long-term strategy of urban regeneration, aimed at creating a new centrality for East London, with significant portions of housing and office space to be constructed. Not yet at its full potential, the Olympic Park already provides the area with much-needed quality public spaces while, at the same time, attempting to regenerate the economic tissue of the run-down industrial quarter and promote the ecological improvement of the River Lea's valley.

QUEEN ELIZABETH OLYMPIC PARK – LONDON 2012



1 – Olympic Stadium
2 – Aquatics Centre
3 – Water Polo Arena
4 – Copper Box Arena
5 – Riverbank Arena*
6 – Velodrome
7 – BMX Track
8 – Basketball Arena
9 – Olympic Village
10 – International Broadcasting Centre / Main Press Centre
11 – ArcelorMittal
12 – Eton Manor

*Moved to Eton Manor after Games

Existing – no permanent works ● New – previously planned ● Temporary
● Existing – permanent works required ● New – additional for the Games

| The Wrong Context | The Wrong Budget | The Wrong Program | The Wrong Plan | The Wrong Colour |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Replicate | Underestimate ✓ | Sell-off | Underplan | Armour |
| Invade | Overspend ✓ | Restrict | Interfere | Pave-over |
| Takeover | Overburden ✓ | Capture | Dictate | Wither |
| Oversize | Overengineer ✓ | Isolate ✓ | Improvise ✓ | Disconnect ✓ |
| Misplace | Conceal | Displace ✓ | Deflate | Hide |

Fig. 8 – Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park: venues/facilities, and classification. Own creation. Maps Data: Google.

### 3.7 Sochi 2014: Sochi Olympic Park

The 2014 Winter Olympics were part of a strategy to develop and promote Sochi as a summer and winter tourism destination. It was controversial in the context of Russia's aggressive external policy, and for adopting a strictly top-down decision-making process. They have been especially criticized for being the most expensive Olympic Games ever, Winter or Summer, with escalating costs surpassing those of London 2012. The intervention in the waterfront of the Black Sea resulted in a new urban centrality, the Olympic Park (Fig. 9), around 30 kilometers away from the city centre. It comprises a large number of sports and culture facilities,

and a residential seafront area, next to beach tourism destinations and relatively close to mountain attractions (Gold, & Gold, 2011). The reuse and repurpose of the area have been somewhat haphazard. It is now crisscrossed by the Sochi International Street Circuit, which breaks up street-level connectivity between the different sporting venues, and the connection to the waterfront was not significantly improved. The sports complex is centered around the Medals Plaza and is closed onto itself in an inland location, rather than taking advantage of the close proximity to the Black Sea shoreline.

SOCHI OLYMPIC PARK – SOCHI 2014



1 – Fisht Stadium
2 – Shayba Arena
3 – Bolshoy Ice Dome
4 – Ice Cube Curling Centre
5 – Adler Arena
6 – Iceberg Skating Palace
7 – Medals Plaza
8 – Coastal Olympic Village
9 – Radison Blu Resort & Congress Centre (IOC Hotel)
10 – Sirius Park of Science and Art (International Broadcasting Centre / Main Press Centre)

Existing – no permanent works ● New – previously planned ● Temporary
● Existing – permanent works required ● New – additional for the Games

| The Wrong Context | The Wrong Budget | The Wrong Program | The Wrong Plan | The Wrong Colour |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Replicate ✓ | Underestimate | Sell-off ✓ | Underplan | Armour |
| Invade ✓ | Overspend | Restrict ✓ | Interfere ✓ | Pave-over ✓ |
| Takeover | Overburden | Capture ✓ | Dictate ✓ | Wither |
| Oversize ✓ | Overengineer ✓ | Isolate ✓ | Improvise ✓ | Disconnect |
| Misplace ✓ | Conceal | Displace ✓ | Deflate ✓ | Hide ✓ |

Fig. 9 – Sochi Olympic Park: venues/facilities, and classification. Own creation. Maps Data: Google, ©2020 MaxarTechnologies.

### 3.8 Rio 2016: Barra Olympic Park

The Olympic Games in Rio were part of a strategy for hosting large-scale events in Brazil, including the 2007 Pan-American Games and the 2014 FIFA World Cup. The objective of strengthening the country's position as a tourism destination (and, in particular, the city of Rio de Janeiro) was clear, with marketing intensively showcasing "the city's natural scenic splendours and cultural heritage" (Gold, & Gold, 2011, p.399). That is reflected in the location of the Barra Olympic Park (Fig. 10), a large sports complex in the waterfront of the Jacarepagua Lagoon.

Works for the redevelopment of the park started for the hosting of the Pan-American Games, in an attempt to take advantage of the prime location along the waterfront and renew the site of the abandoned Nelson Piquet International Race Track. While the Olympic Games effectively managed to advance its redevelopment, the resulting urban area has been marred by post-event funding

issues, incomplete repurposing of several venues, and the abandonment of others. It failed to create a year-round centrality, only seeing spurts of activity related to the hosting of the "Rock In Rio" concerts or sporadic sports events. The project had little ambition in the restoration of the lagoon's natural ecosystems, and the restoration of the mangrove and coastal plain was extremely limited. Furthermore, the political context and economic crisis in Brazil effectively stalled further development of the project and inhibited the expected synergy with the surrounding urban fabric.



BARRA OLYMPIC PARK – RIO DE JANEIRO 2016

1 – Olympic Aquatics Centre
2 – Future Arena
3 – Carioca Arena 1
4 – Carioca Arena 2
5 – Carioca Arena 3
6 – Olympic Tennis Centre
7 – Olympic Velodrome*
8 – Rio Olympic Arena
9 – Maria Lenk Aquatics Centre
10 – Riocentro – Pavilions 2, 3, and 4
11 – Riocentro – Pavilion 6
12 – Olympic Village
13 – International Broadcasting Centre / Main Press Centre
14 – IOC Hotel

*Demolished and rebuilt

● Existing – no permanent works   ● New – previously planned   ● Temporary
● Existing – permanent works required   ● New – additional for the Games

| The Wrong Context | | The Wrong Budget | | The Wrong Program | | The Wrong Plan | | The Wrong Colour | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Replicate | | Underestimate | ✓ | Sell-off | | Underplan | ✓ | Armour | |
| Invade | ✓ | Overspend | | Restrict | ✓ | Interfere | ✓ | Pave-over | ✓ |
| Takeover | | Overburden | ✓ | Capture | ✓ | Dictate | ✓ | Wither | |
| Oversize | ✓ | Overengineer | | Isolate | | Improvise | ✓ | Disconnect | ✓ |
| Misplace | | Conceal | ✓ | Displace | ✓ | Deflate | ✓ | Hide | ✓ |

Fig. 10 – Barra Olympic Park: venues/facilities, and classification. Own creation. Maps Data: Google.

● Existing – no permanent works   ● New – previously planned   ● Temporary
● Existing – permanent works required   ● New – additional for the Games

| The Wrong Context | | The Wrong Budget | | The Wrong Program | | The Wrong Plan | | The Wrong Colour | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Replicate | | Underestimate | | Sell-off | | Underplan | | Armour | ✓ |
| Invade | | Overspend | | Restrict | ✓ | Interfere | | Pave-over | ✓ |
| Takeover | ✓ | Overburden | | Capture | | Dictate | | Wither | |
| Oversize | | Overengineer | ✓ | Isolate | ✓ | Improvise | | Disconnect | |
| Misplace | | Conceal | | Displace | | Deflate | | Hide | ✓ |

Fig. 11 – Ariake & Olympic Village: venues/facilities, and classification. Own creation. Maps Data: Google.

### 3.9 Tokyo 2020: Ariake & Olympic Village

The edition of the 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games has been subject to several challenges throughout its preparation, including its postponing and adaptation to the Covid-19 pandemic, or the modifications induced by the Olympic Agenda 2020 due to sustainability concerns. Although with a very compact venue masterplan, the urban interventions for the Games did not create a concentrated and distinctive Olympic space, as most locations are scattered around existing urban districts. Nevertheless, a few areas within the Tokyo Bay landfills were redeveloped, including the existing landfills at Ariake and the newly-built Olympic Village (Fig. 11). Due to their proximity and similarity, they are here evaluated together.

We considered the use of landfill on a vulnerable coastal area a problematic solution. Even if the Tokyo Bay neighborhood, with its system of artificial islands, was not specifically created for the Games, some sites promote the first use of new landfill, which requires extensive flood defense works and affects natural ecosystems. As such, Tokyo was marked-down on "the wrong colour" aspects. The fact that the 2020 Games have not yet been delivered makes some criteria for this case study not applicable or difficult to evaluate, especially those related with legacy outcomes.

### 4. Discussion

Over the last three decades, more than half of the Olympics engaged in the redevelopment of Olympic Waterfronts, though with varying legacy outcomes. Smaller interventions in the Vancouver and Tokyo Olympic Villages have created upscale residential neighborhoods. On a larger scale, the Sydney Olympic Park left a positive legacy of environmental regeneration. Similarly, the lower Lea Valley was completely revived by the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, which has catalyzed the urban redevelopment of East London. Like Parc de Mar, the seamless integration of an Olympic Waterfront in the city's long-term urban regeneration efforts was crucial. Together with the Olympic Green and Forest Park, they combined the potential of waterfronts with the Olympic Effect to completely rebrand the image of their cities. Differently, post-event use of Faliro and Hellinikon Olympic Complexes was severely affected by economic restrictions, compromising their urban legacy, a phenomenon that also affects the Barra Olympic Park. The Sochi Olympic Park

is unique in that it was expensive and failed to create an attractive and cohesive waterfront.

Looking at the final results (Fig. 12), the Vancouver Olympic Village positively stands out, but the limitation in type and size of the intervention makes for an imperfect comparison with the remaining cases. Tokyo is also unique in that legacy-related criteria could not yet be assessed.

The cases in Barcelona, Sydney, and London share some interesting characteristics. While with "the wrong budget", all had clear long-term urban strategies for their territories, and the Olympic Waterfront acted as a catalyst for its implementation. Furthermore, all interventions preserved and dynamized the waterfronts as valuable assets.

Athens similarly planned to use the Faliro site as a trigger for urban renewal and waterfront regeneration. Yet, changes to the original plan, and especially the rushed relocation of facilities to Helliniko, served the event but not the city (and certainly not the waterfronts), compromising the initial objectives. Beijing's Olympic Park had a well-developed urban plan and was able to successfully implement it. However, the grandeur of the Games aimed at an ambitious city-branding strategy, presupposing the construction of expensive infrastructure. That included the creation of an artificial "river" and embankments, requiring mass evictions.

The Olympic Parks in Sochi and Rio took full advantage of the popularity of the event to drive tourism promotion, showcasing each region's natural and cultural assets. Contrary to the other case studies, market-driven mega-event planning ruled over long-term city planning, that is, hosting the Olympics was assumed as the main objective while the associated urban impact was given less consideration. As a consequence, aspects such as access to, and valorization of, the waterfront were neglected, as was the need for long-term planning and reuse. As such, the projects, besides having a "wrong budget", also rank low in the "wrong plan" and "wrong program" categories.
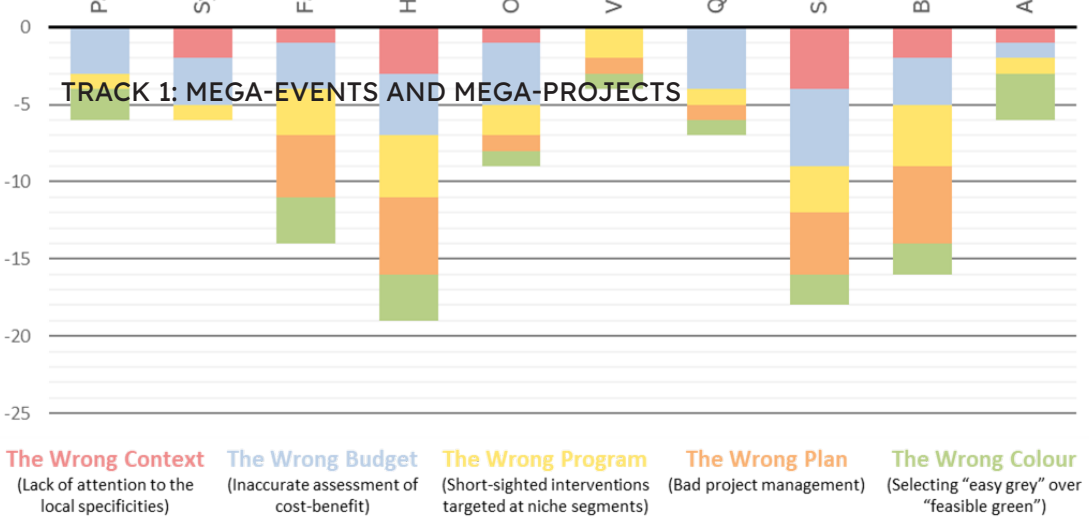


Fig. 12 – Comparative analysis of the case studies. Own creation.

Fig. 13 shows the case studies' cumulative results by "wrong" and by criteria. "The wrong context" appears as the less prevailing, with significant relevance only for the Sochi Olympic Park and the Hellinikon Olympic Complex. This indicates that typically, and given the visibility of Olympic projects, architects and urban planners are cautious in creating unique buildings and areas (avoiding "replication") integrated within the waterfronts (no "takeover") and urban fabric (taking care not to "invade" or "misplace"). However, the event's demanding requirements often result in exceptionally large areas ("oversize"), very expensive to build ("overspend") and maintain ("overburden"). As such, problems of "wrong budgets" affect most of the case studies, with its five criteria on the top ten of most common mistakes. Big budgets and tight schedules are prone to cost overruns ("underestimate") and unchecked expenditures ("conceal"), particularly when associated with the Olympic Games' high-quality standards ("overengineer"). Interesting to note is Beijing's case study which, although having overspent, did not underestimate. Contrastingly, large cost overruns seem harder to sell than large but efficiently implemented budgets. Rio, for example, is often criticized for underestimating, even if the final budget for the event is still well within the average for recent decades.

Results for "the wrong program" and "the wrong plan" are balanced. Monotonous single-purpose Olympic Waterfronts ("restrict") often result from the zoning of Olympic Villages for residential purposes, and of Olympic Parks for cultural and sports activities. To open space for these large areas, the removal of communities is frequent ("displace"). However, it is important to make a distinction between cases affecting large low-class communities, like those in Beijing, Sochi, and Rio, and the cases in Barcelona, Vancouver, and London, where only small groups were relocated. Furthermore, almost all cases involve gentrification, usually with no cost-sharing of betterments ("capture"), which is typical in both Olympic and waterfront projects. When private investment is expected, there seems to be a tendency for no clear strategies on how to attract it ("improvise"). This problem is particularly aggravated when externalities, like event-related interests, take over the project ("interfere"). Finally, "the wrong colour" affects most sites, possibly being related to the intensive use expected for the Olympics, limiting the opportunity

for shoreline ecological restoration ("hide"). Likewise, ecological connectivity of water bodies is not adequately addressed in most interventions ("disconnect").
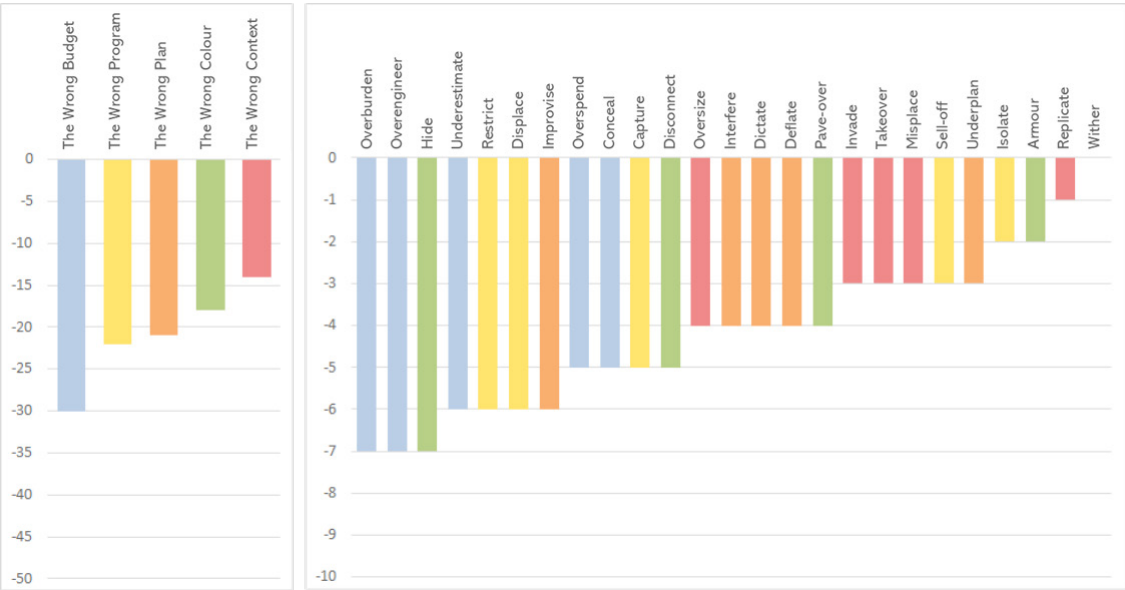


Fig. 13 – Cumulative results for the ten case studies. Own creation.

### 5. Conclusion

The Olympic Games are perceived as an opportunity to redevelop, reposition, or rebrand the host city. But successful Games have not necessarily resulted in successful urban waterfront interventions. The urban legacy, and specifically the post-event success of waterfront locations, appears to have been an afterthought in some case studies. To us, this is, evidently, a wasted opportunity.

The need to create several venues with limited potential for reuse after the event can limit the flexibility to adequately design the waterfront and reconnect it to the city. Significant changes to the plans during implementation can also compromise the outcome and coherence of the urban project.

The inflexible deadlines of the Olympics lend the projects especially prone to cost overruns, and the responsibility for accommodating added expenses typically falls on the public sector. These heavy investments and typically high maintenance costs, when made in a context of economic retraction, can be used as a scapegoat for larger economic issues and can reinforce the image of "failed project" or "white elephant". This could hinder further steps in urban redevelopment of the sites.

All urban redevelopment projects have an inherent degree of unpredictability and sensitiveness to external factors. The Olympic Games add exponentially to this

uncertainty, as significant changes to requirements are ubiquitous and can occur in virtually all stages of the Olympic cycle. Projects that were able to integrate Olympic Waterfronts in a broader strategy of urban redevelopment, and adequately planned for it, seem to have been more successful in creating attractive and cohesive urban projects, resulting in lasting legacies of the Olympic Games.

### Acknowledgments

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# Track 2: Starchitecture

ANA VAZ MILHEIRO (CHAIR) | FAUL and DINÂMIA'CET - ISCTE
NUNO T. COSTA | DINÂMIA'CET - ISCTE
ALEXANDRA AREIA | DINÂMIA'CET - ISCTE

According to Françoise Choay, the idea of the 'hero architect' was already established in Alberti's founding treaty, thus strengthening the intellectual and artistic status of the profession. The post-modernism of the decades of the seventies and eighties of the last century reinforced the idea of the author architect, anchored in writers such as Michel Foucault. This idea opened up a path for architecture based on the prestige of individual work as a catalyst for architectural and urban value. To this prestige also contributed the upsurge of international awards such as The Pritzker Architecture Prize (1979), with the purpose to honor living architects for their built work. The last quarter of the XX century was thus marked by exceptional 'masterpieces' that centralized the debate on Western architectural culture, with recognizable authorship, iconographic status and costly financial execution. In this practice, anxiety for public recognition is frequently manifested in the search for originality, in the willingness for the next idea, seeking for a language of its own and risking, sometimes, slipping into the grotesque and the bizarre.

Some of these works would soon become irrelevant. Others, however, would benefit from unique conditions to make paradigm changes. It was, therefore, a time of profound transformation for the discipline of architecture, but mainly to the way in which architecture and society started to interact.

### Starchitecture: as a technology icon

The architecture of the star system emerged as a form of escape from the standardized languages that rebuilt Europe in the second post-war period. At the height of the oil crisis, the Beaubourg (Piano and Rogers, 1971-77) rose in Paris as a technological artefact, a ruin of the future that offered an escape from the historical city. Ludic architecture was the architecture of exception. Architecture regenerated obsolete cities and moved masses of people just to make itself exist. It went from being an enclosure to an object of choice and desire. Everything around it faded away so that it would shine, luminous, technological, futuristic.

### Starchitecture: from icon to invisibility

In designing the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank headquarters (1979-86), Norman Foster reduced an entire territory to a building. Architecture became a form of

graphic inscription that provided a social, economic, cultural and even political identity. Time stood still in the present until it started again. The new beginning was overwhelming and what was a new monument was soon overlapped by increasingly powerful replicas. There seemed to be no limit to creativity and invention. Technology and money were the props that diverted the eye from what really mattered: architects becoming powerful.

### Starchitecture: rise and fall

For a new order to emerge, the time will come for abdication. As the signatories of The Johnson Study Group wrote on 27th November 2020: "This is a minor step in making room for other legacies to come." This is not just about the supposed 'amorality' of architecture that has been imposed in the past by being iconographic, but about clearing territory for other discourses to have a voice. The architecture of the star system, regardless of the origin or nationality of its author, is connoted with the sacrifice of non-Western cultures and the predation of the new colonialism over the Global South. It has implicit the superimposition of one culture over others. Colonial policies are based on finding ways to take advantage, a procedure that is also known as speculation. We are descendants of these policies, that are still going on, possibly now dissimulated behind the corporate and private initiative, which came to replace the public one of the State. The states, less regulating and less exposed, cover these actions with the main purpose of generating economic value. At the same time, they have a complacent attitude over the colonized, dissimulating their true ambition to perpetuate exploitation, sometimes even as an attempt to obliviate or excuse their colonial errors.

Interrupting this cycle is seen by many as a form of struggle for a different kind of sustainability. Sustainability is now also claimed to be more inclusive and affordable, lending voice to those who are inhibited to have it. Recognizing on the *other* a subject comparable to the *self* is, as so, indispensable to surpass this misconception of leaving together.

This session challenged researchers - architects, sociologists, and historians, among others - to reflect on themes such as: star architects; the media and architecture; iconographic architecture; urban regeneration; architecture as economic value. Having as the underlying question if 'starchitecture' is already a historical fact? Or still a work in progress?

# 48 Urban projects by an Architecturbanistic tandem
## Rafael Moneo and Manuel de Solà-Morales

JAVIER MONCLÚS
Universidad de Zaragoza

CARMEN DÍEZ-MEDINA
Universidad de Zaragoza

### ABSTRACT

In the last third of the twentieth century, starchitects completed a series of large-scale architectural projects with outcomes that did not always benefit the city. However, before launching into a critical reading of these projects and in order understand the key points of "qualitative urbanism", it is important to consider some of these architects' backgrounds and approaches in their attempts to reunify and reintegrate architecture and urbanism.

The theoretical discourses and works of the Spanish architects Rafael Moneo and Manuel de Solà-Morales form part of this attitude demonstrating the "inseparability" between architecture and urbanism. As the shared work of this "architecturbanistic" tandem has not yet been considered in the depth it deserves, three projects they collaborated on are presented here. Categorizing the first two (in Zaragoza and Vitoria) as "grand projects" is justified not so much due to their "large urban scale" but rather because they were exceptional in the architectural and urbanistic culture of the second half of the twentieth century. The third (in Barcelona) is a large-scale architectural project that manages to remain strongly committed to interdependence between urban layout and architecture, an aspect linking it to the above two cases. The aim of this text is to highlight the quality these three projects have demonstrated, especially given their renewed determination to integrate architecture and the city, a vital issue in the debate on transforming architectural and urbanistic culture in recent decades.

**Keywords:** Urban projects, architecturbanism, Rafael Moneo, Manuel de Solà-Morales.

### Introduction

In the last third of the twentieth century, starchitects completed a series of large-scale architectural projects with outcomes that did not always benefit the city. At the same time, as Nuno Portas highlighted, a new generation of intermediate-scale urban projects began to emerge in the 1970s and lasted until the 1990s (Portas, 1998). However, before launching into a critical reading of these projects and in order understand the key points of "qualitative urbanism", which emerged in those years, it is important to consider some of these architects' backgrounds and approaches in their attempts to reunify and reintegrate architecture and urbanism.

In the historical context of the late 1950s and 1960s, the visions of some architects interested in the urban dimension of architecture and the historical and morphological dimension of urbanism began to converge. The paradigm shift from CIAM principles (Athens Charter) to other more cultural approaches emphasizing the need to overcome the excessive autonomy of urban planning were common in the international debate at that time (Rogers, 1951). Several discourses and strategies illustrate these "contamination processes" between urbanism and architecture: firstly, within Anglo-Saxon tradition, as seen in the "modernist townscape" and its epigones in the UK, and the emergence of urban design in North America, launched by the Spanish architect Josep Lluís Sert (Mumford, 2009); secondly, within renewed visions as part of the Team X debates, particularly the discourse employed Jaap Bakema, who coined the term "architecturbanism";[1] thirdly, within 1950s Italian architectural culture, with the contributions of Ernesto N. Rogers Giuseppe Samonà, Ludovico Quaroni, Saverio Muratori and the Venice School, which culminated in Aldo Rossi's L'architettura della città (1966).[2]

The theoretical discourses and works of the Spanish architects Rafael Moneo and Manuel de Solà-Morales form part of this attitude demonstrating the "inseparability" between architecture and urbanism. As the shared work of this "architecturbanistic" tandem has not yet been considered in the depth it deserves, three projects they collaborated on are presented here. Categorizing the first two (in Zaragoza and Vitoria) as "major projects" is justified not so much due to their "large urban scale" but rather because they were exceptional in the architectural and urbanistic culture of the second half of the twentieth century. The third (in Barcelona) is a large-scale architectural project that manages to remain strongly committed to interdependence between urban layout and architecture, an aspect linking it to the above two cases. The aim of this text is to highlight the quality

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1  This was a central Team X issue. Bakema's approach, "Van stoel tot stad" (From Chair to City, 1966), considers the need to integrate various scales (Van den Heuvel, 2018).

2  The significance of Rossi's theoretical work in the paradigm shift seen in several European cities (for instance the Berlin IBA developments of the 1980s) has been widely recognized (Brambilla, 2018).

these three projects have demonstrated, especially given their renewed determination to integrate architecture and the city, a vital issue in the debate on transforming architectural and urbanistic culture in recent decades.

### 1. Backgrounds, projects and converging urban visions

We can identify coincidences and specific features in the careers of Moneo and Solà-Morales, which form the basis of their rapport when they worked in tandem. Educated in Madrid and Barcelona, respectively, both showed an early interest in branching out internationally, resulting in separate career-enhancing experiences in Italy and the US. Although their paths evolved independently, they crossed in some projects that both men tackled with their special sensibility for the city from a material and architectural perspective.

They first met during Manuel de Solà-Morales's chair competition organized by the Urbanism Department of the Barcelona School of Architecture (ETSAB), which took place in the Madrid School of Architecture (ETSAM) in 1968. This marked the beginning of a firm friendship that led them to work together on some projects, including the three analyzed here. Moneo and Solà-Morales both taught at the ETSAB in the 1970s and were members of the editing team of *Arquitecturas Bis* (1974–1985), a benchmark publication for Spanish architecture. As Rafael Moneo approached their collaborations from an architectural standpoint and Solà-Morales from urbanism, their participation complemented and enhanced each other's, resulting in a shared sensibility for the city. The value they placed on materiality and architecture "in" the city has not only been left for posterity in their designs but also in their writing (Moneo, 1985; Solà-Morales, 2008).

#### 1.1 Rafael Moneo

Rafael Moneo (born in 1937) graduated from the ETSAM in 1961. That same year he left his position as a collaborator for Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oíza's studio to move to Hellebæk (Denmark), where he worked with Jørn Utzon on the Sydney Opera House project. His drive to carve his own path made him reject the Danish architect's offer to move to Australia and instead he entered the competition held every year by the Spanish Academy in Rome. That is how he ended up in this city, where he lived for two years (1963–1964). The trips he made from both Denmark (Sweden, Finland, and London) and from Italy (Greece, Istanbul, Vienna, Amsterdam, and Paris) proved vital for his training and later for the ambitious focus of his teaching programs. After five years as a lecturer at ETSAM, Moneo was appointed to a chair at the ETSAB in 1970.

The delving into history and criticism that marked his experience in Rome was counterbalanced by a second lengthy stay in New York (1976–1978) when Moneo accepted an invitation from Peter Eisenman to give classes at the Institute for

Architectural and Urban Studies (IAUS). He also taught at Cooper Union and Syracuse University at the same time. Moneo arrived in the US with two major projects under his belt: Bankinter (1972–1976) and Logroño City Hall (1973–1981). The latter demonstrated how Rossi's reading of the city, the undercurrent for the design, could be enhanced by the materiality of Scandinavian architecture. The Spanish architect played a significant role in introducing Aldo Rossi to the US with the publication in *Oppositions* of his text "Aldo Rossi: The Idea of Architecture and the Modena Cemetery", the first major article in English on the Italian architect (Moneo, 1973; 1976). In his second article, "On Typology", published in the same journal, he introduced the notion of type in North American architectural culture. He understands this concept as an open and flexible design tool enabling architects to intervene in the city (Moneo, 1978). His critical stance toward understanding history, envisioned in some urban proposals, was already palpable at a time stigmatized by the arrival of postmodernism. He gained the Chair in Architectural Composition at the ETSAM in 1980. Five years later, Moneo returned to Harvard as the first Josep Lluís Sert Professor in Architecture (1985-2019). He was chair of the Department of Architecture, GSD (1985-90).

Moneo's work in urban settings reveals the attention he has always paid to the city, spanning projects that, a priori, can be understood from an objectual perspective, such as Bankinter, those that are infrastructural, for example the extensions of Atocha Train Station (1984, 2012 and 2018), and projects involving the recovery of architectural, urban, and cultural heritage, such as the Prado Museum extension (1998–2007). His work with Solà-Morales represented a chance to develop his ideas on the city from an architect's perspective but within a framework of an empowering intellectual exchange.

**1.2 Manuel de Solà-Morales i Rubió**

Manuel de Solà-Morales (1939–2012) graduated from the Barcelona School of Architecture (ETSAB) in 1963 and from the Faculty of Economics three years later, thus demonstrating an intellectual curiosity that stretched beyond architecture. Although his circumstances differed from Rafael Moneo's, he also had an Italian adventure (1963–1964), in his case training with Ludovico Quaroni, who had just moved to Sapienza University in Rome as a lecturer in Architectural Composition after teaching Town Planning at Florence University. Quaroni's theoretical determination in ensuring architecture and urbanism remained united—"you cannot be an urbanist without being an architect as well" (Ferreri, 2019)—was aligned with the efforts made by other Italian architects, from Giuseppe Samonà to Aldo Rossi. *La torre di Babele* (1967), his most famous book, was published just a year after *L'architettura della città* (1966). The morphological views and urbanistic sensibility of Italian architectural culture must surely have made a huge impression on Solà-Morales while he was in Rome.

Like Moneo, Solà-Morales also went from Italy to the US. After immersing himself in the history of Rome, he went to Harvard to study a master's degree in City Planning at the Graduate School of Design (GSD) with Josep Lluís Sert as his tutor (1965–1966). His American experience rounded off what he had learned in Rome with views of urban design. His familiarity with two different urbanistic traditions proved crucial in his role as professor of Urbanism at the ETSAB. There, he progressed along similar lines to the motto "urbanism for architects" by proposing training for an "architect-urbanist" in contrast to other views supporting specialization as an urban planner, a qualification with more links to urban management. His teaching and research model was not far removed from the approaches of the University School of Architecture of Venice (IUAV) and the attention Aldo Rossi and, above all, Carlo Aymonino had paid to urban morphology since the 1960s. From the following decade, morphological strategies were developed by the Barcelona Urbanism Laboratory (LUB), a research group founded on Solà-Morales' initiative in 1969 that, during the 1970s, developed innovative urban analysis techniques by distancing themselves from the postmodernist interpretations typical of the traditionalism of Krier or North American new urbanism and by reverting to the "tradition of the modern urban project"; in other words, connecting with moments prior to the CIAM's rupture of functionalist urbanism and understanding that this was actually a "second history of the urban project", as Solà-Morales posited in one of his most notable texts (Solà-Morales, 1987). It was in the 1980s that Solà-Morales coined the expression "urban urbanism", stemming from his aim to understand the meanings of "contemporary urbanity", which he viewed as "material urbanity", in other words, "urban materials' ability to express social, functional, aesthetic, and civic meanings" (Solà-Morales, 2008).

It is no wonder that the joint projects by Solà-Morales and Moneo consolidated that shared determination, seen in their individual works as well, to understand architecture based on the city and vice versa. Both can be considered "architecturbanists", as can be seen in designs and projects in which the boundaries between these approaches blur.

## 2. Three urban projects by an "architecturbanistic" tandem

The three projects we have selected raise questions that have aroused architects' interest in the city and how to intervene in it. The first (Zaragoza) as the renewal of a historic center in the 1960s; the second (Vitoria) as theorizing on a possible mode of urban growth by means of independent fragments in the 1970s; the third (Barcelona) as a large-scale building project capable of healing the scars left by two urban forms in the 1980s. The three projects share a marked emphasis in their respective design origins on interdependence between the street layout, urban morphology, and architectural proposal.

### 2.1 A project for the urban renewal of Zaragoza old town (1969)

The Moneo and Solà-Morales tandem must have been attracted by the request for proposals for the urban renewal of the urban renewal of Zaragoza old town as it afforded them the opportunity to work on a historic center undergoing functional obsolescence processes at the time, and to take advantage of modernization possibilities in a major urban growth cycle. As in other Spanish and European cities, awareness of heritage and cultural assets in historic urban places was growing. Resistance to radical interventions involving mass demolitions associated with "major thoroughfare" renewals was on the rise because the renewal ideas and proposals approved by some urban stakeholders, including the architects Zuazo and Borobio, still persisted (Monclús, 2011).

In this context, the urban design by Moneo and Solà-Morales was truly innovative as it managed to strike a balance between carefully defining urban forms on an architectural level and a radical reorganization of the traffic system and access to the historic center. Some of the proposal's key goals was reconciling the connection between Paseo de la Independencia, a boulevard salon designed in the nineteenth century, and the historic center, and facilitating pedestrian and vehicular access to Plaza de las Catedrales. Although the scales of the interventions differed, they were approached as an integrated solution: drastic reorganization of traffic citywide by creating major thoroughfares and grade separations for main streets; new large building linking the historic center and Paseo de la Independencia;[3] and the creation of a series of new public spaces and squares to allow the route to reach Plaza de las Catedrales, which enhanced the value of the city's main religious and civil buildings (for example Pilar, Seo and Lonja).

As Moneo says: "This solution seems simple, but it is actually quite sophisticated. It can only be understood when the design is seen as the result of a more global overview aiming to include the historic center in a larger street layout for the entire city" (Díez Medina, 2015, 349). Simultaneously, the design specifications stated "that attention still had to be paid to specific and immediate aspects on a lesser scale, in which buildings help form the city one by one" (Moneo, 2019).

The plan view provides a detailed definition of the project in the historic center on an architectural level, while the structural sections and the traffic diagrams define the radical street network reorganization—a sign of trust in the small-scale city center managing to integrate into a much larger street network system. Perhaps these drawings best illustrate the proposal's innovation and limits given the urban conditions of that time (Monclús, 2019).

3  Reviving the idea of the 1968 Plan to build a Central Business District (Martinez Litago, 2012).

Fig. 1 – R. Moneo and M. Solà-Morales, Project for the urban renewal of Zaragoza old town (1969). Source: Own creation based on R. Moneo's archive material.

## 2.2 Actur-Lacua request for proposals, Vitoria great housing development (1976–1980)

While the Zaragoza project is paradigmatic of the typical 1960s discussion on intervention in historic centers, the proposal for the Lacua housing state in Vitoria echoes theoretical interest in the subject of collective housing stemming from general criticism of the disappointing results of "modern" residential complexes (Díez Medina and Monclús, 2020). The "low-rise, high-density housing" formula had already emerged in the 1960s as an alternative to the rigid tower and slab model[4]. A more human architecture was sought that would combine the advantages of urban intensity with those of the suburban residential complexes built in the first half of the twentieth century.

Moneo and Solà-Morales addressed urban residential development as a theoretical issue by exploring new possible models qualifying the *garden suburbs* and *Siedlungen* of modern tradition[5]. In Vitoria, as in other medium-sized Spanish cities, the shift from traditional, compact and continuous to modern and open occurred by adding urban fragments, superblocks and housing states linked to the road infrastructure. This situation led the tandem to rule out both the *ensanche* (city extension) model and the New Town model in their plan.[6] The exceptional scale of the intervention (3,000 homes for 12,000 residents) led Moneo and Solà-Morales to explore a new model: a dense collective housing development based on the concept of single-family houses as an alternative to modern housing estates with towers and slabs, and the urban block, which was making a comeback at the time. It was a model based on the value of living in a society and that ignored personal expression. "Garden cities exacerbate the desire for self-expression, while here the standards or facilities of traditional garden cities are offered, but wrapped in that anonymity stemming from what Rossi's city interpretations seem to teach us: how wonderful it is to live in this collective condition. Here this collective condition becomes a district; there is a change in scale. That is why this project would have been extremely important if it had gone ahead."[7]

Especially noteworthy is the way several dimensional systems (for traffic, electricity, sewerage, water supply, collective and social spaces) overlap with a modulation providing solutions from district to room layouts. The idea is to explore

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4  In 1973, MoMA organized a major exhibition entitled "Another Chance for Housing: Low-Rise Alternatives" (https://archleague.org/article/low-rise-high-density/).

5  Moneo taught a course on mass housing in his classes at Siracuse University in the spring of 1977. In 1984, Solà Morales wrote the prologue for the Spanish version of *Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs* published by Raymond Unwin in 1909.

6  The aim was to provide a strictly technical definition for "l'urbanizzazione estensiva, la moderna città giardino. Senza allontanarsi ma avvicinandosi a Hilberseimer e a Milton Keynes" (Moneo and De Solà Morales, 1979). Previously, Atelier 5 had designed Siedlung Hallen (1959–1961); more recently Giancarlo de Carlo had designed Vllagio Matteotti (1970–1975); and during the same period, Álvaro Siza had designed Quinta da Malagueira (1973–1977).

7  RM in a conversation with Carmen Díez Medina on 30 June 2020.

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the full extent of technical detail by emphasizing the interdependence between architectural type, urban form, and street network.

The project's purpose is to "make city" based on a comprehensive use of of land with a dense and repetitive scheme; a continuous order based on rationalist models but with hierarchized subdivision mechanisms that can qualify public spaces, from the large "Central Park" to the covered streets fostering social interaction and protecting people from Vitoria's inclement weather. The "private" character of the houses is afforded by separate accesses, contact with the land and greenery and everyday features (such as homes, gardens, shops, schools, streets, and parks). As in Zaragoza's case, the design drawings and scale models show how street networks, urban form and architecture are interdependent in the proposed new version of the district.

### 2.3 L'Illa Diagonal, Barcelona (1987–1994):

In this case, the project forms part of urban strategies at the end of the 1980s, which, compared with the more limited interventions at the start of the decade—squares and public spaces—are associated with a leap in scale due to plans for the 1992 Olympic Games. L'Illa Diagonal was, therefore, built at a time of "great projects" when areas of central importance and large-scale works were all the rage.

As occurred in Zaragoza and Vitoria, the building's definition cannot be separated from the urban layout. Nevertheless, its large volume—over 300 m long—is usually studied with strictly visual considerations emphasizing the quality of its architecture as a large "lying-down skyscraper" qualifying the urban landscape. Although crucial for the project, the building's links to the infrastructures and morphology of the city sector come second. Consequently, L'Illa is cut through several times on the surface so that the city can absorb the building, thus preventing a segregated "illa". The ground floor shows how the building is crossed by the extension of Calle Anglesola and by the passageway linking Avenida Diagonal with the green space behind the large block, and how a large shopping walkway manages to "segment" it, emphasizing is permeable condition; on the basement floor it is literally crossed by an underpass parallel to Calle de Numància, thus ensuring links from the north with Calle de Deu i Mata. This underpass was essential so that the building would remain "anchored" to the city's street network.

Along these lines, the integrated approach to public and private spaces and the enhancement of collective spaces represent an innovative thinking on their meaning. The abovementioned passageways, the green open space inside the "block" and, above all, the interior walkway running parallel to Avenida Diagonal demonstrate how these spaces are addressed in contrast to other more conventional or
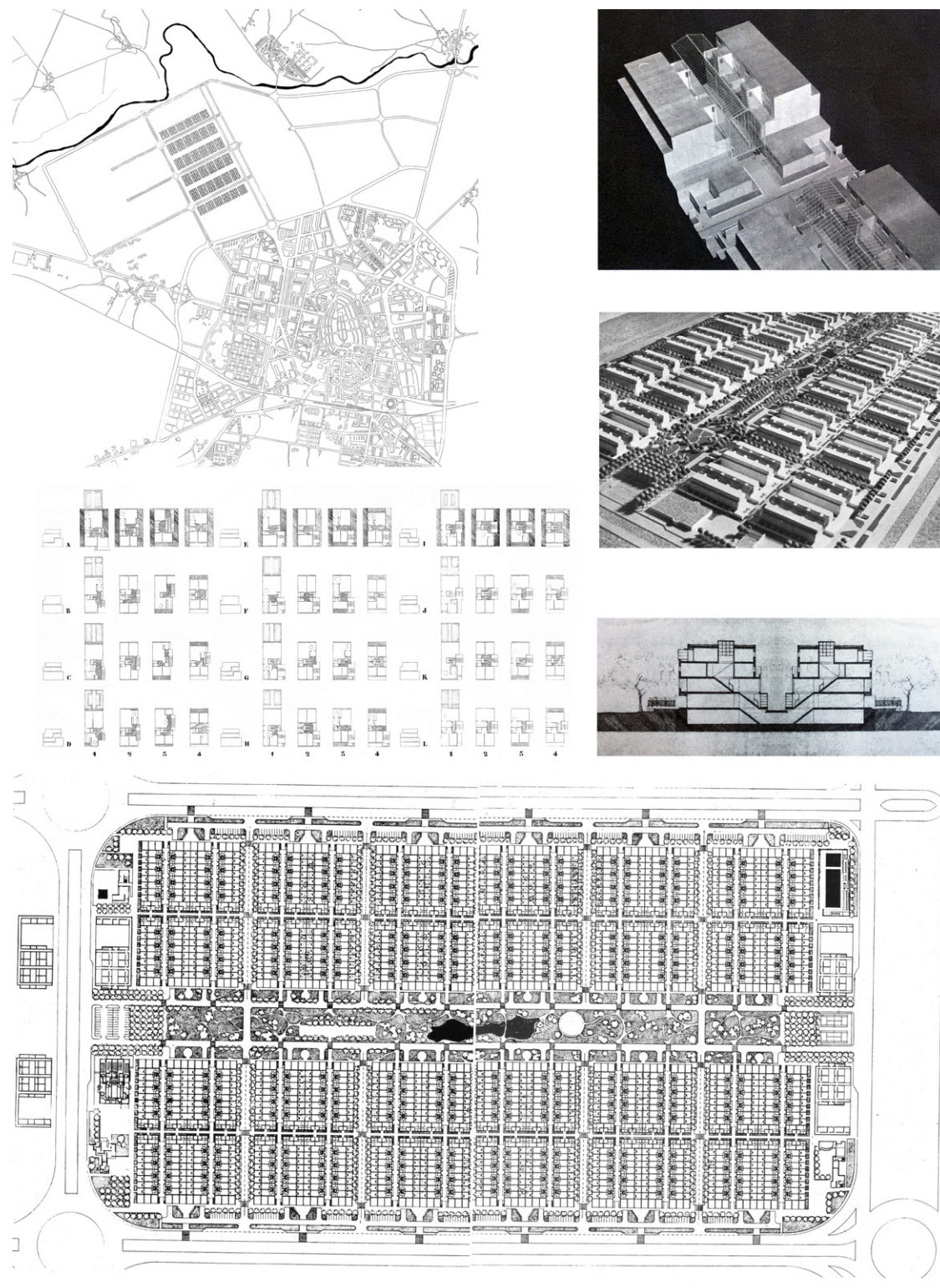
Fig. 2 – R. Moneo and M. Solà-Morales, Actur-Lacua Project for Vitoria ensanche (1976–1980).
Source: Own creation based

simplistic perspectives that insist on dividing public and private spaces (De Solà-Morales, 1992).

Compared with the more or less literal recovery of blocks, a trend in Barcelona at that time (the Olympic Village, for example), or the sequences of towers and slabs characterizing the urban landscape in this sector of Barcelona, Moneo and Solà-Morales manage to "fill" the space on the site with a large-scale building that, as a result of its dependence on the urban layout, can be viewed as an "anomalous" part of Cerdà's grid. Rather than an urban block, a tower or a slab, it is a hybrid piece destined to ensure the continuity of the city's fabric. The idea was to "exploit the potential of Avenida Diagonal as the medium for architecture capable of making city" (Moneo, 2017). Consequently, L'Illa Diagonal is a complex design strategy seeking to resolve the tension between unity and diversity (Tobella, 2011). A paradigmatic example of the best "architecturbanism" through a project that stands out for its architectural quality and urban intensity.

### Conclusion

Although these three projects belong to extremely different periods and situations, a common thread of integrating architectural and urbanistic perspectives runs through them.

The starting point is a focus on urban shapes based on a concern for architectural quality. In the three abovementioned cases, there is a desire to create different urban situations in both the historic city with the nineteenth-century *ensanches* and in the compact and continuous city with new contemporary open extensions.

Secondly, considering urban variables on several integrated scales—from infrastructures to buildings—forms the basis of all three designs. Confidence in a few limited interventions managing to place the city's historic center within a larger street structure concept, understanding the street system as a support for a grid layout organizing residential units, and the ability to define architectural work based on a city's requirements are evident in the three projects studied here.

Thirdly, the important role played by public and collective spaces as defining elements of urban sites in all three cases. Open spaces, streets—viewed as public space—public and semi-private pedestrian thoroughfares, and so on, are all designed to closely interdepend on the architectural solutions.

The projects presented here could be seen as ideas in tune with the themes and interests in vogue at the time, but also as designs casting an educated and critical eye on the models taken from architectural and urbanistic tradition, and aiming for innovation that is a far cry from the ever-present historicisms in postmodernist years.
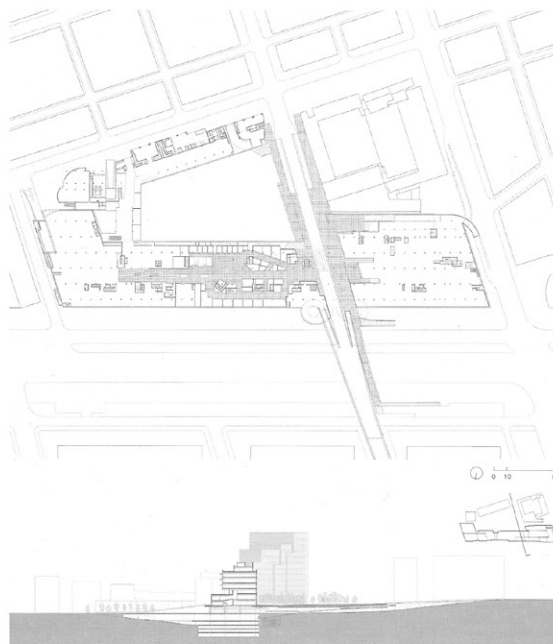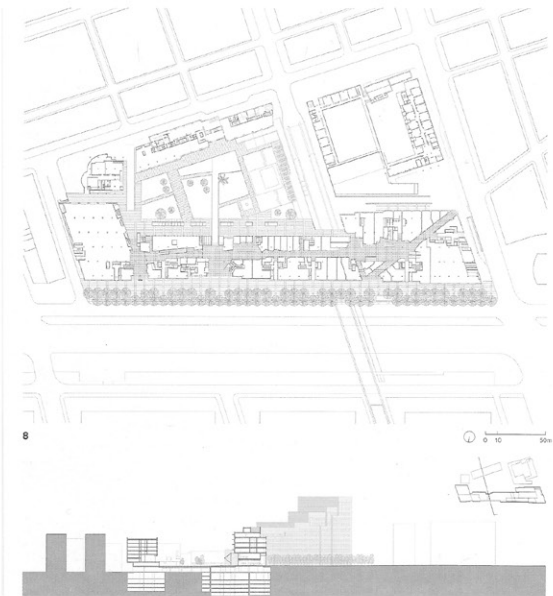
Fig. 3 – R. Moneo and M. Solà-Morales, L'Illa Diagonal Project, Barcelona (1987–1994). Source: Own creation based on R. Moneo's archive material.

We could say, therefore, that the last quarter of the twentieth century was marked by flagship projects, often as a sign of an architectural culture that prioritized starchitects and iconic architecture as a city's identifying feature. Some of the projects built as a result soon became irrelevant. But others, such as the three presented here, are paradigmatic, especially because they again seek to integrate architecture and the city in the architectural and urbanistic culture debate of recent decades.

## Acknowledgments

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# 50 Counter (Grand) Projects

## Disassembling and Reassembling "Les Grands Travaux": forms of visual criticism in *Utopie* and L'Ivre de Pierres

CARLOS MACHADO E MOURA
Centro de Estudos de Arquitectura e Urbanismo da
Universidade do Porto (CEAU-FAUP)

**ABSTRACT**

Due to their mediatic visibility and impact on the city, large-scale urban developments and grand architectural projects were always subject to a high degree of scrutiny and criticism both in the social sphere and the architectural scene. Unsurprisingly, throughout the 20th century, they featured in many cartoons and humorous illustrations, which critically challenged their narratives and mimicked and parodied their iconic value. When image-based architectural criticism pervades the internet and social media – in the form of cartoons, illustrations, collages and memes –, yet independent criticism struggles with the crisis of printed media, this paper aims to revisit alternative forms of visual critique from the late 1960s to the early 1980s.

It focuses on the reception of some of the early Parisian "Grands Travaux" – launched during Giscard and Mitterrand's presidencies – in the magazines *Utopie, sociologie de l'urbain* (1967-1969) and, mainly, *L'Ivre de Pierres* (1977-1983), which made a critical stance aimed at the decisions taken in the urban renewal of Paris. *L'Ivre de Pierres'* fictional buildings and urban spaces were theoretical projects designed exclusively for the printed page and the ecosystem of the book. Yet that collection of architectural and urban fictions vehicled an underlying theoretical discourse, one that openly criticised the briefs and outcomes of competitions like those of Les Halles, La Villette and Opéra Bastille. In a time when counter-projects emerged in publications, exhibitions, and alternative competitions, *L'Ivre de Pierres'* fantasies provided alternative literary and architectural realities for precise urban contexts. Today, they also demonstrate compelling and productive examples of criticism of large-scale architectural competitions and projects' procedures and strategies employing specific architectural tools, a process that couldn't be timelier.

**Keywords:** Theoretical projects, drawing, architectural publications, Paris.

## 1. Satire, cartoons, counter-projects

### 1.1 Cartoonists' takes on grand urban transformations and iconic projects

From mid-1the 9th century until the present day, graphic satire produced an incredible number of cartoons and humorous illustrations that revealed the high impact of architecture in contemporary society. The urban transformations of Haussmannian Paris, the skyscrapers of New York, the London Crystal Palace, the New York Guggenheim or the Sydney Opera House, many were the large-scale urban developments and iconic architectural works of *starchitects* — to use the title of this session — that didn't escape the satirical pen of Honoré Daumier, Louis Hellman, Alan Dunn, Saul Steinberg and many others. Some were even object of other forms of mimicry and parody, like the popular versions of Frank Gehry's Guggenheim and Rem Koolhaas' CCTV in "The Simpsons".
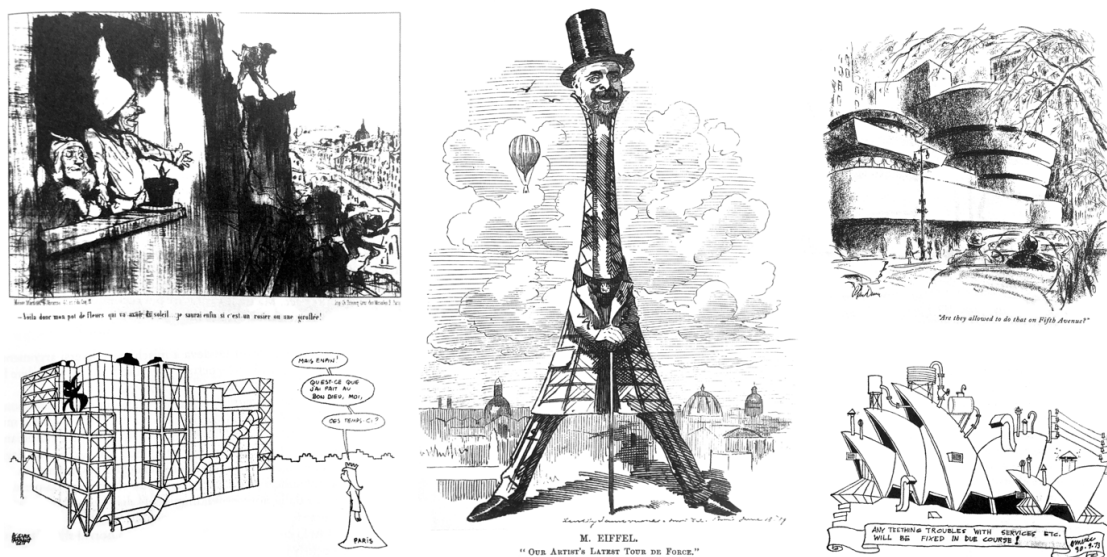


Fig. 1 – Satirical cartoons on large-scale urban transformations and projects. Left to right: Honoré Daumier's take on the Haussmannian Paris, *Actualités*, **December 12, 1852;** Jacques Faizant's Pompidou Centre, *Le Figaro*, **February 1, 1977;** Edward Linley Sambourine's Eiffel Tower, *Punch*, **June 29, 1889;** Alan Dunn's Guggenheim New York, *The New Yorker*, **November 8, 1958;** Emeric's Sydney Opera House, **September 30, 1973.** Source: (Neri, 2015)

Satire aimed at many themes, including the architect's figure, the relationship with clients, the innovations of modernity in the domestic realm, etc. Therefore, it is not surprising that significant large-scale urban developments and mediatic architectural projects — always subject to a higher degree of scrutiny and criticism both in the social sphere and the architectural scene — featured among the most recurrent topics addressed, with resonances in the local and international press. It is the case, with evident differences given their specific contexts, of the large-scale urban transformations in Paris — from the "Grands Travaux" of Baron Haussmann to those of Giscard d'Estaing and François Mitterrand — or some

exceptional projects — like the Eiffel Tower or Centre Pompidou — which provoked a substantial mediatic impact, transcending the architectural dimension and rendering the project itself a collective social event.

Architects were keen on exploring the logic and potential of mass media and publicity to create manifestos, magazines, and pamphlets apt to promote their visions and ideas, especially when it comes to projects aiming to consistently reshape a given area or carrying a relevant narrative dimension. Yet, graphic satire offers the exact opposite direction. By providing counter projects and antithetical visions, by making a parody of official propaganda, irony and humour often unveil the underlying logics of political, cultural, social and economic questions (Neri, 2015).

### 1.2 Irony and satire in a post-truth world

Before delving into this presentation's subject matter, which focuses on *Utopie* — particularly the issues published between 1967 and 1969 — and *L'Ivre de Pierres* — from 1977 to 1983 — we'll go through some quick remarks on our present condition. Despite the crisis of printed media and, therefore, the struggle of independent critique, image-based architectural criticism space shifted, pervaded the internet and social media by expanding the possibilities of dissemination of these ironic images and counter-discourses through instant real-time means.

These technological shifts paved the way for alternative forms of visual critique, ranging from the traditional graphic satire — now also available in digital platforms —,[1] illustrations and collages — that blossom simultaneously in galleries and social media —,[2] architectural memes — rapidly produced visual jokes that open the space to all kinds of critique, including fake projects like "Italian Summer 2020 Project" illustrated below. The *memesphere* is a mirror of our postmodern dimension, crossing "paths with the largest number of different realms" and claiming "for internet ugly as a weapon against glossy official power-validated aesthetics and communication." Even addressing "issues of racism, sexism, economic and social divide" often absent of the architectural debate (Camoglio, 2020). And finally, fake architectural projects — in the tradition of theoretical projects but now taking advantage of the internet's instant communication for generating surprising reactions.

1  Among the many architectural cartoonists, the work of Spanish architect-cartoonist Klaus is probably the most interesting example of graphic satire focused on starchitects, which is published simultaneously in architectural magazines — *uncube*, *Arquine*, *The Architectural Review*, *A10*, etc. — and digital websites, like his own, klaustoon.blogspot.com.

2  Portuguese architects-illustrators Vasco Mourão aka Mister Mourao, or Ana Aragão are good examples of architectural illustrations blossoming in print, galleries and social media. Alongside, the critical "Lisbon Vertigo" project by Pedro Campos Costa shows that digital collages pursue a similar path.

Fig. 3 – Shifting Realities' fake project "Lisbon Resort Hotel". Source: (Shifting Realities, 2018).

Fig. 2 – "Italian Summer 2020 project / Greetings from Alba Adriatica (TE)" and other architectural memes published in @alvaraltissimo, @oh.em.ayy, @sssscavvvv and @dank.lloyd. wright. Source: (Camoglio, 2020)

An interesting example is the proposal "Lisbon Resort Hotel", elaborated by the Portuguese collective Shifting Realities as a response to a call for the exhibition "Futuros de Lisboa" curated by João Seixas, Manuel Graça Dias and Sofia Vaz for the Museu da Cidade in Lisbon in 2018. This theoretical — yet sadly plausible — provocation imagined Lisbon's main square transformed into a luxury hotel as a visual critique of silent investments in exchange for Golden Visas, evictions in favour of the real estate business, social exclusion, disregard for heritage and local experiences, architectural mimicry and new volumes under mansard roofs (Melâneo, 2019). Presented on a fake real estate website, the project received numerous inquiries from interested investors and many social media reactions, divided between shock and praise. It even generated actions of the Portuguese cybersecurity authorities, revealing how, even in our post-truth world — or especially in it — fictionalised and theoretical projects like the ones *L'Ivre de Pierres'* published forty years ago can rapidly achieve a considerable impact and a strong critique on the current state of society and the architect's profession.

## 2. Forms of visual criticism in *Utopie* and *L'Ivre de Pierres* [3]

Published between 1977 and 1983, *L'Ivre de Pierres* was an editorial experiment pursued by Jean-Paul Jungmann, French architect, theorist, educator and a magnificent draughtsman. Jungmann was also a former member of the *Utopie* group and one of the fathers of the eponymous magazine, with which *L'Ivre de Pierres* plays somehow a game of mirrors.

3  This second chapter draws consistently from the author's previous article on *L'Ivre de Pierres* (Machado e Moura, Lus Arana, 2021).

Fig. 4 – The first two issues of Utopie — 1: 1967 and 2/3: 1969 — and the entire run of L'Ivre de Pierres (Jungmann, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1984b) and the unfinished 5th volume, whose documents and writings were published only recently (Jungmann, 2020b). Source: photo by the author.

## 2.1 Utopie's critical collages (1967-1969)

*Utopie: revue de sociologie de l'urbain*, the journal, had come to life in 1967 within the 'little magazine' fever of the 1960s, more specifically, in the intellectual and social turmoil that led to the events of May 1968. *Utopie* was politically engaged and textually dense, radically questioning everyday life and the reorganisation of society, consumer culture and the urban fabric of post-war modernisation. Consequently, *Utopie,* the group, refused to combine their theoretical work with architectural and urban design. By positing Utopia, as stated in the first issue of the magazine, as "the uncrossed interval between praxis and theory" (Baudrillard, 1967), and "Architecture as a theoretical problem" (Utopie, 1968) to use the title of an article published in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* and *Architectural Design*, Utopie vindicated, "an Althusserian notion of a «theoretical practise» whose central material was to be the contemporary discourses and representations of architecture and urbanism circulating both within their disciplines and in the popular press" (Buckley, 2011, p.13).

One of the main reasons for it was that, unlike other radical groups, Utopie consisted of various individuals with different backgrounds arranged into two subgroups. The 'intellectuals', including Hubert Tonka, Jean Baudrillard, René Lourau — then assistants to Henri Lefebvre —, Catherine Cot and Isabelle Auricoste. The other faction, 'the architects', consisted of Jean Aubert, Jean-Paul Jungmann, and Antoine Stinco. This clear-cut division had an immediate effect on the magazine. As Jungmann's recalls, the architectural half of the team "were not used to writing complex articles and texts. Since these were our first attempts at theoretical texts, we used collage. Collage and *détournement* made the approach much easier" (Jungmann, personal communication, May 28, 2015). Following a *situationist* fashion, they drew from many graphic sources, from comic books to adverts and fashion magazines, and collages that explored the semiotic potential of the relationship between word and image. Thus, "drawing upon the expanded concept of «écriture» within the period's semiological discourses, Utopie's blocks of image-text provided a hybrid mode of writing" (Buckley, 2011, p.12) that reinforced the parallel and colliding narratives already present in the magazine.



Fig. 5 – Jean-Paul Jungmann's collages on 'Villes de Papier'. Source: (Jungmann, 1967, pp.128-129)

Jungmann and his colleagues embraced the magazine's spirit, criticising the formalism that pervaded the visionary architectural scene or the wave of technological and speculative optimism of the time. With the belief that social classes' logic fully controls urbanism, they enthusiastically called, together with their teammates, for the need to "disassemble/dismantle the economic, political, social and cultural manifestations of architecture" (Utopie, 1968). However, this overwhelming negative critique, later qualified by Lefebvre as a "Negative Utopia" (1975), did not lend much space for action.

In these forms of 'disassembly', they employed images from comic strips like sci-ence fiction Barbarella-like heroine Jezabel or Spain Rodriguez's countercultural hero Trashman, sometimes combined with the designs of Claude Parent, Kisho Kurokawa, Archigram or Yona Friedman. Even more interestingly, the lengthy ar-ticle "Architecture as a Theoretical Problem" — published in *Architectural Design* in March and *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* in September 1968 — addressed directly the competition for Les Halles using, among other sources, a collage made of dif-ferent projects and a satirical cartoon by Moisan published in *Le Canard Enchaîné* "De Gaulle Uber Halles!" which *Utopie* now dubbed "Signal for our times".[4]
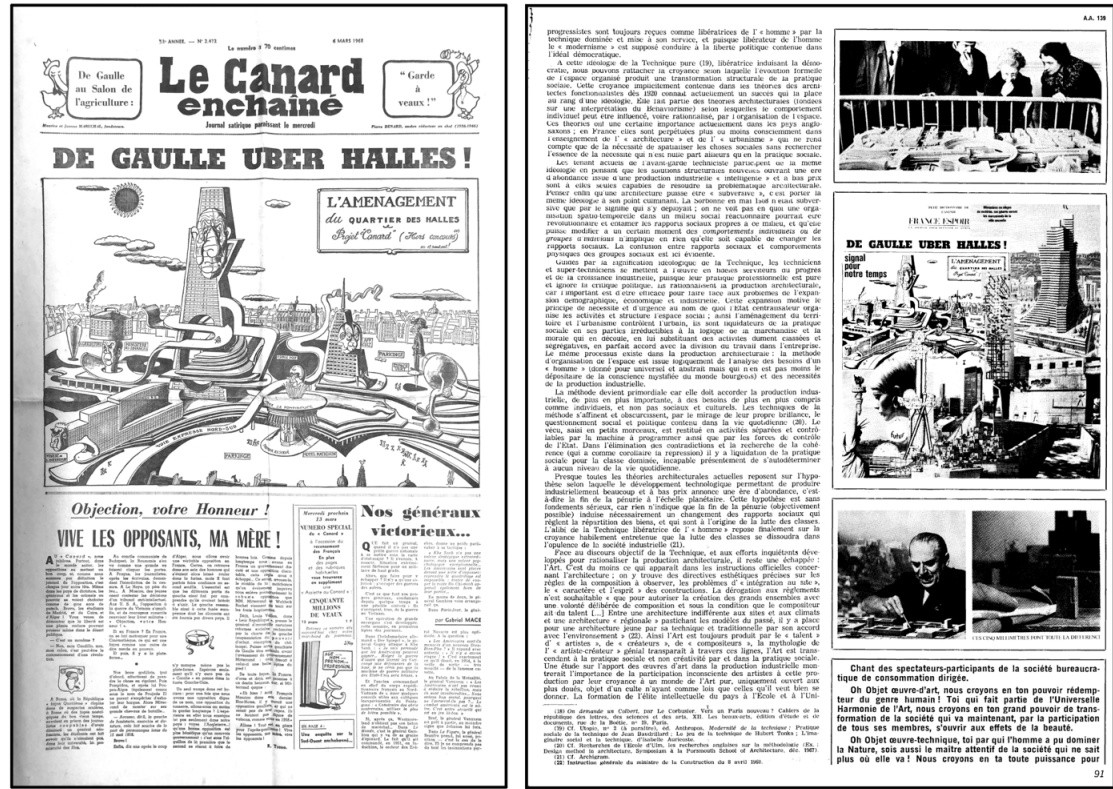


Fig. 6 – Cartoon "De Gaulle Uber Halles!'"published in French satirical newspaper *Le Canard enhaîné*, MMarch 61968; later included in a collage for UUtopie'sarticle ""rchitecture as a Theoretical Problem'"published in *AD* and *LL'Architecturedd'Aujourd'hui* Source: (Moisan, 1968; Utopie, 1968)

Not long after, the architects discontinued their work on the magazine in 1969, formally leaving the group in 1971. Accordingly, after the third issue, *Utopie* lost its images and reduced its size. But this departure did not entail a complete abandon-ment of the kind of *écriture* that *Utopie* had introduced them to. In 1976, Jungmann created a publishing house with the collaboration of Aubert, Tonka and Stinco.

4  Besides the pun of the title, the irony of *Canard*'s cartoon was also present in its subtitle "*L'Aménagement du Quartier des Halles — Projet "Canard" (Hors concours)\* et pourtant!*", explicitly referring to the architectural competition (Moisan, 1968).

## 2.2 L'Ivre de Pierres' theoretical projects (1977-1983)

Born a year later, *L'Ivre de Pierres* can be seen as a counterpart, an antithesis and also a complement to *Utopie*, a companion series that mirrored it from the side of 'the architects'. Thus, if *Utopie* had evolved into a discretely-sized, exclu-sively textual publication, *L'Ivre de Pierres* was conceived as a decidedly *big* 'little magazine': published in tabloid size, images had a privileged presence. If *Utopie* had proscribed architectural and urban designs from their pages, *L'Ivre,* on the contrary, presented a collection of architectural and urban fictions that vehicled the underlying theoretical discourse.
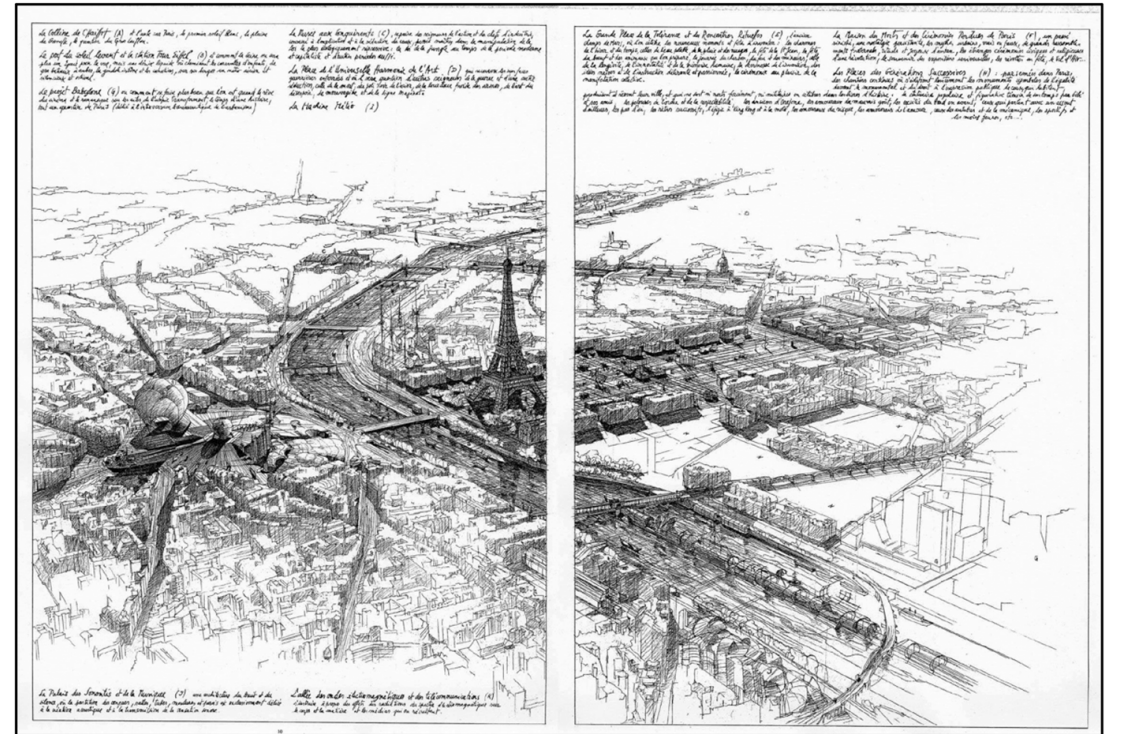


Fig. 7 – Jean-Paul Jungmann's *Récit autour d'une ruine future sur la colline de Chaillot*. Source: (Jungmann, 1977, pp. 30-31).

The fictional buildings and spaces featured were designed for existing just on the printed page and in the ecosystem of the book. As Jungmann emphasised, here, the book was not just a medium to provide "commentary on a work, but [the me-dium] of the work itself (...): a printed work" (Jungmann, 1982, p. 15). Mirroring the architects' work and agenda in *Utopie*, *L'Ivre de Pierres* appeared as a politically committed stance on the architect's role, which led to a new field of critical prac-tice. Jungmann conceived the book as an environment for the free exercise of "urban creativity" that allowed creating images "by specific architectural means, as others would do through painting or literature, advertising, cinema or comics" (Jungmann, 1984, p. 3). The designs in the book, however, were not to be taken as mere *architectural fantasies,* such as Piranesi's *vedute*, or Superstudio's collages,

which, according to Jungmann, may be "innovative representations that often influence architectural imagery, but that are... not real projects" (Jungmann, 1996). We could add, neither are most of the satirical images of cartoons.

*L'Ivre de Pierres* and the designs in it were, instead, *theoretical projects* – Jungmann made this distinction clear – which, like those published by Ledoux and Boullée, were not "intended for construction but (...) dissemination through publication, exhibition or teaching" (Jungmann, 1996). The fundamental difference between *architectural fantasies* and *theoretical projects* lies in the latter's geometric precision and volumetric coherence. Indeed, *L'Ivre's* are *real* projects, not for being meant for construction, but for "all its images revolve around the same volume defined upstream. And the way to describe and tell this volume and its intended use, its future inhabit, is the whole issue of narrative" (Jungmann, 2020, p. 55). They were conceived as "real projects with all their constraints", firmly anchored in the city and its history.

Both Jungmann and *L'Ivre de Pierres* belong in the modern tradition of the 'paper architecture' wave that started with the visionary architecture of the 1960s and extended throughout the postmodernist strand of the 1970s and early 1980s, *fueled* by the oil crises and subsequent economic recessions. Of course, within a French context, *L'Ivre* also made part of a lineage of its own, following the trail of Great paper architecture designers like Ledoux, Boullée, and Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, among others. *L'Ivre de Pierres* followed these and many other examples by describing its own imaginary city through the culture of the Palimpsest so present at the time in theoretical projects such as *Roma Interrotta*, in 1978, or Peter Eisenman's *Cannaregio Town Square*, the same year, both overlapping the historical collage logic of Colin Rowe's *Collage City* (1978). Only instead of Rome, this time it was Paris that was subjected to an alternative reading and (re)construction by an accumulation of entries produced by different authors and extracted from various points in an always alternate History. All simply juxtaposed in the magazine's pages as multiple pieces that only found articulation in the reader's mind.

### 3. Disassembling and reassembling "Les Grands Travaux"

*L'Ivre de Pierres'* critical stance mainly aimed at the decisions taken in the urban renewal of Paris. Not surprisingly, several of the projects featured in *L'Ivre's* pages deal with the areas of Les Halles, La Villette and Place de La Bastille, openly criticising the briefs of the actual architectural competitions that took place in those sites in 1979, 1982 and 1983, as well as their results. As aforementioned, its process of visual criticism by purely architectural means echoed the culture of the time. Through the affinities with the qualities of the theoretical projects in the historical collage logic (Rowe, Koetter, 1978), but especially by the practice of alternative competitions, in a post-structuralist fashion, which blossomed by the end of the 1970s and early 1980s.

### 3.1 The curse of Les Halles
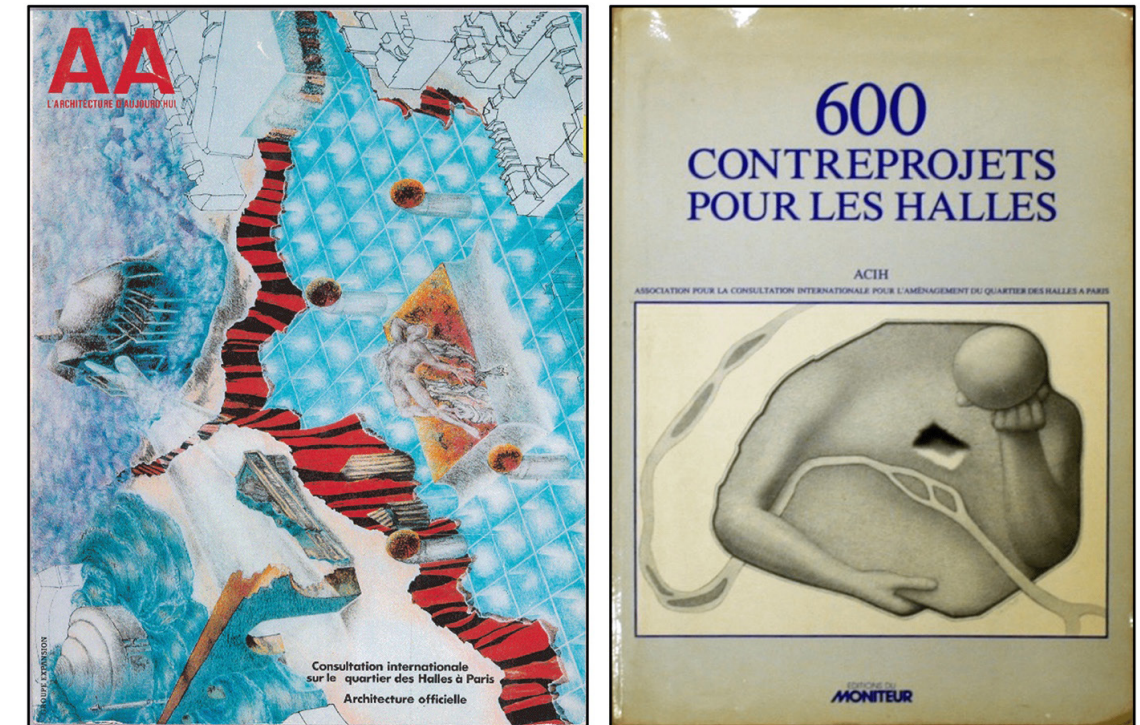


Fig. 8 – A Counter-competition for Les Halles. Source: (Emery, 1980; ACIH, 1981).

After the destruction of Les Halles market in 1971 and 1973 and the selection of the highly criticised scheme by Louis Arretche and Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme in 1979, the *Syndicat de l'Architecture* and the *Association pour la Consultation Internationale pour les Halles*, with the support of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, not without a stong satirical vein, launched a competition for counter-projects. Presided primarily by Jean Nouvel, it aimed, as stated on the press conference of April 2, to launch "an architectural and urban planning debate to come up with an alternative proposal to the Chirac project, which the Council of Paris had just approved, and to give «one last chance for the centre of Paris»" (ACIH, 1979). The jury included sociologists Roland Barthes and Henri Lefebvre, and architect Philip Johnson, alongside other celebrity architects. It somehow explains why the competition received the surprising number of over 600 propositions from all over the world, which were later published by Le Moniteur (ACIH, 1981) and featured in a large exhibition in the former FNAC-Sport at Boulevard Sébastopol. Among the entries feature Aldo Rossi's, Christian de Portzamparc's, and Jean Aubert's and Hubert Tonka's. The majority of the counterproposals were historicist in style and envisioned the preservation of the district through renovation. Others boldly welcomed a futuristic fantasy, revealing an unlimited array of possibilities for that site, rich in ironies born from political battle (Wakeman, 2007, p.62).

Aubert's and Tonka's entry, simply titled *Les Halles, Paris*, was conceived in full *Utopie* fashion, providing an attack on Les Halles by dissecting the motivations and limits of the urban operation of Paris's old market. Therefore, the version published in *L'Ivre de Pierres* 3 was not conceived specifically for it but a rearrangement of the counter-competition entry. Rather than presenting an alternative, Aubert's circular colonnade transformed the site, which remained an open pit after the original buildings' demolition, being nicknamed the hole, into a metaphysical quicksand arena progressively swallowing the former market. Tonka's text "*La Malédiction des Halles*", initially published in *Libération* (1980), preceded the drawings and reinforced the architectural failure idea.
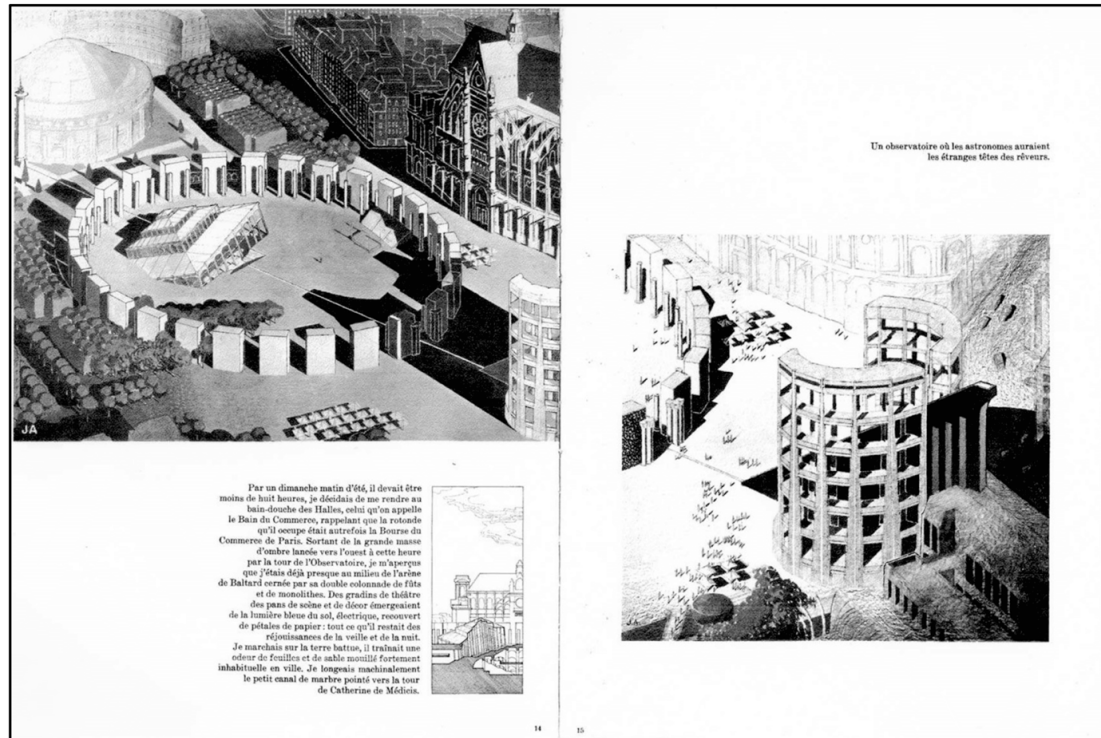


Fig. 8 – Jean Aubert and Hubert Tonka's Les Halles, originally conceived for the counter-competition *Consultation international contre-projet pour l'aménagement du quartier des Halles à Paris*, in 1979. Source: (Jungmann, 1980)

### 3.2 Bastille, an Opéra without a square

Alongside Les Halles, La Villette was also given particular attention in the pages of *L'Ivre de Pierres*.[5] In the first issue (Jungmann, 1977), way before the design competition for the Park, which took place in 1982-83, Jean Aubert and Léon Krier envisioned possible architectural visions. Aubert's *Les Jardins de l'Ourcq et Le Palais des Thermes de la Villette* presented a palace with its Italian garden in great detail, both through the rigorous drawings and the detailed narrations. Krier's

5  Tonka and Jungmann's collection *Vaisseau de Pierres*, a spinoff of *L'Ivre*, later devoted its second issue to La Villette, aptly titling it *Parc-Ville/Villette*, in 1987.

*Projet pour un nouveau quartier (une ville dans la ville) dans la ville de Paris en l'an 1976 sur les lieux des anciens abattoirs de la Villette* presented a more urban scheme instead. Right after the competition, *L'Ivre* returns to La Villette, with former Utopie member Isabelle Auricoste's and Alain Vulbeau's essay on landscape architecture *Le Rouge et le Vert – Mais que font-ils donc à la Villette?* (Jungmann, 1984b).
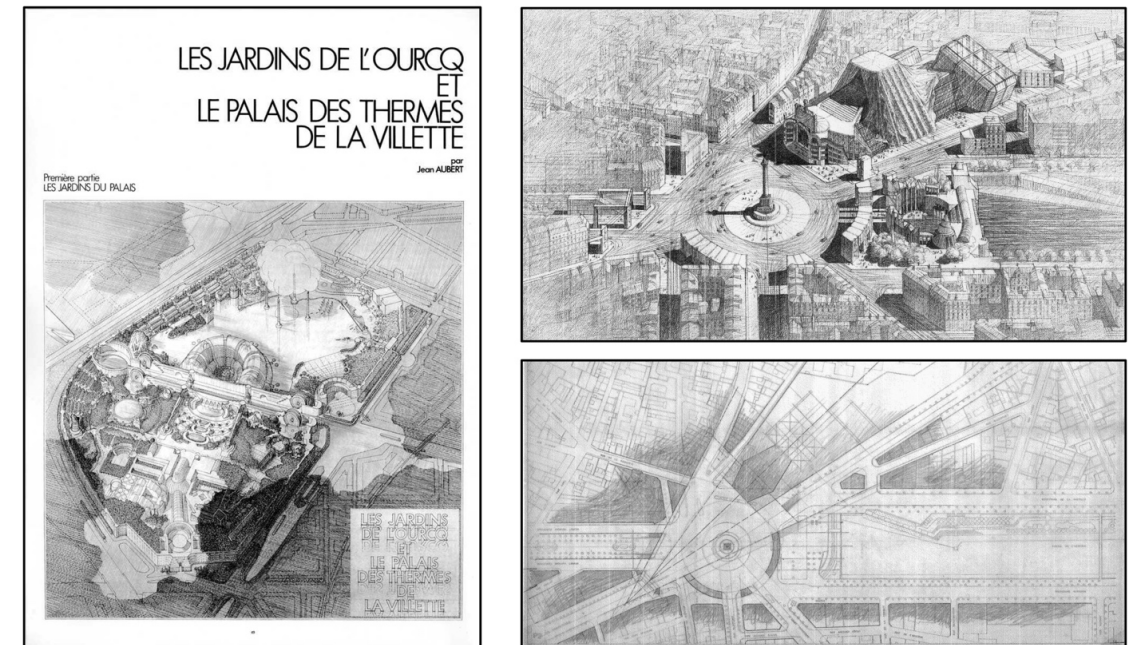


Fig. 9 – Left: Jean Aubert's *Les Jardins de l'Ourcq et le Palais des Thermes de la Villette*, for *L'Ivre de Pierres* 1. Right: Jean-Paul Jungmann's and Tamas Zanko's *La Nouvelle Place de la Bastille* for the unpublished *L'Ivre de Pierres* 5. Source: (Jungmann, 1977; Jungmann: 2020b)

Yet, it was Bastille that probably most revealed *L'Ivres'* critical agenda. Jungmann refused the liberal profession, as many young French architects in the 1960s after questioning of architectural education, not only for his coherence with the urban criticism of the writings of *Utopie* and for his desire of freely blooming in architectural creation but also to "avoid briefs developed by others, promoters, politicians and state officials" and to step aside from "the traditional route of asking professionals to imagine volumes for briefs written away from any social and architectural logic" (Jungmann, 2020, p.7-8). Therefore, after the 1983 competition for Opéra Bastille, which disregarded its urban environment and, in particular, the homonymous facing square, Jungmann decided to devote *L'Ivre de Pierres* fifth issue entirely to it.

The competition brief focused on the architectural design of the Opera House alone, neglecting the square, "under the pretext that the left-wing Mitterrandian state managed the site of the old station [the future Opera], while the Square was under the authority of the Paris town hall, politically right-wing" (Jungmann, 2020, p.92). Countering the instructions of the brief, dictated by purely political reasons, *L'Ivre de Pierres'* series of architectural and urban art designs — by Jean Aubert, Julia Bolles and Peter Wilson, Jean-Paul Jungmann, Tamas Zanko, and several others — attempted to reinaugurate a relationship between the future Opera house and Place de la Bastille, a symbol of the Revolution.

### 4. Circa 1980, the age of Counter (Grand) Projects

As a coda, one could evoke a series of surprisingly similar processes that took place in 1980. The same year that 600 architects presented their counterproposals to Les Halles in the international competition, Leon Krier — an author featured in *L'Ivre* — together with Maurice Culot published *Contreprojets–controprogetti–counterprojects* (1980), imagining alternative realities for the centre of Brussels, in a historicist approach. Albeit unrelated, and with a decisively ironic endeavour, Stanley Tigerman organised, alongside Stuart E. Cohen and Rohen Hoffman of the Young Hoffman Gallery in Chicago, an exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art titled "Late Entries for the Chicago Tribune Tower" (1980). Unlike the 1922 original competition, which was open to architects throughout the world — and included the participation of cartoonists of the *Tribune*, like Frank O. King —, "Late Entries" was an invitational event, directed to 100 architects, aiming to welcome different points of view and theoretical positions. The list could go on, proving the fertile ground of theoretical counter-projects. To conclude with Jungmann's words, "imagining projects, building the fictitious is a theoretical practice of the city and architecture", able to provide alternative realities that unveil "a new knowledge of the city" (2020).

### Acknowledgements

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# 79 The competition for the Bastille Opera

## The Portuguese proposals by Raúl Hestnes Ferreira, Alfredo Matos Ferreira and Manuel Graça Dias

ALEXANDRA SARAIVA
Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL), DINÂMIA'CET-IUL
Universidade Lusíada Norte- Porto;
Fundação Marques da Silva

### ABSTRACT

On March 8, 1982, François Mitterrand launched his Grands Travaux policy, including the " realization of a modern and popular opera house on the site of the old Bastille station". An international call was launched from November' 1982 to January 1983, and even though 1650 candidates registered only 775 projects were received.

In a consolidated urban sector, the proposed plot had its challenges as it was relatively narrow but generous in size. An extensive program was carried out, and the building would necessarily be complex. – The renovation of the Bastille square was included in the project due to its symbolic significance and the need to create a monument worthy of the bicentenary celebration.

Portugal participated in this competition/call with only six competitors. The aim of this article is to analyze and compare three Portuguese proposals submitted by Raúl Hestnes Ferreira (1931-2018), Alfredo Matos Ferreira (1928-2015), and Manuel Graça Dias (1953-2019) and their views on the program. The collections of these three architects may be found at the Marques da Silva Foundation in Porto.

Literature suggest that Opera did not fulfil the President's aspirations, having been labelled as unloved in the Grands Travaux.

Keywords: Bastille Opera, Raúl Hestnes Ferreira, Alfredo Matos Ferreira, Manuel Graça Dias

### Introduction

The qualification of urban equipment in France occurred in several stages and at different times, but there is an essential milestone: the development of a national architecture plan, coordinated by François Mitterrand, who presided over the country from 1981 to 1995. During this period, the government started to promote international architecture competitions for large equipment. The initiative became a success story, a landmark in the history of public architecture competitions.

The paper aims to understand how Portuguese architects were enticed to submit their proposals to this international competition.

### 2. The competition for the Bastille Opera

In a presidential press release dated March 8, 1982, François Mitterrand launched his Grands Travaux policy, including the "building of a modern and popular opera house on the site of the old Bastille station". The Association *for l'Etude et la Réalisation du Nouvel Opéra de la Bastille* (APERNOB), also called *Mission Opéra Bastille* (MOB) was created to develop the technical and cultural project for the new building and then mange the organization of 'an international architecture competition. It also prefigures the *Établissement Public de l'Opéra Bastille* (EPOB), an adjudicating entity part of the Ministry of Culture, responsible for supervising the execution of the works. An international call for candidates was launched, and from November 1982 to January 1983, a total of 1,650 applications were received. In the end, seven hundred and fifty-six projects were received, including about 2,300 plans. Table 1 presents the number of projects submitted and selected by each continent, highlighting Europe as the continent with the highest participation. To ensure fair selection submitted projects were anonymous, and a number replaced the contestant's name.
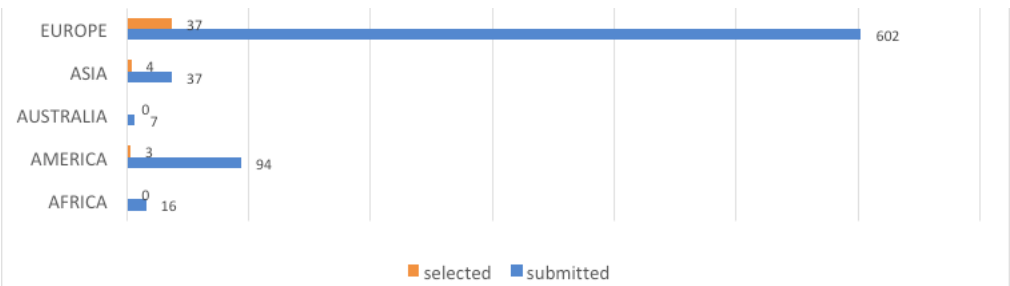


Table 1 – Projects submitted and select from all continents.
Source: Own creation based on the list of received projects (FRAN_ANX_011872.pdf)

### 2.1 The preceding facts

When François Mitterrand became president of the French Republic in 1981, he outlined a new architectural strategy for the promotion and construction of new

monuments for Paris to symbolize France's role in art, politics and economics in the late 20th century. His aim was to follow the strategy of the former President, Giscard d'Estaing, who had promoted the construction of the George Pompidou Centre.

These *Grand Travaux*, a significant operation of architecture and urbanism, estimated at almost 2.5 billion euros, were strongly oriented towards culture, one of the strengths of the socialist party, inducing Paris' revitalization.

This plan, which was a massive exercise in urban planning, started in 1982 and proposed the construction of eight great monuments that in a period of two decades would transform the capital. These included: the Orsay Museum, the La Défense Arch, and the Parque de La Villette, commenced by Giscard d'Estaing along with the Louvre Pyramid, the Arab World Institute, the Opera Bastille, the Ministry of Finance building, and the National Library of France. Mitterrand called these projects "historical axis", as some monuments are aligned starting from the Louvre and ending at the la Défense Arch.

The previous experience with the George Pompidou Center had shown that through competitions, it was possible to revolutionize architecture and attract the best architects to develop the city to its architectural potential.

### 2.2 The constraints

The construction project for the Bastille Opera was very different from all previous construction projects for opera houses as it was not about replacing a destroyed theater, but rather anticipating the needs of the opera in the 20th and 21st centuries.



Fig. 1 – Paramount Bastille cinema and the old Bastille station just before its demolition, fall 1984. Source: (© Hubert Verneret, 1984)

The Verneret photograph (Fig.1), taken in 1984, illustrates the need to demolish the Paramount Bastille and the railway station. The reduced dimensions of the Bastille Square was reason for hesitation, but the land was already under urban surveillance by APUR[1]. For this reason, the Bastille Opera project represented an asset to rebalance and revitalize the eastern sector of the Parisian city, and hence why Jacques Chirac donated part of the land to the State. For urbanist Gérard Charlet, head of APUR at the time, the Bastille Square was a place that had never been planned, it had designed itself with history, since the Gallo-Roman times, a "*Carrefour toujours informe que l'on tentait d'équilibrer en le meublant d'éléphants et de génies volants.*"[2] The square's advantages were numerous: geographic centrality, accessibility by public transport, a cross position with significant city roads, and contact point between the different areas.

## 2.3 The brief

Rolf Liebermann's former assistant and director, Michael Dittmann, develop all the specifications. It was an ambitious project: a large stage for 2,700 spectators, 16 side stages, an auditorium, a studio, an amphitheater, and space for workshops, studios, rehearsal rooms, and administrative offices.

The competition's general rules recommended the design of three graphic boards (A, B, and C) executed in black and white, in a 90 cm x 130 cm format, and had to include four represented elements according to specific provisions. At the top of panel A, a perspective view of the building and its surroundings on a pre-designed floor plan background, and at the bottom, a master plan against a predefined floor plan background. Competitors were expected to show the treatment given to the building's surroundings and their insertion into the site. Then, at the top of panel B, a plan of the building and its immediate surroundings at the level of scenic areas, rooms, and receptions was also requested in a pre-drawn background. Finally, at the bottom of panel C, a longitudinal section in the large room's perspective was requested. Therefore, the plans, sections, and facades necessary to understand the project were represented in the spaces of the panels.

The contest content was made available to each designer in six folders. The first contained the contest rules, the second general lines and objectives, and the third provided information on the program, the fourth referred to the technical annexes, the five were the cartographic and photographic archives, and the last had the answers to common questions.

## 2.4 The Portuguese Architects

At the time of the competition, Portugal economic context could be characterized by a serious deterioration in its external accounts, consequently increasing its deficit (which rose from 5% of GDP in the 1980, to 11.5% in 81 and 13.2% in 1982). The external debt then grew significantly, and Portugal had great difficulty in financing itself in the international financial markets so that in 1983 the Portuguese government turned to the IMF. The measures taken by the Government in agreement with the IMF were based on the devaluation of the escudo (12% in June plus a sliding devaluation of 1% per month); reduction of import duties from 30% to 10% in the 1984 State Budget; a drastic increase in prices of essential goods and the reduction of subsidies for these products; freezing public investment; falling real wages in the civil service and freezing workers' admissions; raising taxes and imposing a special income tax.

The measures then adopted led to a fall in economic activity, a significant decrease in income for most Portuguese people, a multitude of bankruptcies, and a brutal increase in unemployment. It was the time characterized by overdue salaries and protests across the country with black flags.

Among the seven hundred and fifty-six projects submitted, six hundred and two were from European countries, including six Portuguese teams. From these, only thirty-eight proposals from Europe were selected. Table 2 displays the number of projects submitted and selected by each European country.

In addition to the three architects under analysis in this paper, António Maria Lobo de Vasconcelos Corte-Real (No.1416), Luís Manuel Lourenço Serro (No. 0807), and Manuel Roquette de Mello Campello (No.1537) all from the Lisbon area also participated.



Table 2 – *Projects from Europe*
Source: Own creation based on the list of received projects (FRAN_ANX_011872.pdf)

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1   APUR or in French L'APUR, or Atelier Parisien de l'Urbanisme, is the urban planning agency for Paris. It was created in 1967 and offered a permanent team of professionals dedicated to the French capital. Bringing together 27 partners, the agency documents, analyses and develops prospective study site on various scales including social development, for the city and the greater metropolitan area of Paris. Documents, analyzes and imagines urban and social developments relating to the city and also the greater metropolitan area of Paris.

2   in *Le monde*, 13 de july 1989

**2.4.1 Raúl Hestnes Ferreira**
Raúl Hestnes Ferreira (1931-2018) studied at the School of Fine Arts of Porto between 1952 and 1957 and went on to work and study in Finland for one year in 1958. In 1961 he graduated in architecture at the School of Fine Arts in Lisbon and began his professional career. His desire to learn about other realities takes him to the United States (1962-1965) to do a Master's, first at Yale and then Pennsylvania. While working for Louis Kahn in Philadelphia, between 1963 and 1965, he took part in a few projects. (Saraiva, 2011)

In addition to a very extensive and award-winning professional career on a national level, he also collaborated with some public entities, namely with the Municipal Councils of Almada (1960-62), Lisbon (1965-68, 1970-71), and Beja (1980- and with the General Executive Committee for School Buildings (1970-80).

He taught in the Architecture Department of the School of Fine Arts in Lisbon (1970-72), and in the Architecture Course at the Cooperativa Árvore do Porto (1986-88). He was an Invited Full Professor in the Department of Architecture at the University of Coimbra from 1991 to 2003 and later at ISCTE from 2001 to 2003. From 2010 until his death in 2018, he taught in the Department of Architecture at the Universidade Lusófona as Full Professor.

Hestnes Ferreira's proposal (nº 1137) included the collaboration of Castro Caldas, Manuel Miranda, Ana Castro Freire, Clara Veríssimo, Henrique Gomes and Raúl Veríssimo.

This proposal corresponded to his fourth international competition. He had in 1967 competed in the competition for the Amsterdam City Hall. (Saraiva, 2020), in 1970 for the Consullation Halles, in Paris and later in 1980 for the Lutzowplatz Quarter in Berlin.

His approach to the Bastille Opera project included several diagrams of the main spaces, principal axes, and street diagrams (fig.2). For Hestnes Ferreira, the first step in approaching a project was understanding its location and society, ensuring a solution that respects the city's cultural and constructive tradition.

Hestnes Ferreira chooses "a lighthouse" as the main idea for the opera house entrance, as a convergent focus on a point. The geometry of the shape marks the "opening" of the Opera house, highlighting the "door" or "entrance"; but it also marks the end of the square and the beginning of Rue de Lyon.



Fig. 2 - Study diagram by Hestnes Ferreira for the entrance to the Opera
Source: (FIMS_RHF_0155-pd030.jpg)

For Hestnes Ferreira, the "entrance" must simultaneously be the door that invites, as a scenic space, transmitting a sense of spaciousness and control of scale. The solution is optimized by the laminated frames and the cylinder's transparency that marks the "entrance". The way to show the interior and exterior and vice versa, as an invitation to its transposition.

In this specific case, the need to keep the statue in the square visible. The functionality of the space was significant, with the location of the large auditorium being the starting point for the entire project, always emphasizing technical issues (acoustic and scenography) as inclusive and essential factors.



Fig. 3 – Longitudinal section, showing the relationship between the large auditorium and the building.
Source: (FIMS_RHF_0155-pd023.jpg)

The longitudinal section shows the relationship between the large auditorium and the building. (Fig. 3) Due to the building's complexity and the need to include all the spaces specified in the competition program, Hestnes Ferreira chose to create several spaces in the basement in order to keep both the square and statue visible in the city skyline. (Fig. 4)
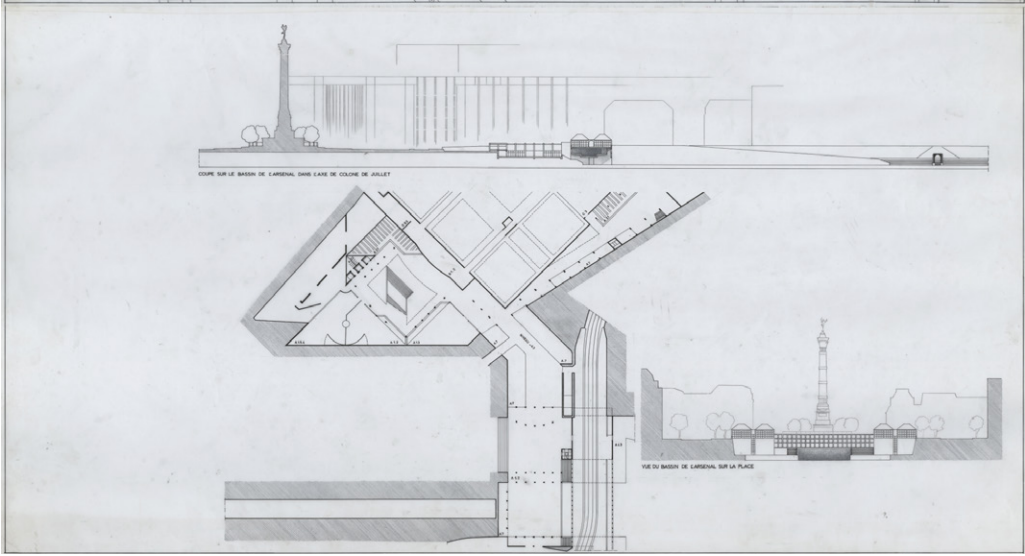


Fig. 4 – Part of the graphic board the proposal
Source: (FIMS_RHF_0155-pd085.jpg - edit by the author)

Hestnes Ferreira conditioned his design to the use of simple shapes (such as a squares, triangles, and circles). His project portrayed the simplicity and clarity of the shapes and the relationships he establishes between them as well as the ability to hierarchize spaces.

The strategy of the project coupled with the implemented architectural language determine Hestnes Ferreira's approach. (Fig. 5)
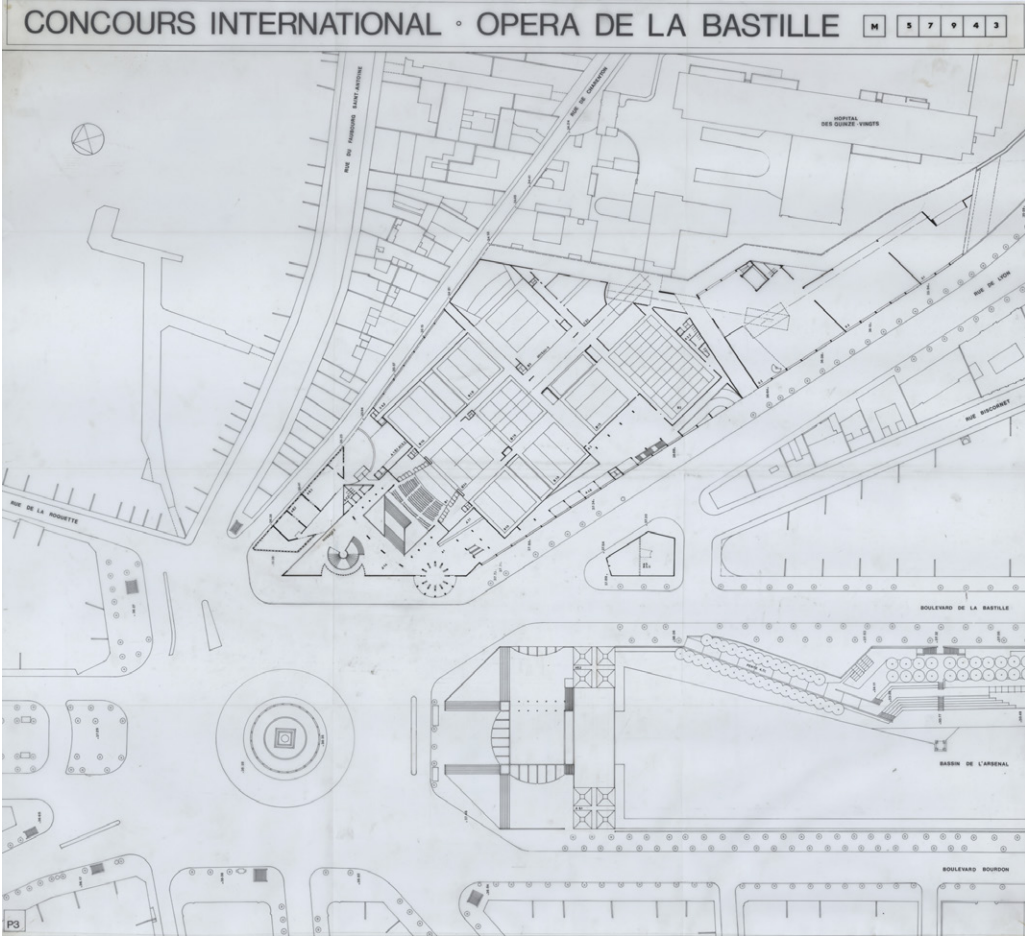


Fig. 5 – Part of the graphic board for the proposal.
Source: (FIMS_RHF_0155-pd084.jpg - edit by the author)

### 2.4.2 Alfredo Matos Ferreira

Alfredo Matos Ferreira (1928-2015) graduated from the School of Fine Arts of Porto and worked with Alberto Neves, António Menéres, Álvaro Siza, Luís Botelho Dias, and Joaquim Sampaio, friends of the "room 35" at Praça da Liberdade. He collaborated with Arménio Losa between 1971 and 1972, and had a partnership with Fernando Távora in a professional practice between 1972 and 1982. His professional career spanned over 50 years, during which he developed his professional practice with Fernando Távora, on national territory, in public projects resulting from competitions or invitations and private orders.

Matos Ferreira was an essential author, but little is known of his architectural practice during the second half of the 20th century. It was precisely after leaving Fernando Távora's office that Matos Ferreira decided to apply for this call in response to a lack of work in Portugal. Matos Ferreira's proposal (No.0335) corresponds to a compact mass which dilutes and softens the area within the plot with pilotis.

The regular matrix of the façades where the structure stands out is in opposition to the more irregular plan but a consequence of the plot's shape. The competition rules and the program specifications imposed several very tight spaces and specific conditions, which were somewhat restrictive for architects.

In terms of solution, Alfredo Matos Ferreira and Raúl Hestnes Ferreira located the main auditorium at the lot's limit, closest to Bastille Square. (Fig.6). The complexity and technical spaces, rooms for testing, management, and storage of the organization diagram forced all teams to have extremely exaggerated volumes.
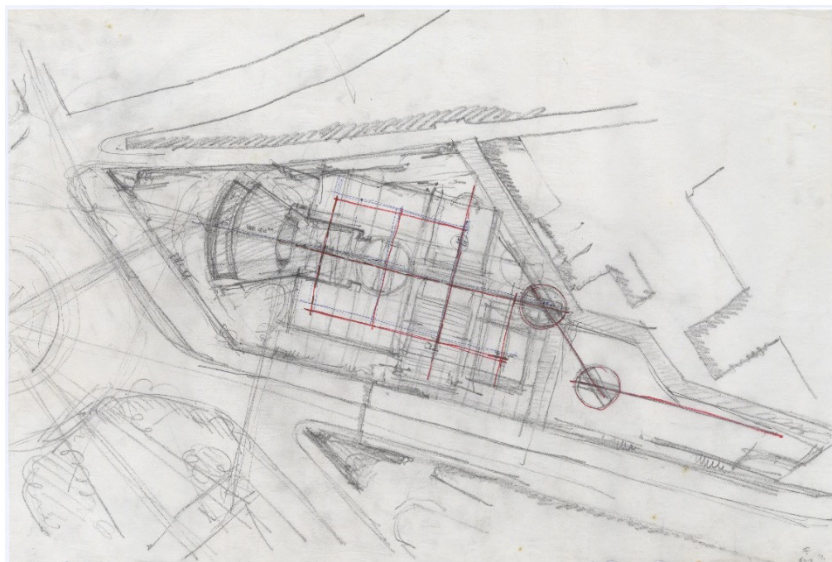


Fig. 6 – Plan
Source: (FIMS_AMF_0064-pd003.jpg)

The program required an auditorium able to seat two thousand seven hundred people and an additional flexible auditorium with fifteen hundred seats. Matos Ferreira proposes a very transparent facade facing Rue de Lyon; the main access point is also made through the square, as shown in the Section image (Fig. 6), a working sketch, part of the forty-one designed pieces and, two folders of written pieces that encompasses this project.
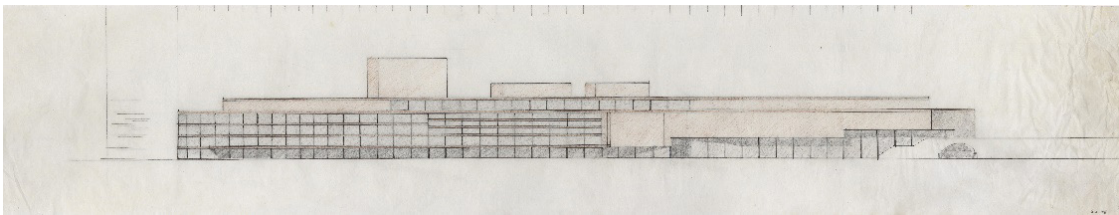


Fig. 7 – Section
Source: (FIMS_AMF_0064-pd076.jpg)

The longitudinal section and plan section of the central auditorium illustrates Matos Ferreira's solution. (Fig.7)

The objective of theproject was, without a doubt, to create a large auditorium with a fixed number of seats as well as great detail both in visual and acoustic quality.
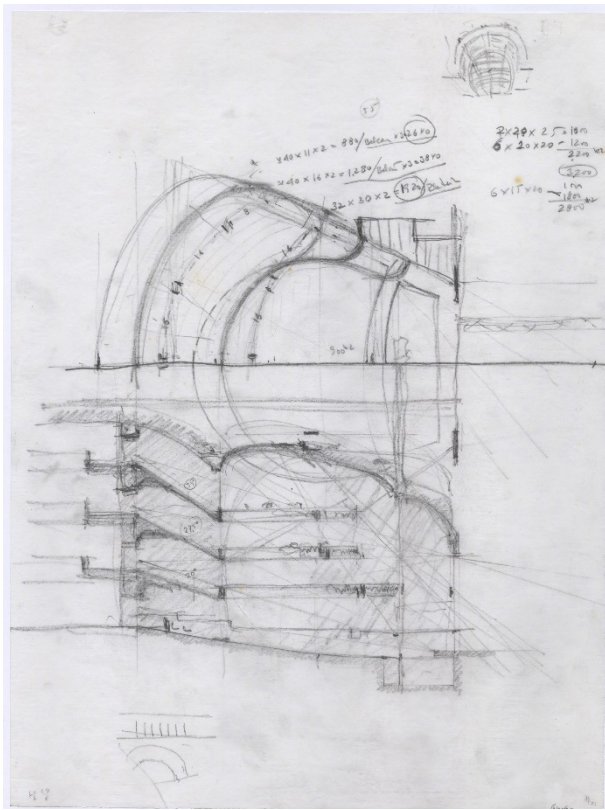


Fig. 8 – Longitudinal section and plan section
Source: (FIMS_AMF_0064-pd052.jpg)

### 2.4.3 Manuel Graça Dias

Manuel Graça Dias (1953-2019) studied architecture at Lisbon's Fine Arts School and began his career in Macau working for Manuel Vicente. He was an assistant teacher at the Faculty of Architecture of Lisbon's Universidade Técnica between 1985 and 1996 and an auxiliary teacher at the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto between 1997 and 2015. Graça Dias was also an invited Professor at the Department of Architecture of Lisbon's Universidade Autónoma, since 1998. He lived and worked in Lisbon, where he founded, in 1990, the Contemporânea studio, together with Egas José Vieira.

His legacy as an author of articles and books related to the criticism and promotion of Portuguese architecture is very significant. Having diversified his audio-visual and radio production and written press contribution, he was the presenter of

the *Ver Artes/Arquitectura* program aired on RTP2, one of the national channels (1992/1996).

He collaborated with a Portuguese radio channel, TSF (1995/1999), and a broadsheet newspaper Expresso. He was director of Jornal Arquitectos (2009/2012) and director of the Order of Architects (2000/2004).

The difference in generations between Manuel Graça Dias, Raúl Hestnes Ferreira and António Matos Ferreira was apparent in the approach and architectural language proposed by each one of them.

In 1983 a series of events take place in Lisbon between January 7th and 30th, leading to what would be considered as post-modernism. In 1984, Graça Dias (in *Arquitectura*, nº152, p.75) wrote about Jencks, interpreting the relationship of complexity and contradiction in architecture, the post-modern concept. Starting with Manuel Vicente's approach, with whom he had worked with in Macau between 1978 and 1980, writing regularly in the press and working intensively as an architect. (Figueira, 2009, p.275)

Graça Dias' proposal (No.0246) for the Bastille Opera house reflects these concerns and establishes a vital relationship between theory and practice that allows him to configure postmodernism with roots in Portuguese culture. The proposal was developed in collaboration with José Manuel Fernandes, Maria de Lurdes Janeiro and João Vieira Caldas. As was common practice in all Graça Dias' projects, the proposed design, was thoughtful and respected these principles. Seductive shapes promote ambiguous and dazzling spaces, materiality or the use of less noble materials achieve more economical solutions, while cheerful colors are the symbols or meanings according to Jencks, which determine a "double meaning" to postmodern architecture.

Due to the difficulties in accessing this architect's entire collection, the documentation for this propels is not included in this article. The process of transferring this collection to the Marques da Silva Foundation in Porto is still ongoing.

### 3. Conclusion

In Portugal, international competitions during the 60s and 80s did not have much influence or participation. Following the revolution of April 25, 1974, a turning point in Portuguese history, most Portuguese architects began focusing on responding to the population and setting up decent housing through several state programs. The public tenders and Portugal's economic growth, associated with the country's entry into the EEC, allowed the construction of equipment, infrastructures, and private ordering, resulting in a lot of work for Portuguese architects.

From these three architects from different generations, Raúl Hestnes Ferreira was the only one who already had some experience in international competitions, as well as an international professional practice.

For Alfredo Matos Ferreira this would be the only time he would participate in an international competition but we can see that his professional experience with Fernando Távora allowed him to progress in his career. For Manuel Graça Dias, was his first competition, but his experience in Macau with Manuel Vicente was decisive in the result sent to the competition.

Unfortunately, none of the six Portuguese architects won the competition.The enchantment with Portuguese architecture would only happen years later with Siza Vieira and Eduardo Souto de Moura.

The jury met from June 26 to July 2, 1983 in the corridor of the abandoned Bastille station. It was made up of twenty full members and three deputies, and included several personalities such as Pierre Boulez, Maurice Fleuret, Jean Nouvel, and Alain Sarfati. During the first three days, the judges examined all the projects in small groups. A daily vote each evening made it possible to choose the first selection. All projects obtaining at least four votes out of twenty, that is, fifty-four, were selected. From the fourth day onwards, some requests were written and considered again. The total number was thus raised to sixty-five selected projects, and the jury held a controversial debate. The final decision fell on the President of the Republic, and project No. 222 proposed by Canadian Carlos Ott was the winner.

The project failed due to a lack of political support during the cohabitation period (when power was divided between two opposing political parties). However, the then minister of culture Jack Lang led the project to its completion— the only delay was the construction of the planned modular auditorium. The inauguration is scheduled for 2023.

Within the Grands Travaux, the Bastille opera was the least successful project and the one which least pleased President François Mitterrand.

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# 87   The great Egyptian Museum

## Contemporary Architecture as an Argument for the Repatriation of Collections

**BIANCA MANZON LUPO**
University of São Paulo, University of Mogi das Cruzes

**ALINE DE SOUZA MAIA**
University of Mogi das Cruzes

### ABSTRACT

The Great Egyptian Museum (GME) can be considered a "pharaonic" architecture located on the outskirts of the Giza Pyramids. The idea of building a Great Museum for Egyptology, which occupies an internal area of 90,000m², derivers from discussions started in the mid-1990s. In 2002, the Irish office Heneghan Peng Architects won an international architecture competition that included more than 1,500 proposals from architects around the world. Commonly called as "the fourth pyramid of Giza", the GME´s construction started in 2005 and now is almost completed. The built of this mega museum structure aims to contribute to Egypt´s unique positioning as a first-class tourist destination considering the globalization processes. Furthermore, the GME must also be considered within a big strategy of building and renovating of nineteen museums in Egypt that includes, for example, the projects of the Nubian Museum in Aswan and the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization. This strategy was undertaken by the worldwide famous archaeologist Zahi Hawass, then Secretary-General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt. The construction of a mega museum architecture has been mobilized as an important argument for requesting the repatriation of Egyptian collections illegally removed from the country. Since 2010, Egypt has expressed interest in the return (or at least the loan) of some archeological antiques such as the Bust of Nefertiti and the Rosetta´s Stone. Even without being successful in these international negotiations, the architectural design assumes prominence for questioning one of the main arguments used to deny the repatriation requests: the lack of infrastructure for safeguarding and researching collections. The GME suggests the reflection about new challenges between global-local cultures that emerge in contemporaneity.

**Keywords:** Great Egyptian Museum, contemporary architecture, repatriation, archeological collections.

### Introduction. The repatriation of collections, a contemporary question

The discussions about looting archaeological sites and dismantling ancient monuments have become increasingly important during the 20th century. In the 1950s, the decolonization and independence movements in Africa have contributed to enhance the questioning about the illicit trafficking of cultural collections by international mobilizations to stop patrimonial appropriation. The decolonial perspective, understood as a "*way of resistance to colonialism and imperialism*" (Costa, 2019, p. 17), has been theoretically developed since the 1960s, by the contribution of Albert Memmi, Franz Fanon and Stuart Hall. The social museology has also been questioning historic narratives naturalized over time, maintaining imperialist and colonialist relations even after the end of political emancipation of colonization process. In 1964, UNESCO ensured a committee of experts to make recommendations for the Convention on Measures to be Adopted to Prohibit and Prevent the Import, Export and Transfer of Illicit Properties of Cultural Heritage (Paris, 1970), originally signed by Bulgaria, Ecuador and Nigeria[1]. This document establishes that "*cultural goods are one of the basic examples of people´s culture and which can be truly appreciated only when they are more precisely known as to their origin, history and environment*" (Unesco, 1970, cf. Bueno, 2019, p. 8).

According to this view, the United Nations General Assemblies Resolutions (1973-75) supported the restitution of artistic works to countries victims of expropriation. However, the UNESCO´s and ONU´s recommendations conflict with the negatives of some countries for returning cultural collections to their original territories, which demonstrates the continuity of colonialist relations in the international system. In 1978, the Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or its Restitution (ICRCP) encouraged the return of cultural heritage in cases of illicit appropriation. In 1980, the 22ª General Conference on the Return of Cultural Artifacts (Belgrado) can be considered an important international discussion about the parameters for guiding repatriation processes. In the following decade, the Convention of the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (Unidroit, 1995) stipulated that all stolen objects must be returned. So that, UNESCO published the International Code of Ethics for Cultural Goods Dealers (1999), which became a reference for art and antique disputes.

Discussions on the repatriation of collections have taken on new impetus on the 1990s, when decolonial historic approach got stronger, trying to consolidate national self-identities by reframing dominant ideologies encapsulated in these territories. Even though, the formation process of national narratives commonly come up against the absence of artifacts, sometimes taken up illegally during

imperialist or colonialist occupations. The cultural issue becomes a premise for the emancipation of imperialist relations, seeking to create favorable environments for the individual identification to national cultures. The concept of repatriation[2], defined as "*returning something to its owner or place of origin that can occur internationally or between communities and institutions in the same country*" (Costa, 2020, p. 3), is commonly considered as an effect of the decolonization processes. It is possible to point some successful cases of repatriation requests, such as the return of cuneiform boards from to the National Museum of Baghdad, of the statute of Cyrène´s Venus to Libya and of collections illegally removed from Machu Picchu.

This issue is certainly controversial and involves conflicting interests in dispute, mainly in view of expanding the economic patrimonial appropriation through encouraging the global cultural tourism. Contrary to the repatriation claims, James Cuno signs out that "*cultural objects do not have DNA and even if they did, that would not determine their national identity*" (Cuno, cf. Costa, 2019, p. 188). The concept of "world heritage" has been mobilized to justify the permanence of collections in foreign institutions. Peter Burke (2010), despite admitting that sometimes the expression 'acquired collections' often refers to looted objects, defends that the cultural heritage is part of the global culture and it do not need to be returned. These positions contradict the notion of identity and cultural belonging incited by the countries that request the return of certain patrimonial goods to their original territories, claiming the universality of the patrimonial discourse as justification for maintaining the status quo.

For countries which had semi-colonial status until the middle of the 20th century, such as Greece and Egypt, it is hard to reverse colonial and imperialist processes. As we know, Egypt passed through a period of French occupation, since the end of the 18th century, and British occupation during the 19th century. These events have contributed to the dispersion of Egyptian archaeological collections in several museums around the world, specially the British Museum (United Kingdom), the Louvre Museum (France) and the Egyptian Museum of Turin (Italy). In addition, the consolidated institutions that house these collections are often constituted as important centers for research, teach and restoration. In this sense, "*the European preservation argument is strong and can only be challenged 'tit for tat', that is, Egypt must offer the same conservation conditions for the collections that are claimed*" (Dias, 2011). As we can see by the construction of the Acropolis Museum (Athens,1999-2009) and the Benin Royal Museum (Benin, scheduled to 2021), the contemporary architecture of museums can be considered as an important argument for the repatriation disputes, and the Great Egyptian Museum (GEM) can be positioned within the international context.

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1  Today, it is firmed by 140 countries.

2  The term 'repatriation' can be differentiated from 'restitution', defined as "*returning something within the same territory, usually as a compensatory measure for some type of claim*" (Lima, 2020, p. 3).

### Methodology and Materials

The research adopted the study case methodology to analyze the relation established between the theoretical concepts of repatriation and contemporary architecture by investigating the GEM (Yin, 2001). Firstly, we will analyze bibliographic references about the main interested topics. Secondly, we will deepen the analysis about the Great Egyptian Museum, an important case the theoretical discussions. So, we will investigate the Heneghan Peng architectural design, whose construction is being finalized, and the requests for the repatriation of Egyptian collections. The main research sources selected to guide the investigation will be the architectural designs. This study will raise the hypothesis that contemporary architecture can be considered as an important argument for claiming the repatriation of collections.

### The Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM) and the claims for repatriation

A preliminary glance at the GEM supposes consider it within the theoretical context of architectural criticism to megaprojects associated with cultural uses, demanding spectacular architectures that involve high budgetary forecasts, linked to slow building processes that often last for decades, being highly susceptible to the impacts of political and economic crises on a global scale. The demand for colossal museums reflects attempts to insert cities into global economic circuits through encouraging the mass tourism. Formalism and imagery potential have become a real problem for architecture in the second half of the 20th century, aiming to create self-referential architectural languages (Jencks, 2006). Creating architectural buildings aimed to leisure, recreation and entertainment stimulates the need to occupying free time in the post-industrial capitalist society, so that the museum architecture joins the multifunctional building program, including cafeterias, restaurants, auditoriums, studios, concert halls, bookstores and stores.

The Egyptian contemporary architecture dialogues with the concept of "decolonial cosmopolitanism", that is, the coexistence between contemporary architectural aesthetics and the recovering of figurative symbolisms regarding to the so-called Pharaonism, Islamism or Arabism. This perspective can be considered as a synthesis between nationalism, relativism, universalism and ethnicity. The architectural conceptions that incorporates hybrid identity schemes are related to Cairo´s transnationalization, regarding to the idea that "*decolonization and cosmopolitanism are two inseparable facets in the architectural practice in Egypt´s 21st century*" (El-Ashmouni, n.d., p. 19). In the 1990s, the dialogue between architectural design and the decolonial perspective was strengthened, so that the architectural trends concentrated both designs that simulated history (such as the Faisal Bank); designs based on personal impulses (such as the Ministry of Finance and Tax Department) and the inclusion of traditional techniques. Indeed, it is possible to glimpse the heterogeneity of architecture that emerges in this

period, seeking to oppose the dominant styles imposed during the colonial past by adopting contemporary architectural language.

Nonetheless, the claiming for the repatriation of archaeological collections gained notability from the action lead by Zahi Hawass[3], who directed the pyramid complex of Giza and Saqqara in 1987 and assumed the General Secretary of the Supreme Council of Antiquities – currently, the Ministry of State for Antiquities – during the government of Hosni Mubarak (1981-2011). Hawass dedicated himself to the international media promotion of Egyptian culture through documentaries shown on History Channel, CNN and Discovery Channel. The partnership established between the Ministry of Tourism and the Discovery launched a global promotional campaign to promote the GEM´s construction. In this period, Hawass undertook the guideline of consolidating and expanding the Egyptian museal system, signaling that "*over recent decades, archaeology in Egypt has been moving from an era of exploration and exploitation into a new era of conservation, preservation and education*" (Unesco, 2005, p. 8). So, the Egyptian museums would be organized according to the following categories presented (Table 1). The organizational and infrastructural strengthening strategies to safeguard the Egyptian archaeological heritage were fundamental for developing an important campaign for the repatriation of antiquities.

| CATEGORY | DESCRIPTION | EXAMPLES |
|---|---|---|
| Regional Civilization Museum | Dedicated to the entire Egyptian history | Nubia Museum, Civilization Museum of Alexandria, Aswan National Museum, |
| Site Museums | Located close to archaeological sites | Imhotep Museum, Kom el-Shoukafa Site Museum, Siwa Site Museum |
| Specialized Museums | Focused on specific cultural aspects | Ikhenaton Museum, Royal Jewellery Museum, Luxor Museum |
| Greek and Roman, Coptic and Islamic Museums | Renovation of museum facilities | Greek and Roman Museum, Museum of Islamic Architecture, Coptic Museum |
| Cairo Great Museums | Cairo museums | National Civilization Museum, Egyptian Museum, GEM |

Table 1 – Actions to consolidate the museological structure in Egypt undertaken by Zahi Hawass Creation based on (Unesco, 2005, p. 21-23).

3  Zahi Hawass started his undergraduate degree in Egyptology at the University of Cairo in 1978. He studied Masters in Egyptology and Syrian-Palestinian Archeology (1983) and PhD in Egyptology, both in the United States, at the University of Pennsylvania (1987).

These actions intended to demonstrate the Egyptian capacity of properly receiving, preserving and exhibiting its own archaeological collections. The biggest project was the GEM, "*the largest and most visited museum in the world belonging to a single historical civilization, contributing to transform Egypt into a first-class tourist destination and a global cultural centre*" (Stylemate, 2020). The museum would be implemented in an expanded archaeological development zone, including Hassana Dome, Pyramids Plateau, Sakkara, Abu Rawash and Abu Sir. The project accords to the guidelines established by the Master Plan for the Development of the Greater Cairo Region (1989) which aimed to create a "green belt" with recreational, tourist and cultural uses. Ratified by the Ministry of Culture in 1991, the Master Plan sets out as broad objectives "*to remedy the negative perception of satellite cities in the desert in public opinion to encourage their relocation to new cities*" (Moneim, n.d.). The GEM was located at an area of more than 100,000m² on the outskirts of the Giza Pyramids, occupying an internal area of 90,000m² of which about 45% is destined for exhibition areas. In January 2001, an international architectural competition was promoted by the Egyptian Ministry of Culture, supervised by both UNESCO and International Union of Architects (UIA). The GEM expects to display around 150,000 items that the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (1897-1902) did not have enough infrastructure to exhibit. In addition, experts indicate that only about 70% were still not excavated.

The GEM will showcase a remarkable collection of works from prehistory to the Greco-Roman period, including about 5,500 pieces of Tutankhamen's treasure, of which 60% had never been exhibited. According to the guidelines established for the competition, "*the museum shall dialogue with the Great Pyramids in Giza*" (GEM, 2020). The architectural program included permanent and temporary exhibition areas, auditorium, research center, virtual galleries, laboratories, leisure areas, cafeterias, retail stores and souvenirs, as well as outdoor areas and parking lots. There is also the Arts and Crafts Center, dedicated to traditional handicrafts and educational programs, and the Conservation Center, containing technologically equipped laboratories for the development of actions aimed at the restoration, conservation and storage of archaeological collections. The land, donated by the Egyptian Army, had a large 50m gap, and the architectural volume should not exceed that gap (Figure 3). The project should be constructed with local traditional techniques, that is, reinforced concrete. The architecture should also provide enough flexibility to the diversity of collections, that included from large-scale monuments, such as the Ramsés II statue, to small objects.
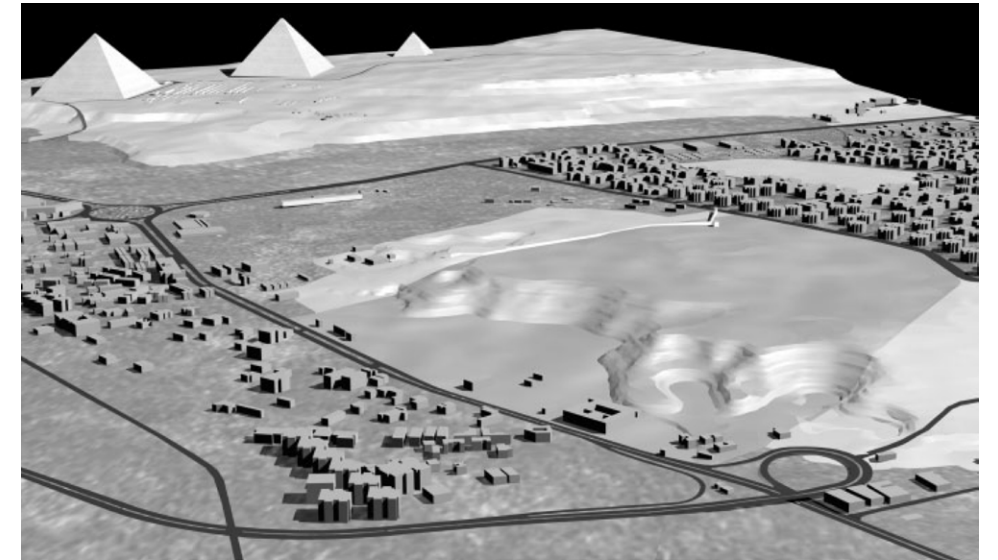


Fig. 1 – 3D view of the site for the establishment of the GME. Source: (Unesco, 2005, p. 37)

The first competition´s stage consisted of a preliminary conceptual project. In August 2002, more than 1,500 proposals were submitted by architects around the world, including participants of great international prestige that were neither selected nor awarded[4]. The winning projects were announced only in May 2003[5]. According to the jury[6], "*the project selected should meet the expectations of the Egyptian culture and tradition, and of the universal concern altogether [...] Whatever the general architectural interest of the projects submitted, the representative character of the future building and its meaning were the prevailing criteria through the two phases of the competition*" (Competition Results, 2003). The Heneghan Peng´s project, head by the Chinese master Shih-Fu Peng, was the competition´s winner (Figures 4 to 6). The museum can be considered as a portal between the contemporary megalopolis and the ancient world. The architectural design "*uses the level difference to construct a new 'edge' to the plateau, a surface defined by a veil of translucent stone that transforms from day to night*" (Heneghan Peng, 2020). The disappearance strategy undertaken by the architects coexists with the contemporary and monumental language adopted.

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4   A. Isozaki, H. Hollein and Z. Hadid, for example, were not classified.

5   The following architecture offices also received honorable mentions: M. R. A. Mateus (Portugal), R.Verdi (Italy), Vigliecca & Quel (Brazil), M. Zimmermann (Germany), F.Calvo (Spain), N. Monteiro (Portugal) and M. Roubik (Czech Republic).

6   The following professionals composed the jury: A. Galal, G. Gaballa and S. Said (Egypt), G. Aulenti and S. Donadoni (Italy), J. Kiim (Korea), A. Zahariade (Romania), F. Cachin (France).
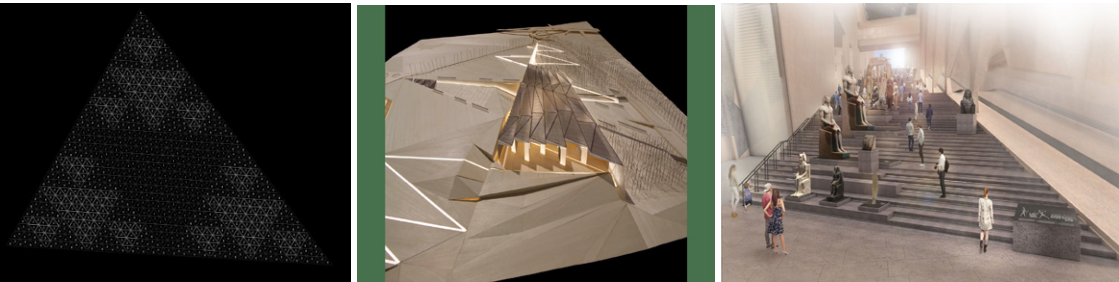
Fig. 2 to 4 – 3D model of the Great Egyptian Museum. Source: (https://bit.ly/33adCzb); (https://bit.ly/3k26Pi5) .

The stone foundation designed to the museum resumes the traditional use of this material as a guarantee of eternal life, and the color specification of the outer shell dialogs with the desert Sahara´s landscape. The project is conceptualized by a contemporary approach of the pyramid´s symbolism, archetype incorporated by Egyptian culture whose geometric purity symbolizes the ascension to eternal life (Beqiraj, 2019). As we know, the Egyptian pyramid of quadrangular base is a prism formed by four triangular shapes. The triangle, which symbolizes God and represents the Syrian star, means the channeling of the sun's rays to support the mummification processes in ancient Egypt culture. The number three is recurrent in ancient Egypt, spatially ordering the pyramids of Giza. The GEM´s implementation departs from a triangular shape, oriented to potentialize the Pyramid´s plateau vies. In fact, the entire architectural envelope incorporates a complex multifaceted set of transparencies and reflections from the shattering of the pyramid shape on triangular faces. The façade´s design includes triangular shapes, that were commonly found in the decoration of tombs and funeral corridors. The arrangement of pyramidal niches along the façade, in contemporary language, resumes the geometric purity of the traditional volume. Incorporating the pyramid theme, it recovers the monumental capacity of representing architecture as a symbol of power. Through the recovery of a traditional symbol, there is a renewed interest in the celebratory use of pure forms that demonstrate, however, the expected technological approach. Inside, the internal circulation is structured around a shaded entrance courtyard, followed by a grand staircase that reaches the summit of the route, in order to frame the magnificent view of the Pyramids of Giza. This mega architecture would be a great argument for the claiming of repatriation, especially of the most desired objects (Table 2).

| COLLECTION WORK | INTERNATIONAL LOCATION | APROXIMATE DATING | DISCOVERY DATE AND LOCATION |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bust of Nefertiti | Neues Museum | c. 1345 B.C. | Ludwig Borchardt |
| Rosetta´s Stone | British Museum | c. 196 B.C. | Napoleon Bonaparte (expedition) |
| Hemiunu Statue | Roemer-und-Pelizaes-Museum | - | Hermann Junker |
| Bust of Ankhaf | Museum of Fine Arts | 2520-2492 B.C. | Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Harvard University |
| Sitting Ramsés II Statue | Egyptian Museum of Turin | c. 1279-1213 B.C. | Bernardino Drovetti |
| Zodiac of Dendera | Louvre Museum | c. 50 B.C. | Napoleon Bonaparte (expedition) |

Table 2 – *Egyptian Wish List*. Creation based on (Costa, 2019, p. 23).

In 2007, Zahi Hawass applied for loaning the Bust of Nefertiti and the Rosetta´s Stone for the opening of the GME, at the time scheduled for 2011. The successive negatives are based on justifications that incorporate the fragility of the pieces to transfering, the relationship of the local populations with their own assets, the political instability in Egypt and the lack of structure to shelter the collections, so that "*the mention of the infrastructure of the great European museums and the works of conservation and restoration of the objects were remembered as factors for not repatriating*" (Costa, 2019, p. 187). In a debate promoted by Oxford Union (2016), this argument was refuted by Hawass due to the investments in modernization and construction of new cultural facilities. In 2010, the city of Cairo hosted the International Cooperation for the Protection and Repatriation of Cultural Heritage, including several countries interested in returning historical assets, which resulted in a document expressing the idea of belonging to cultural heritage to their country of origin, which should not expire or meet any prescription period. Both authenticity and unicity were considered as values attributed to the cultural heritage associated to the original cultural contexts of the objects, in addition to sharing efforts to curb illicit trade in cultural heritage. Until now, none of the works have been returned or even loaned for the GEM´s inauguration. Despite efforts to strengthen the Egyptian heritage structure symbolized by the mega-construction of the museum, other arguments have been mobilized to maintain the refusal of requests to return collections.

### Final considerations. Is architecture an argument for repatriation?

The project of the Great Egyptian Museum, in this sense, expands and corroborates for discussion brought by the Museum of the Acropolis of Athens and by the Benin Royal Museum, constituting itself as an important argument for the repatriation of Egyptian collections, although it was not the main focus of the

intervention. Until now, no action has been taken to return Egyptian collections. It is possible to see that the construction of a mega museum of architecture undermines the argument about the lack of infrastructure to preserving cultural artifacts. It also contributes to repositioning the country's image in the international context through the architectural recovery of the pyramid, symbolic-traditional element that takes center stage in the creation of a facade representing the greatness of Egyptian culture in contemporary times. The mega architectural structure turns the maintenance of colonial-imperialist relations evident. Building such a monumental and technological contemporary architecture represents the claim of power associated to the repositioning of Egypt in the global context. Realizing an international competition allows us to glimpse the desire for representation through building a global architecture. However, the recovery of traditional symbolic forms and the preference for using local materials and construction techniques can be associated with the decolonial perspective evoked by this architecture. The GEM is recognized by Unesco *"as the main museum in a country with such intense activity in the search for the repatriation of its heritage, the Great Egyptian Museum is present in the struggle to recover its artifacts that were taken abroad illegally"* (Unesco, 2020). Its construction symbolizes a specific contemporary strategy to recover the theme of national identity by connecting actions that connect media conglomerates interested in specificities of local cultures and initiatives to enhance tourism as an alternative to overcome economic crises in the global context. The museal architecture can be, in this sense, understood as a symbol of the country's technological development, seeking to attest its own capacity to manage collections in its own territories.

## Acknowledgments

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# 132 Designing cities for arts

## From Landmark Museums to Cultural Areas

CLARA MOSQUERA PÉREZ
Department of History, Theory and Architectural Composition.
University of Seville, Spain

EDUARDO MOSQUERA ADELL
Department of History, Theory and Architectural Composition.
University of Seville, Spain

### ABSTRACT

Cultural areas comprise museums, auditoriums and scenic spaces and other cultural facilities strategically arranged. Chained political decisions or the celebration of large events are often the origin of these new scenarios. Planning urban requalification together with symbolic architecture have shaped and dynamized cities such as New York, Paris, Madrid or Amsterdam.

The eloquent images of great cultural projects by starchitects have been promoted to requalify cities from various urban intervention patterns. The results of some urban intervention patterns that tried to create a network and establish a new competitive cultural area would be examined and compared (the renovation of the Museum Mile in Manhattan, the Museumkwartier in Amsterdam, the grands travaux of Paris from Mitterrand to Île de la Cité, the constitution of the Paseo de la Artes in Madrid). As a contrast, the examples of new urban branding strategy (Beaubourg, Ermitage, Thyssen) will be studied.

In a community of interests within an expectant citizenry (residents, tourists, scholars), the promotion of the consumption of culture has taken advantage from the design of powerful architectures. Also, other complementary processes have accompanied these reshaping of cities: the redefinition of public space, the treatment of the architectural and archaeological heritage, the impact on the housing fabric with the gentrification and touristization of the urban environment. Education, training and leisure acquire new colors in the digital age, with face-to-face contact with works of art and collective demonstrations. Managing this legacy, with interruptions such as the current health crisis, requires rethinking the supply and management of these corridors rethought for culture and their possible evolution from recent architectural positions.

**Keywords:** cultural districts, iconic architecture, museum architecture, museum branding.

### Introduction

Cities project and reshape the image of themselves from both material and intangible constructs, including imaginaries (from literature, for example). The shape of the city and the elements that make it up are the fundamental substrate on which the city is built, read and identified (Lynch, 1960). After World War II, the great Western cities, both in Europe and America, began profound processes of transformation, typical of the post-industrial era.

The democratization of culture was consolidated thanks to the important efforts of public policies (in Europe, almost exclusively) and with the intervention of private agents (with great impetus in the United States), which materialized with the creation of numerous spaces for culture, such as museums, theatres, auditoriums, libraries. To house these institutions of culture, architects faced long and complex projects, following three strategies. Many of these projects benefited from the recovery of old buildings, reused and adapted to new uses, enjoying these actions a major imprint in the heritage renewal of cities. In addition, the renovation and extension of existing cultural infrastructures was also promoted, with particular emphasis on the case of museums (for their space and updating needs), being solved through projects that combined rehabilitation and expansion. Finally, new plant projects, usually taking advantage of vacant city spaces or terrains vagues, marked this great cycle of new developments for culture.

The concept of authorship, forged from modernity, is intensified by these realisations with a wide public scope. Thus, in parallel with the three processes described and linked to the consumer society and information, the role of the architects begins to acquire a special preponderance in the production of the new landscape of the city. This phenomenon is also supported by the world of architecture itself, which created the Pritzker award, which its first edition was held in 1979.

The cohabitation of historical architectures (of recognised heritage value) with modern and contemporary architectures (from relevant authors) makes up the most repeated binomial in Europe. The balance between these two formalisations and the dialogue between the various strata of the city is still object from extensive debates and critical positions. However, it is indisputable that the production of contemporary architecture is essential to project the image of the city today.

In this way, the architecture begins a search to produce an accurate architectural image that satisfies the values of the promoter institution or the city itself. Modernity, social openness, scientific status, technological innovation, monumentality, power, spectacularism, etc., are the main milestones and attributes that challenge the formal capacity of architecture.

Finally, the role of the dissemination of this architecture has been essential in these

processes. Some magazines in the field act as sophisticated marketing vehicles for architects and their projects. The most significant, at the international level are: Architécti, Architectural Design, Architectural Review, Baumeister, Domus, GA Global Architecture, Electa Group (Lotus, Casabella), L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui, Le Moniteur, Oppositions, Werk, bauen + wohnen. In Spain, we will highlight the review El Croquis, the publications coordinated by Fernández Galiano or those of the publishing house Gustavo Gili.

### 1. Spectacularity and new icons: the limitless capabilities of architecture

In the 1970s, the architectural landscape was completed, after the crisis of continuity of the architecture of the modern movement was proclaimed earlier. Architects, from research and criticism, participated very actively in the magazines to define a complex panorama of neo-avantgarde and other movements and attitudes that tended to the individualization of architectural production at all costs. Thus, a new era begins, very profuse, with large iconic projects intended for cultural uses, under the signature of renowned architects. The Sydney Opera House, by the architect J. Utzon, opened this series in 1973 (Jencks, 2005).

More than group or trend positions, we witnessed the emergence of a productive scheme of very personalized architecture, which was exacerbated at the end of the twentieth century, and which remains dynamic. The architecture was explained through the work of a small number of architects who exploited their starchitect status. Competitions in which they competed spectacularly with each other and the realization of emblematic works, fuelled their prestige and influence in official and private promoters.



Fig. 1 – Sydney Opera House by Jørn Utzon. Source: Unknown.

It should be considered that in addition to the policies for culture, the economic bonanza of the real estate booms of the 80s and 2000s, served as the engine of this process of multiplying new architectures for culture. They were accompanied in parallel by the realisations in infrastructure (stations and airports), essential supports for the development of tourism and mobility. Due to their presence in the city, all these buildings contribute to form their 'brandscapes' (Gravari-Barbas, 2017). This dynamic has been supported by the growing commitment to iconic architecture, which produces new and eloquent urban benchmarks, for its formalism, behaving as a new acquired identity. Confidence has been installed in the assumption of the spectacular dimension of architecture, which has sought to solve for itself the needs of modern cultural infrastructures, with very diverse results, given the evolution experienced.

On the other hand, the economic crisis of 2007 was a major stop in the proliferation of projects of this magnitude. Many of them stayed in the air, with no foresight to take place. Others suffered the consequences of the instability of public and private agents, delaying the works and rising their budgets. This turning point has served as an opportunity to reflect on the direction of the profession and the rhythms of transformation of the city, as well as a greater awareness of public resources. Finally, the current health crisis, which began almost a year ago, marks a new revulsive in the way we relate to the city and to the institutions of culture. Managing this legacy requires rethinking the formulas proposed for culture and its possible evolution through the latest architectural proposals.

The large number of case studies and architectural typologies addressed in the work of starchitects creating iconic buildings for culture is extremely broad. There are some thematic studies of the architectures of culture, such as the 50-year balance of cultural policies and architectures for culture in France (Aris, 2009); library architectures (Fuentenebro, 2015); or transcending the territorial scale, the case of wineries (Rodríguez Lora, 2020).

### 2 A focus on museums

However, the most paradigmatic case of an architectural typology object of spectacular architectures is undoubtedly the museum, which will guide other realisations. Their architectural iconicity is also consolidated with the reinforcement of the identity of the museum institution itself. Museums are imposed as entertainment venues combined with service spaces (equipping a museum is an excuse to make an iconic museum). In this sense, the phenomenon of creating iconic architectures was so extensive to the museum field thanks to the poor state in which many of them were. Thus, in the global landscape of architecture today, museums act as 'seismographs of the architectural culture' to which they belong (Magnago Lampugnani, 1999). The cases of architects who specialise in the creation and extension of museums, such as David Chipperfield, Renzo Piano or Daniel Libeskind, are noteworthy.

This potential of the museum and its ability to impact the urban change that has been enhanced by such strategies was not always evident. We can identify two major countries as initiators of these new approaches. The American case will certainly go to the forefront, where there will be both the novel hyper-container and the museum districts. On the other hand, in France, the State would assume its role as a creator of museums and new urban forms. They will impose their nation as the cultural heart of Europe. After these successful episodes, other capital cities will soon reproduce this strategy and these patterns.

Therefore, the era of iconic museum architecture began in 1977, with the opening of the Georges Pompidou Centre in Paris. Twenty years later, the Guggenheim in Bilbao would come to light. These two buildings revolved all the paradigms of the museum architecture, where practically anything seemed possible. In addition, both led to a major urban revival. The effect in the case of Paris, towards the Marais, was much more limited, largely because the city was already starting from a privileged position on the international scene. On the contrary, the "Bilbao Effect" (Plaza, 2000; Vicar, 2003; Ockman, 2004) exceeded all expectations, representing the ultimate expression of the power of a starchitecture for urban change (Gravari-Barbas, 2009).



Fig. 2 – Place du Beaubourg and Pompidou Centre. Source: The authors, 2018.
Fig. 3 – Guggenheim museum by the river. Source: The authors, 2016.

### 3. Museums and the city

Recent urban requalification processes have been based on a series of strategies, including the role of cultural areas, which bring together different facilities. The combination of large projects based on new architectures and the expansions or renovation to which other existing architectures are subjected, are part of the multiple options that have been managed in the last half century. Many of them are heirs of large events, especially international exhibitions.

This resource reveals, on the one hand, how some central spaces of the city have specialised and linked to global culture (Muñoz, 2008). Secondly, they show the

functional resilience of these areas, in which new cultural projects related to the primeval uses are stratified over time (Poulot, 2009). The need to make art and culture attractive, in consumer society, goes through the filter of the media image and the intensity imposed by urban tourism. The main European capitals have been forced to undertake these projects, beyond to respond to the demands of their museum institutions, but to project an image of contemporary cities.

### 3.1. Performance models. Dispersion and efficiency

We can understand that the iconic museum architectures, by the hand of archistars, will be established following three dynamics of different complexity. In some cases, a singular performance has been enough. In others, continued urban planning with multiple poles of attraction has occurred. Working with existing or newly created museum institutions has different consequences. There are cases where the absolute novelty of building and institution is imposed.

First, we will assess the most basic procedure, with the creation of a new attractive landmark in the city. Normally, its spectacularism only lays in this singular element and in its nearest context. It scarcely includes a greater scope that encompasses other institutions or involves other sectors of the city. This device is without a doubt the most frequent and repeated, with the greatest and least success, worldwide. Paradigmatic is the case of Santiago de Compostela in Spain. This small town added the Galician Centre for Contemporary Art and the City of Culture. The Portuguese master Alvaro Siza Vieira performed in his project the contemporary exercise of a careful insertion in a historical context of vernacular architecture and dialogue with a garden. Peter Eisenman starred in a complicated process, after beating other prominent architects (Holl, Koolhaas, Libeskind, Nouvel, Perrault, among others), in which he built a titanic topography, a 21st century acropolis.



Fig. 4 – Galician Centre for Contemporary Art in Santiago de Compostela, by Alvaro Siza. Source: The authors, 2018.
Fig. 5 – The City of Culture in Santiago de Compostela, by Peter Eisenman. Source: The authors, 2018.

### 3.2. Cultural districts and axes

Secondly, we would consider the constitution or creation of cultural districts and axes, which bring together historical and more recent institutions in a precise area of the city. This is not a novel strategy, with the historical reference of the Museuminsel in Berlin. However, the revolution of stararchitectures would also echo this site-plan scheme, profiting from the multiplier potential of overlapping several museum institutions in a shared space, existing (the case of the island in Berlin) or created specifically. In this wave of spectacular architectures, existing museums will be enhanced with their renovations and expansions, reinforced by new museums. In addition to the German case in Europe, it is worth noting those of the Museumplein, in Amsterdam, the Museums Quartier, in Vienna, or the Paseo del Prado, in Madrid. In the Spanish one, through rehabilitation or expansion, a new museum scenario is composed of historical continuities and new additions. A representative and symbolic urban axis has been formed, expressing the economic and political interests linked to culture (Layuno, 2019), which strengthens its idea of capital (Montaner, 2005).

In the United States, this model will be very profuse, thanks to the urban extension of its cities (in the face of European historical density), highlighting the cases of the Museum Mile, in New York; the Miracle Mile in Los Angeles; or the Midtown Arts District in Atlanta. Cultural districts have the particularity that they usually correspond to individual actions by each of their museums but are boosted by the group effect. Significantly, the appeal of 'cultural district' or 'cultural axis' does not reach a certain level of prestige and development, with later actions offering a joint view of these museum institutions. One exception would be Abu Dhabi, with the cultural district planned on Saadiyat Island, an ambitious urban megaproject conceived from nowhere, including five major museums by five Pritzker Awards (Tadao Ando, Frank Gehry, Jean Nouvel, Zaha Hadid and Norman Foster).



Fig. 6 – Museuminsel in Berlin. Source: Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz / ART+COM, 2012.

Fig. 7 – Museumplein in Amsterdam. Source: Unknown.
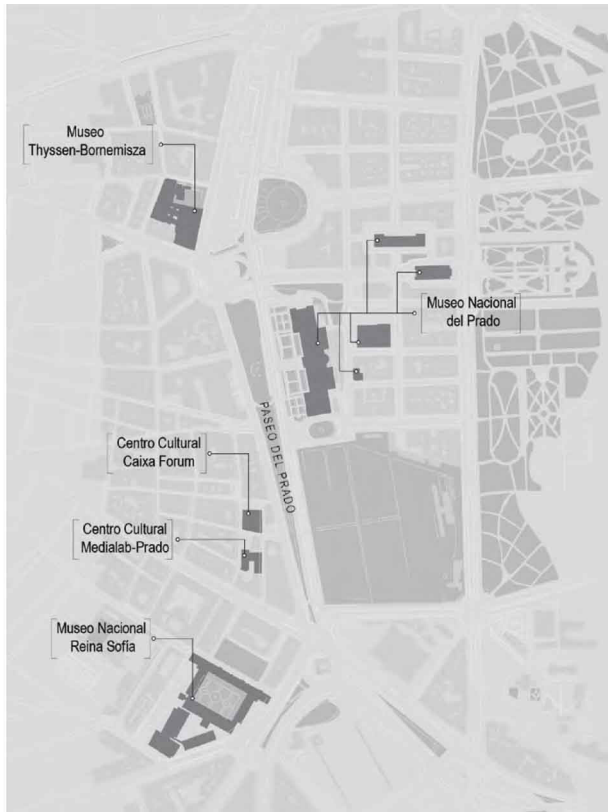


Fig. 8 – Plan of the Paseo del Prado in Madrid. Source: Layuno, 2019.

Fig. 9 – MuseumsQuartier in Vienna. Source: MuseumsQuartier Wien, s.d.

There should also be mentioned two particular cases of two cultural areas, which not only include museums, but also respond to this model of implantation and push with star architectures: the Getty Centre, in Los Angeles and the Vitra Campus, in Weil am Rhein. Combined with research and production spaces, respectively, they constitute important attractions for the city and cultural production.

Finally, the most paradigmatic case would be that of Paris, in which the studding of museums transcends the full scale of the city. This model of city-museum, started with the Grands Travaux and then intensified with the rest of the emblematic cultural realisations (Mosquera, 2019). In this state operation initiated by President Mitterrand, the Seine is used as the main vector. The process combines new museums with the production of new architectures and building renovations as well as the redefinition of existing museums. It should be noted that all these emblematic projects counted with consecrated architects, except the pioneer Pompidou.
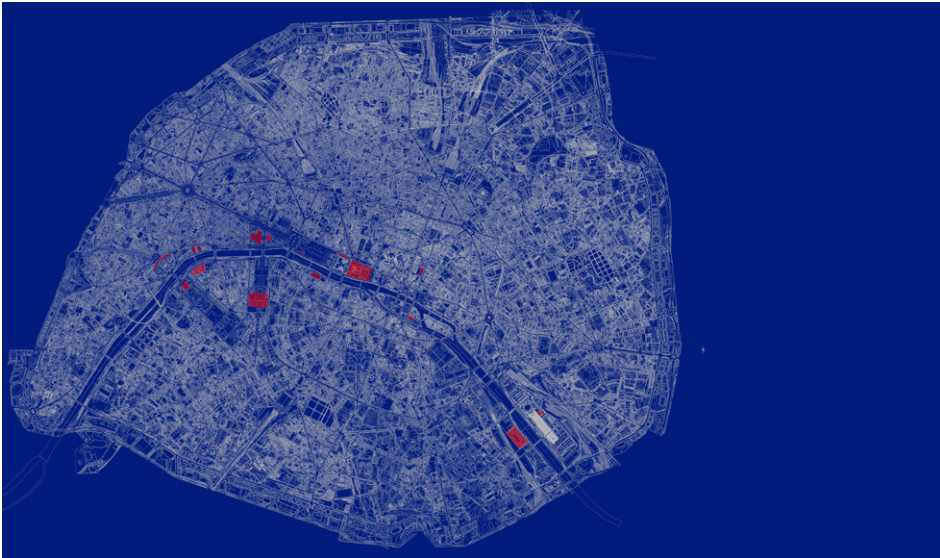


Fig. 10 – Paris as the paradigm of 'city-museum'. Source: Own creation, 2018.

Fig. 11 – The Great Louvre under construction. Source: © Patrick Kovarik/AFP via Getty Images, 1987.

### 3.3. Architectural and institutional branding in museums

Thirdly, the most complex and at the same time exclusive device of new image for museums, transferring local boundaries, is museum branding. The institution becomes a brand and is exported in several cities (national and international), evoking a common model, but with particularities typical of each city. Normally, at least one of the headquarters respond to this dynamic of spectacular author architectures (but generally all of them).

The pioneer institution in exporting its brand was the Guggenheim, adding very early to the New York base that of Venice (1980) and later that of Bilbao (1997). This model of museum branding will be repeated in several cases, with different institutional strategies and territorial boundaries. One of the museum branding cases that are not exported beyond its borders would be the Tate, with its four branches, two of them in the English capital: Tate Britain (Millbank, London), Tate Modern (Bankside, London), Tate Liverpool and Tate St Ives. The four Tates share the approach of choosing waterside settings and its vocation to regenerate industrial neighbourhoods (Searing, 2004). This diversification of headquarters at the national level would also occur in Spain with the Thyssen collection (Madrid, Malaga). The cases of large museum brands that jump to the international level are supported by different models: those from institutions with a vast history, those arising from private collections or around an author and those linked to contemporary creation. The first is supported by the Louvre (Paris, Lens, Abu Dhabi) and the Hermitage (St. Petersburg and Malaga); the second, the Picasso (Paris, Malaga, Barcelona) and the third, the Pompidou (Paris, Metz and Malaga).

Fig. 12 – Guggenheim Museum in New York. Source: The authors, 2017.
Fig. 13 – Peggy Guggenheim Collection in Venice. Source: Beni Culturali Online, 2017.
Fig. 14 – Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao. Source: The authors, 2016.
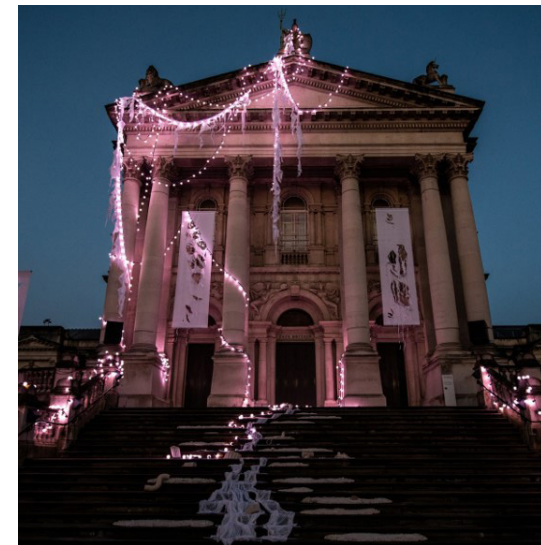


Fig. 15 – Tate Britain (Millbank, London). Source: Good2be, 2019.
Fig. 16 – Tate Modern (Bankside, London). Source: © Tate, 2013.
Fig. 17 – Tate Liverpool. Source: The Guide Liverpool, 2019.
Fig. 18 – Tate St. Ives. Source: Cornwall Live, 2019.
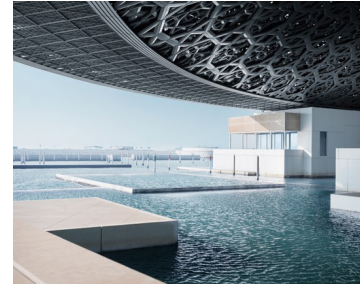
Fig. 19 – Louvre Museum in Paris. Source: The authors, 2019.
Fig. 20 – Louvre Lens. Source: Julien Lanoo via Plataforma de Arquitectura, 2013.
Fig. 21 – Louvre Abu Dhabi. Source: © Mohamed Somji, 2020.

Gaining greater visibility as a museum on the international scene and attracting new audiences (the audiences of one venue are potential of others) are the main objective of this museum branding. It is also justified in the need to diversify the exposed works of the collection (usually very wide), achieving greater rotation thanks to the 'satellites' of the 'mother' institution. The examples of Thyssen or Picasso also respond to the collection's own future, linked to particular figures.



Fig. 21 – Main museums that have experienced institutional branding globally. Source: Own creation based on the logos of each museum represented, 2021.

### 4. Iconic architectures and the place of heritage

The international mobility system has facilitated the development of urban tourism, so that established competition has driven new identifications. In fact, it can be said that "architectural marks" and their correlation in "museum marks" are one of the defining factors of the global urban tourist map, a true international tourism mapping. The intensity of consumption of the architectural container, with the appeal of its dominant image, sometimes surpasses that of the cultural content that it includes inside. Large temporary exhibitions have added to this process, and sometimes exhibit museum advances that rival the architectural icons where they are housed.

Local actors have sought to associate two aspects: a prestigious cultural institution and an architecture with communication power produced by a media architect. The map of the starchitecture essentially coincides with that of the great international tourist destinations: the traditional tourist capitals (London, Paris, Madrid) and the cities recently converted into resorts (former industrial or port cities). Ones have been forced to consolidate their position through large architectural projects aimed at hosting tourist or cultural functions (Gravari-Barbas, 2017). The others have been revitalised from the instrumentalisation of author architectures.

Contemporary starchitecture has turned to the methods and concepts of branding and has become a strategic tool for cultural and economic transformation. The attraction power of 'brandscape' has determined imbalances in urban planning, so gentrification and turistisation have manifested themselves very actively. It is worth reflecting on the place of heritage, of what is collectively assumed in a long process of cultural definition, which stimulates multiple belongings and appropriations. It is a reality with which residents, visitors and scholars interact.

These circumstances sometimes take away the discourse of the next from the urban environment, which is reduced or nuanced in its perception by the visitor. This risk of indifference to the place is also associated with meeting the needs of tourism through the proliferation of ad hoc infrastructures, in particular the increase of the commercial fabric and services designed for the visitor. It is a situation that affects the modus vivendi of residents and the urban landscape, where the difficulty of assuming the authenticity of certain heritage values can be compromised. The monoculture of certain environments even entails the trivialization of pre-existing heritage values. Fossilisation, at one end, and at the other the changes resulting from intense turistisation, fall to cities whose starting label was an attraction for the establishment of architectural and museum operations. Therefore, sometimes is complicated to find an balance, it requires time to achieve innovative results, which exceed the normally more immediate dynamics of urban policy management. The participation of the inhabitants is often difficult to organize.

One of the greatest conceptual efforts, on the international stage, it is the follow-up to UNESCO recommendations on Historic Urban Landscape Implementation by Member States, 2019 by member states, for the management of heritage cities, in particular: "To establish the appropriate partnerships and local management frameworks for each of the identified projects for conservation and development, as well as to develop mechanisms for the coordination of the various activities between different actors, both public and private".

It is therefore necessary to understand whether heritage is a backdrop, an accompaniment to that hyperactive reality that is the consumption of icons, in cities that bet on the Guggenheim effect. Or if heritage has the capacity to resize

these phenomena with respect to the social dynamics they induce, such as cultural "macdonaldization" (McNeill, 2000). And that change would affect the recovery of the building, the urban space, the treatment of the landscape as part of the heritage tasks, which must be added to the issue of new discourses, new contents, new icons, collaborating in their activation and insertion.

## Conclusion

The buildings of the culture have relied on creations of stararchitects, so that the new label of the city is based on the brand, the branding provided by these architectures, in addition to that of certain museum institutions (which create new headquarters in different countries) and of course, certain architects. The production of these emblems appears as a direct guarantee of success for promoters, based on direct decisions on the choice of architects or on the organization of competitions, not without controversy in some cases.

The museum city label has become an aspiration that is achieved with an agility that approaches what events such as international exhibitions or Olympics achieve for host cities. And they share a propaganda efficiency that is endowed with greater continuity, hence the success of operations with museums and other cultural facilities.

It is necessary to search for a less 'consumerist' model regarding architecture, also demanding for the high cost of these works and the maintenance of these large containers of culture. Despite this, the opportunity presented by these museum projects is often supported by the relevance of the collections they hold, as well as with the institution's own vocation of permanence. In this sense, these realizations are far further away from the fleetingness that can have similar cases of emblematic architectures such as those of the great events (Olympics, international exhibitions), with much longer efficiency over time.

## Acknowledgments

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# 140 Transnational architecture and urbanism

## The roles of Star Architects

DAVIDE PONZINI
Dept. Architecture and Urban Studies, Politecnico di Milano

### ABSTRACT [1]

Since the 1990s, increasingly multinational modes of design have arisen, especially concerning prominent buildings and places. The strategy of using one name architect has spread in Europe, North America and Asia, becoming more and more frequent since the 2000s. In many cases, spectacular buildings designed by a small set of international firms (such as Frank Gehry, Jean Nouvel, Foster+Partners) were and still are supposed to change the fate of one city alone, despite the clear evidence of failure of such oversimplifying rationale. By drawing on several examples and deepening one case study, this paper will focus on the roles that star architects play. In the conclusion, this contribution suggests to pay further attention to the relations with the local context and to the urban effects of such projects.

Keywords: Starchitecture, transnational architecture, urban planning, urban transformation

# 153 New Housing in Angola. From modernity to contemporaneity

## The role of the Portuguese star system in Luanda's urban growth

INÊS LIMA RODRIGUES
DINÂMIA'CET-IUL

### ABSTRACT

The modern city of Luanda of the 1950s and 1960s has, since the beginning of the 21st century, been advanced as the "new Dubai" or "African Dubai", following the symbolic reaffirmation of power in the urban landscape. Today, emblematic architecture competes for the best views, with six- and 7-star hotels, luxury flats and offices, priced out of reach; this is in contrast with the modern legacy, outlining the distance between how modern architects have approached urban and housing problems and how to summarise today's urban strategies in Luanda. This article aims to (re)think modernity through housing, preserving cultural, social and architectural values of the inevitable link between Angola and Portugal, from neighbourhood units to iconic standalone buildings, some carried out by Portuguese architects between 1960-2020, some not: from the "African generation" and its involvement in the "modern Luanda", to the contribution of the Portuguese star architects in the "international Luanda" of the new millennium.

Today, Angola's modern heritage from the colonial period is overcrowded and degraded and successively gives way to the imposing verticality of the glass façades of the globalised world. Among others, "The luxurious Sky Center changes the face of Luanda" in 2013. Projects built, or not, take over the territory, fitting into the city's skyline and urban life, based on promotional videos and three-dimensional images of fantastic architecture close to the emerging Asian metropolis. The intention is to find examples that demonstrate the possible conciliation with modern heritage of the late colonial period by proving the formal and constructive logic of modern architecture and its viability to develop the "new housing in Angola", highlighted by the Portuguese-Angolan architectural path.

Keywords: Modern Architecture, Postmodern Architecture, Portuguese star-architecture, Luanda.

### Introduction

This article reflects on Angola's modern heritage and discusses its relevance to housing research, bringing together recent projects developed by internationally recognised Portuguese architects. It begins by providing a working presentation of the modern Luanda of the '60s before embarking upon examining the connections between modernity and the contemporary. It tries to ascertain the role of the Portuguese star system architecture, and how it is enmeshed with the current urban planning strategies defined for the Angolan capital.

Although relatively short, the modern period was marked by intense planning and architectural activity and occurred at the same time as the Portuguese dictatorship regime known as Estado Novo.[1] The social condition that led to massive migration to the city of Luanda, the relationships with the local population and the natural characteristics of the city, were responsible for the specific conditions that enabled the development of a city in the capital of Angola during late Portuguese colonialism that is unique in the world (Rodrigues, 2014). In Luanda, the colonists' urban space and housing were taken over by the local population after independence in 1975. Angola entered into a civil war that lasted until 2002 and was witness to a colossal population flow from the interior of the country to Luanda. Since then, the euphoria of post-modernity and the city's verticalisation has come to dominate Luanda's new skyline, especially in the old urban centre and suburban areas. This situation has led to the demolition of pre-existing areas to build new housing with a higher real estate value.

Therefore, was modern Luanda planned simply considering the European population's best interests or was it compatible with autochthonous interests? And in the present day? Does the *international* Luanda promote encompassing the interests of the local population in general? The aim of this article is to analyse and acknowledge the existence of a self-established identity in the Portuguese-Angolan urban and architectural landscape practised in the two decades that preceded Angola's independence and the two decades of the ongoing 21st century.

Three case studies were selected to establish a cross reading between modernity and contemporaneity: #1: the Isle of Luanda as a place of exception due to its unique geographical characteristics; #2: the urban centre and the Largo Kinaxixe; #3: the South Expansion axis: Rua Amílcar Cabral. A conceptual analysis is launched on the feasibility and overlapping of the unfinished modern project and the demands of Angolan society in the new millennium, highlighting the characteristics of modern neighbourhood unity and postmodern condominiums. The

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1 *Estado Novo* is the name of the political, authoritarian, autocratic state regime that was in force in Portugal for 41 years without interruption, with freedom proclaimed with the Revolution of 25 April 1974. In 1975 the process of independence of the Portuguese African colonies began; however, Angola then started a violent civil war that would only end in 2002.

nature of such attachments to place is examined through a comparison vision between urban and architectural analyses of housing strategies in the late colonial period and the recent iconic works in Luanda proposed by Portuguese architects.

### Housing strategies in Luanda over 60 years through urban planning

#### The collective housing challenge in the *Luanda do Futuro*

Mainly starting from the 1960s, Luanda was transformed into a huge urban-architectural laboratory in an experimentation of Western modernity, reflected in global visions of urban and territorial transformation or either in a series of standalone buildings around the city: in both cases, always surprising. (Rodrigues, 2015, p. 87). Mostly from the 1950s onwards, a project to rebuild and reshape the city fabric emerged in Angolan society, where European urban models had already been developed. Somewhat as a response to the Colonial War initiated in 1961, a belated attempt to implement the idea of a multiracial nation developed, leading a new phase of public investment for the modernisation of infrastructures, forwarding the planned urban expansion.

As Head of Urbanisation of the City of Luanda, Carvalho and his multidisciplinary team[2] had designed a master plan for the city (1963), defined by two main axes linking the city centre to the interior, (N-S and E-W) with their intersection coinciding with the 'civic centre'. Four circular routes established a good relationship between the main road system and the city's key element: the neighbourhood unit, announcing the Carvalho's futuristic vision about "Luanda Do Futuro" (Carvalho, 1962). This logical planning, drawn up following Athens Charter guidelines, was not only applied in the central areas; it was also used to plan new areas of urban expansion for housing.
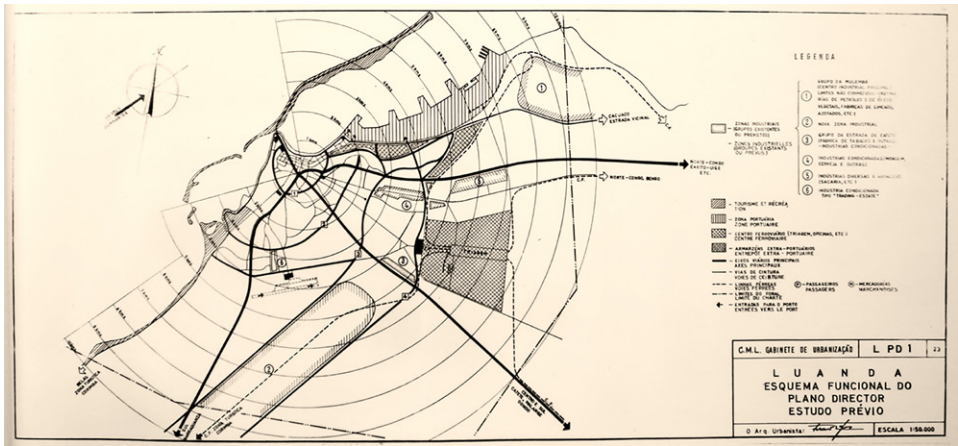


Fig. 1 – Functional Outline of the Luanda Master Plan, 1963. Source: (FSC archive).

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2 The team consisted of more than six architects, including António Campino, Domingos da Silva, Taquelim da Cruz, Alfredo Pereira, Rosas da Silva and Vasco Morais Soares, three engineers, ten drafting technicians, a topographer, a model maker and a painter, according to the author's testimony.

Of all the proposed units, the most successful example is Neighbourhood Unit I, known as the Prenda neighbourhood. Built between 1963 and 1965, it was planned as an urban sustainable, self-sufficient settlement unit, based on three basic principles: hierarchy, nucleus and miscegenation. The typology went beyond the simple, functional solution and demanded interactions with the surroundings and expansion of the city. Overall, they reached a great level of construction and were able to relate the form coherently and logically, making it available in the service of a certain way of living. However, it had a dispersed formalisation, the result of a lack of systematisation in the construction process as an urban place. (Rodrigues, 2011, p. 147). It is interesting to add that it was thought of as a prototype of a new urban model to be applied in new areas of expansion, and has been put into practice in several points of the city (Milheiro, 2015, p. 215).
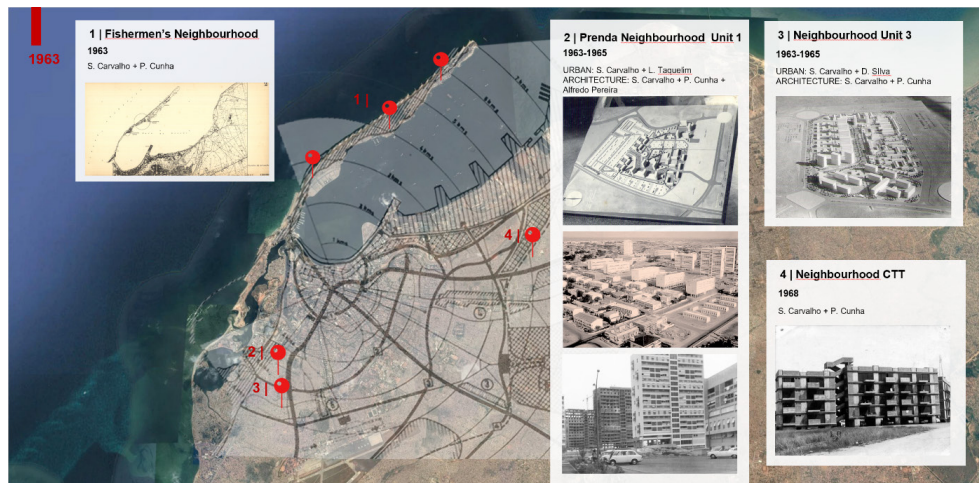


Fig. 2 – Mapping Modern Housing in Luanda, 1963. Source: Own creation based on (Google satellite 2020, master plan 1963; photos FSC Archive)

A new urban façade emerged from Marginal Avenue, with a distinct modern filiation, made its way to the areas surrounding the city centre in the upper city. Following the new avenues, we witness architecture by name architects or anonymous and modern architecture of excellent quality; brilliant opposite effects of full and empty contrasts of light and shade, sun' protection elements, protruding balconies, brise-soleils and ventilated roofing can be found in many residential buildings. The potential of concrete was considered nearly endless. The modern master plan, as most partial plans, were never completed or published. Nevertheless, modern ideas prevailed as a reference for the production and transformation of the city while they witnessed the manifestation of an allegedly more integrative Portuguese overseas policy. The recognition of the failure to implement modern colonial plans, their urban and social-political dimension, and the attempt to integrate Europeans and Africans to solve a common housing problem are unequivocal.

**The international Luanda skyline of the new millennium.**

Civil war followed independence and would last until 2002, followed by artificial prosperity in the exploitation of natural resources – mainly oil and gas and mines. It brought unsustainable demographic pressure to Luanda, driving enormous economic, social, political and also urban transformations with the desire to redesign a new "skyline", clearly seeking an international and global image. In 2015, the Luanda Metropolitan General Master Plan was published and is currently in progress, providing for urban planning up to 2030, based on three structural pillars: 1) Habitable Luanda 2) Luanda Bonita; 3) International Luanda (PDGML, 2015). Despite the 60 years between the two master plans, Luanda maintained the urban structure inherited from colonial urbanism, visible in the improvement and expansion of the main road axis and the opening of new ones, to renovate self-produced urban and suburban areas and, of course, the densification of central areas.

The *Civic Centre* gave way to the *Business Centre*, following the urban, economic and commercial model of the Asian metropolis, blowing up the value of land and demanding new interventions, leading to irreversible demolitions. In addition, property speculation, overcrowding and degradation that characterises modern settlements throughout the city, occupied by Angolan families with few resources since independence, encouraged "justified demolitions". Since 2009, fostered by the National Urbanism and Housing Programme, new cities have emerged, the "new centralities" such as Kilamba, Sequele, Zango around 40 km from the centre of Luanda. The renovation of the bay is another of the significant strategic stakes in the renewal of the city, defining a very distinct image of modern Luanda built at the end of the colonial period.
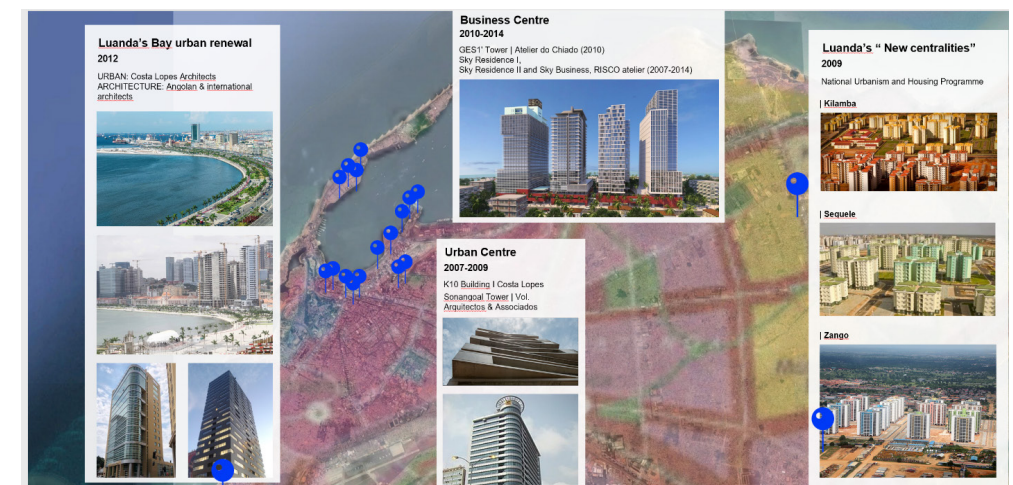


Fig. 3 – Mapping Postmodern Housing in Luanda, 21st century. Source: Own creation based on (Google satellite 2020, master plan 2015, photos google images)

Among others, "The luxurious Sky Center changes the face of Luanda" by *Risco* as well *Promontório's* proposals, are part of the architectural star-system participating in the new skyline for Luanda. Both architectural studios stand out for their commitment to undertaking projects in Africa, mainly in Angola and Mozambique. They are also exploiting the Asian territories emerging from oil profits as a strong internationalisation focus. The projects built, or not, take over the environment, fitting into the city's skyline and urban life based on promotional videos and three-dimensional images of fantastical architecture. Although it is one of the greatest expressions of new social and spatial asymmetries and precariousness, Luanda coexists with post-modern urban development aspirations imposed by the pressure of globalisation.

### Case Studies

**From island to Luanda's bay. The Fishermen's Neighbourhood (1963-1965) towards the luxury condominiums (2013-2015).**

Known as *Ilha do Cabo, today* an extension of Luanda's bay has never lost its attraction for tourists, due to its privileged waterfront location. It's perhaps the best-known urban project requalification in Luanda, focusing on the new urban areas created through maritime landfills. However, it is still characterised today by a scattered urban structure, fragile and predominantly occupied by the persistent *musseques* contrasting with the sophisticated sets in new landfills.

Simões de Carvalho, with the collaboration of Pinto da Cunha, were not able to conclude the plan for the Bairro dos Pescadores (Fishermen's Neighbourhood) on the island of Luanda. It was a draft plan resulting from the Luanda Urbanisation Master Plan, which foresaw the island as the future major tourist and recreational area of Luanda to create new housing estates which were "more hygienic and comfortable" for the resident fishing population: "Axiluandas": Lelu-Luanda, Ponta y Sarga[3] (Carvalho, 1963). The two proposed clusters were organised by a well-defined road structure with total separation between fast and slow circulation through the separation of pedestrians and road traffic. The interest of this project lies precisely in how the concept of the family unit was organised, which would eventually give rise to a new urban city category. Two settlements were projected with a total of 500 dwellings for a maximum of 2,200 inhabitants (Rodrigues, 2014, p. 287).



Fig. 4 – (from left to right)  Fishermen's Neighbourhood, Cluster 1, Cluster 2, Housing Type A and Housing Type D, Luanda, 1963. Source: FSC Archive)

Although the urban and architectural quality of the project is unquestionable, we only have knowledge of the construction of the model homes. The modern urban configuration and the genesis of the dwelling (basic cell + patio) claims community aspects of the family model adapted according to a tropical climate, defining criteria of adaptability and minimum energy cost. The use of industrial construction systems ensures the economic viability of the project. However, the project has never been realised. Even today it is recognised that part of the population of the musseques closest to the coast resort to fishing as a guarantee or complement to subsistence (Viegas, 2015, p. 223), highlighting the relevance of this case.



Fig. 5 – Fishermen's Neighbourhood, photos of the model houses. Source: Own creation based on (Google satellite 2020, Fishermen's Neighbourhood plan 1963 and photos, source: FSC Archive)

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3   CARVALHO, Fernão Simões; CUNHA, Pinto. Memoria Descriptiva *del Plan General de Urbanización de la Ilha deLuanda. Comissão Administrativa do Fundo dos Bairros Populares de Angola*, 1963. Archivo Simões de Carvalho.

From the suspended project of modernity, the island is again the target of planning through huge investments in the first decades of the 21st century. Verticality will inevitably have to be increased to create attractive programmes for foreign investors, promoting an international image of progress in the globalised world. Mixed-use plots have been made available to investors, and the real estate market has become even more attractive, promoting luxury closed condominiums, unsurprisingly supported by private facilities. The flats are aimed at Angola's emerging middle class, with the added value of being close to the centre of Luanda, linked to land by the bridge and one of the capital's most important tourist spots. In the most western plot, acquired by a housing cooperative, Portuguese star-system architecture stands out in a shortlist competition in 2015. At least *Risco* and *Pro montório* have participated, although neither won. A partial vision of 3D images of *Risco*'s proposal allows highlighting the concrete racing balconies and the contrast with green ceramic tessellation on the facades, exploiting the best views.

The concrete racing balconies, accentuating the horizontal, characterise *Promontório's* proposal. In addition to the condominium facilities, located in a compact 3-storey podium built into the volume, it promotes street retail at ground level, an activity still persistent in Angolan culture. The *brutalist* proposal brings closer the modernity that seemed renounced by contemporaneity. The materialisation of each floor in a mass that moves in an independent way reaching a free composition is close to Palmas 555, by Madaleno, Wiechers and Abiega in 1975; today it is an iconic building in Mexico City.



Fig. 6 – (from left to right): Buildings in Luanda's Bay, Risco (2015); Coop BAI, Promontório (2015) - Las Palmas 555, Associated Architects (1975). Source: Own creation based on (http://www.promontorio.net/; https://www.archdaily.mx/)

The winning proposal was that of the study by *CostaLopes*, directed by Angolan architects with a background in Portuguese architecture schools.[4] Curiously, the next lot is giving rise to the Dyeji building, built by the same studio. However, it can be seen from satellite photos (2020), that after 5 years, the majority of the other 57 lots planned for parcel 3 have not yet been built. This is certainly a reflection of the lack of investment proved by Angola's economic crisis, aggravated by the current pandemic.

4   https://www.costalopes.com/

Fig. 7 – Overlapping ignored modernity and realised postmodernity. Source: Own creation based on (https://www.costalopes.com/, FSC Archive)

**Kinaxixe Square: from an open public square to a private centre**

Largo do Kinaxixe has a preferential location in the upper part of the city; it was an urban space of excellence from the modern period, from the post-modern to the present day. In 1963, the Partial Plan for Kinaxixe showed an open square defined by the central zone that included one of the Modern Movement's most remarkable works. The Kinaxixe market by Vasco da Costa Vieira, recognisable as a huge box elevated on pillars, consolidated one of the main squares in the city centre. It had two large courtyards inside the ventilated facades, protected from the sun through vertical blades that caused the building to be fully sustainable (Rodrigues, 2015, p. 86). In the surroundings were several notable examples of housing, including the building by Luis Taquelim, a huge block of well-defined, horizontal lines on the facade with a ground floor based on pillars and covered by a vast flap that invited social gatherings.
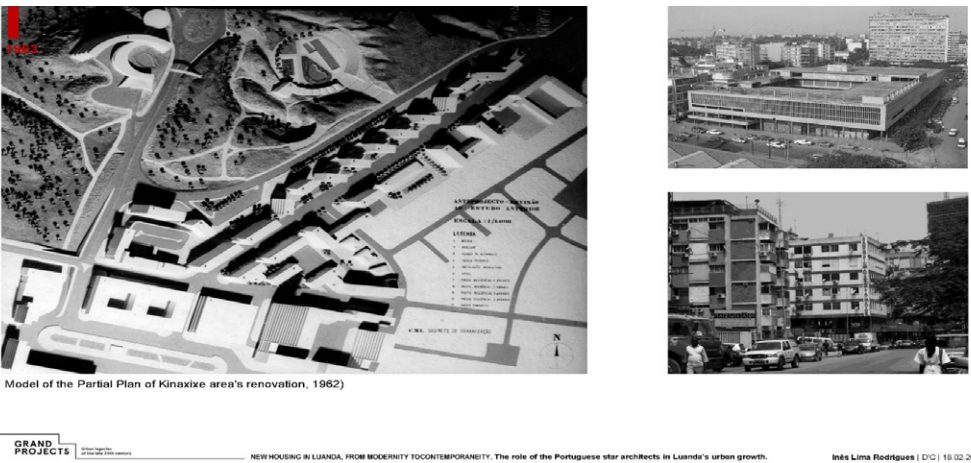


Fig. 8 – (from left to right): Model of the Partial Plan of Kinaxixe area's renovation (Simões de Carvalho,1962); Mercado Kinaxixe (Vasco Vieira da Costa, 1958); housing estate in the surrounding area (60's). Source: (FSC Archive, google images, @InesLima)

The plan was never carried out, and despite the social pressure, economic values spoke louder, and the market was demolished in 2008. The modem masterpiece would give rise to a sizeable five-storey commercial building framed by two residential and office towers of about twenty-five floors. In 2010, when I visited Luanda, the Cuca building was still standing and was recognised as a symbol of the city. Unfortunately, the demolition of the Kinaxixe market caused a shake-up of its foundations, justifying its destruction in 2011.[5] The fate of the Cuca building has been that of many others. The city lost a public space and take-over of a private spot. Simultaneously, the GES 1 Building (ESCOM group) designed by *Atelier do Chiado* stood out in the urban landscape, moving the new business centre of Luanda along Rua Marechal Brós Tito.



Fig. 9 – Demolition of the Kinaxixe market and construction of the new Kinaxixe's complex (2010). Source: (google earth)

5    In one of the "new centralities" up to 40 km from Luanda's centre, residents of Cuca were resettled in Zango.

Four years later, Sky Residence II and Sky Business Buildings, designed by *Risco*, reinforced the verticality. The luxurious Sky Center changes the face of Luanda, with a cost of US$135 million. The architects argue that the "tropical modern" romantic is not compatible with the demands of post-modernity: "investors, because they have an idea of modernity that involves 'gloss' and 'glass' and users because they do not accept, for example, views obstructed by a fixed "soleil breeze".[6] However, the horizontal lines of the 22 floors on the façade of the Sky Residence II, interspersed with vertical blades "will shade the windows and allow optimal conditions of comfort inside". Isn't this a brise-soleil?



Fig. 10 – Sky Residence II and Sky Business, Risco Atelier (2007-2014).
Source: (https://www.risco.org)

### Rua Amílcar Cabral: the N-S axis expansion, highlighted by the standalone housing building.

Rua Amílcar Cabral is one of the central N-S axes announced in modern plans extending to the south. It connects the Marginal to the airport and is one of the most emblematic buildings of Modern Movement collective housing in Luanda: the *Servidores do Estado*' building. In 1955, parallel to the avenue, Vasco Vieira da Costa projected what is assumed to be an autonomous residential block, supporting the idea of building in a manner that adapts to and supports the land's natural slope, the intersection point of which acts as a hinge, allowing the necessary ventilation. To control excessive sunlight onto the western façade, the one facing the avenue, Costa made huge frames with exposed concrete, ripped off by mobile shutters that act as a brise-soleil, transforming the space from the balcony in a flexible environment, which can be open or closed, and at the same time constitutes the protective skin of the building (Rodrigues, 2015, p. 88).

6    https://www.risco.org/projects/sky-residence-ii-e-sky-business_15
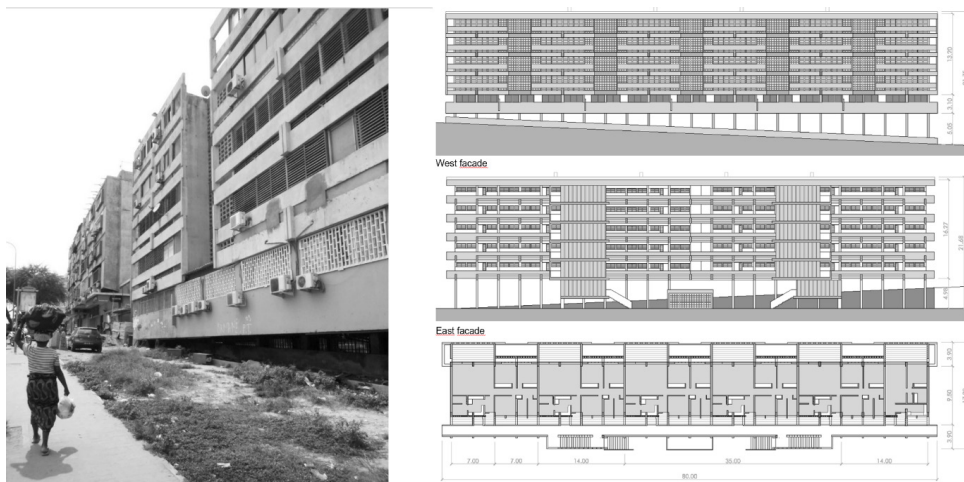
Fig. 11 – Building Servidores do Estado, Vasco Vieira da Costa (1955). Source: (@InesLima, 2010)

In 2019, the *Promontório* office completed its first residential project in Luanda,[7] the result of a competition launched in 2010. The Assalto Moncada 4 building confirms the land's inflation in the centre and the inevitable change in urban typologies of the colonial era. It's 70 compact units are optimised to an efficiency ratio of 85% across 16 floors, in addition to the commerce on the ground floor. With an underground car park, all the facilities complement the four dwellings per floor, occupying the two ventilated fronts (NE-SW). The assumed module and the marking of the concrete slabs contrast with warm tones that cover all the facades, tiled with *Viúva Lamego* fluted and hand-painted *azulejos* in customised shades of green, which, together reflect the hues of the city's warm light.[8]
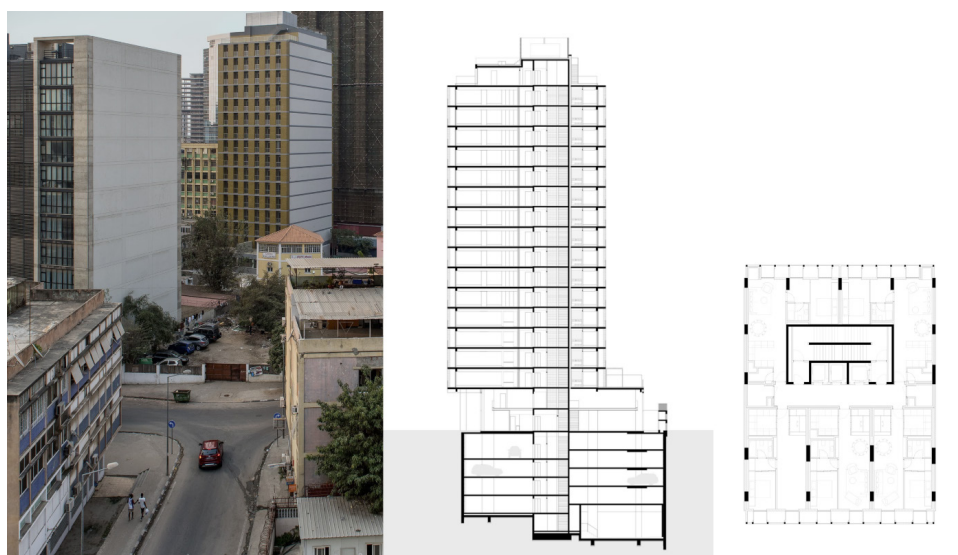


Fig. 12 – Building Assalto Moncada 4, Promontório (2010-2017), Source: (http://www.promontorio.net)

7   Shopping Avenida was the other work built in Luanda between 2013-2016 (out of 12 proposals presented between 2010-2017).

8   Assalto Moncada 4, Luanda, Angola, 2017 – 2010, Source: (http://www.promontorio.net)

These two cases of housing, located on the same avenue, 60 years apart, are both based on the principles of the Modern Movement, in particular with regard to the natural ventilation of the flats. While Vieira da Costa explores the horizontality of the block, placed parallel to the avenue, Assalto Moncada 4 accentuates the necessary verticality imposed by the high price of land in the 21st century. However, they are a clear example of the evolution and vividness of the principles of modernity at the entrance to the 21st century.

### 4. Discussion

Rethinking the modern is an essential task when some issues raised 100 years ago are once again pressing. However, now it is reclaiming areas outside the great axes of circulation (Central Europe, France and the United States) with a highlight on peripheral countries. A new awareness emerges of Africa's certainty in the (re)knowledge of modern heritage, a theme in which Portugal undoubtedly played a representative role (Lagae, 2000). The proposals and questions exposed to Angolan modernity show this relevance: in the modern period and post-modernity. In both times, Portuguese architects have participated in the "Luanda do Futuro"; through public and private initiatives or by participating in competitions allowing the entry of the Portuguese star system.

The strength of Angolan modernity is representative of the transcontinental transversality of this movement born in Europe, at urban, architectural, economic and social levels. Nevertheless, the unfinished modern project is today degraded and overcrowded. Prenda is now a degraded neighbourhood in terms of its formal, architectural and social composition, overcrowded, changed, due to decades without maintenance and basic sanitation. Today, the local population sees it as an urban and architectural model desired for the city of the future, justifying its dissemination and warning of its urgent need for conservation (Milheiro, 2015). The fate of the Prenda unit is also that of most of. The resilience of these ensembles persists due to the rigour of the architecture, adapted as it is to the tropical climate and the exiguity of constructive options.

Besides the *sustainability* of the buildings, *collectivity* and *miscenisation* of the population were also encouraged. Modern architecture not only looked at the place but adapted itself to the site. The general degradation of modern architecture is essentially due to the building›s occupation after independence; the lack of knowledge of this heritage value and colonialist heritage (Goycoolea, Núnez, 2011) and mainly the huge property speculation, led to irreversible demolitions of modern masterpieces. Since the end of the armed conflict, excessive and increasingly disordered growth has disfigured Luanda's urban landscape. Post-colonial Luanda is also the Luanda of global capitalism, fragmented into musseques, luxury condominiums, new cities, old buildings, office towers, power, ostentation, rubbish and much misery.

The Luanda of the 21st century follows Dubai as an urban model, with the symbolic reaffirmation of power in the urban landscape, originating the repetition of similar projects; extravagant shapes to highlight the power of luxurious and sophisticated buildings (offices, housing, museums and other facilities). The multiplication of these skyscrapers has meant that they have lost their character as branded buildings, but rather become a successive repetition in the urban landscape.

Fitting into the urban strategy defined for Luanda's bays, "condominiums" find the ideal territory by benefiting from unique geographical conditions for very attractive for luxurious apartments. Moreover, the proximity to the centre and a free environment giving total formal autonomy in plots around 1000 m2, with construction areas 20 times higher, are incredibly appealing to the property market. The proposals promote new luxury apartments, complemented by several private facilities, ensuring the best views over the bay (which it is almost impossible not to have). The target is a privileged, Angolan "emerging middle class", with the wide spread of the housing areas (440-800 m2), the number of condominium services, naturally with their monthly bill, allows for an "emerging" but not middle-class resident profile.

From home to the metropolitan area, from individual to the collective, (re)thinking the modernity of the Fishermen's Neighbourhood would allow access to the necessary infrastructure and decent housing (40-150 m2) according to the home and lifestyle of those who still live there in precarious situations, instead of the persistent *musseques*. In the Assalto Moncada 4 building, a reinterpretation of modernity allows a "verticalisation with history" by Promontório. Examples demonstrate conciliation with colonialist heritage, proving the formal and constructive logic of modern architecture, and still viable today. The pillar of internationalisation can be interpreted with a recent interest in modern architecture and its tourism potential. Perhaps the example and notoriety given to iconic modern buildings, from the organisation of visits to its advertising exploitation through merchandising strategies, can encourage Angolan entities to understand the city's success by the preservation of its modern identity.

It is well known that the neighbourhood units were a modern failure concerning their construction since none was fully developed. Further, it is also true that Luanda followed several modern interventions, expressed mainly in isolated, standalone modern buildings, from modernity to the present day. We hope that organisations such as the recently approved Docomomo Angola will support and encourage some of these proposals. But above all, the tools must be found to disseminate their homes' heritage inside the population, even if they are run-down.

The main question, however, remains: what does it mean to be at home in the city in the twenty-first century?

Indeed, it must include an understanding that the urban and the domestic, the public and the private, the individual and the collective, the political and the personal, are not opposing concepts but constructions that link the subject to the city's spatiality. The coexistence and self-sufficiency of urban neighbourhoods as well as small local businesses (avoiding commuting to large commercial areas), collective parks and gardens for walks, ventilated and well-lit dwellings; questioned in the modern housing system, forgotten by history in some, proved to be primordial in the current times of the pandemic. The current pandemic will shape our lives as it challenges our conception of home and city. Perhaps rethinking modernity with a postmodern vision can contribute in some way.

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# Track 3: Terrain Vague Redevelopment

**PEDRO PINTO (CHAIR) | DINÂMIA'CET – ISCTE**
**BELINDA TATO | GSD, Harvard University**
**JORGE BONITO | C.M. Lisboa**
**JOSE LUIS VALEJJO | GSD, Harvard University**

Ignasi Solà-Morales (1942-2001) developed the concept of ´terrain vague´ in 1994[5], which he associated with a particular kind of expectant urban spaces where the absence of functional use gave them an evocative power, a strangeness, which could be read as a critical alternative to the productive rationality of common urbanization. The non-productive and non-formal ambiance of these places not only questions the pragmatic nature of construction, but it also inspires artists, architects and urban planners to explore alternative ways of urban dwelling.

In this track we questioned the contexts of creation, appropriation and transformation of the terrain-vague, as well as social and disciplinary responses to the promises of freedom that have been pointed out. The call received 21 proposals, 17 of which were selected and concluded, with speakers from various origins, allowing for an enticing complexification of the theme. The variety of proposals led to four sessions, which allowed a principle of distinction and complementarity and whose ordering and qualification resulted from the very reading possibilities given by the set of articles received, namely:

A. The first session would group together papers that in some way focused on the history of the creation of the terrain-vague and also theorized about the conceptual idea put forward by Ignasi Solà-Morales:

1. Rui Mendes from ISCTE-IUL, Lisbon, presented "Terrain Vague, Property, Free Space: The Ideal of A Common Space", relating to the case of Montijo lagoon area near Lisbon, where the emptiness of the riverside wetlands can be read as system of terrain-vague, that have an urban ecological importance and can accommodate the unpredictable and the ruin, old industries with new typologies- new uses, open systems between the natural and the artificial.

2. Matilde Igual Capdevila, from the *Akademie der Bildenden Kunste*, Wien, Austria, presented "Grand Projects, Disturbances & Ruins, a walk among the unfinished in Sociópolis", related to a promotion in Valencia, Spain, as the case of a mega-project that in the face of financial crisis would produce a situation of incompleteness,

5  The first presentation of the essay of the Catalan architect Ignasi de Sola-Morales was held in an academic seminar at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal, Canada, in 1994. The work would be published in 1995 and 2002.

a "terrain-vague" from the XXI century.

3. Francisco Brito, Pedro Guilherme, Isabel Salema, from the University of Evora in Portugal, presented "From drawing to space. The void of the places imagined by Álvaro Siza for Malagueira", addressing the intentionally designed urban emptiness (and incompleteness) of Bairro da Malagueira in Évora, a project by Álvaro Siza, that evolves since 1970s and somehow incorporated before time some terrain vague values and ideas.

4. Juan Carlos Calanchini González Cos, from National Autonomous University of Mexico, in "Space-Between: Remnants of a City as Catalysts for Change", argued that terrain vagues should be seen as site-specific tools for critique and creativity. Hence, in order to positively take over any urban void, he addressed the issue of property, social attachment and identity to the place, intertwined with the dynamics of architecture and urbanism.

B. The second session brought together communications that could focus on urban methods and policies for transforming terrain vagues. The orators put forward examples from South Africa, Brazil and France, demonstrating the breadth and variety of the concept:

5. Silvia Rodei and Roanne Oberholzer from University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa, showed the "A public space in the post-apartheid city: the Golden Mile Beachfront of Durban (South Africa)". They presented the redevelopment of the Beachfront Golden Mile in Durban as the building of a unique place for the city, naturally inhabited from people from a variety of social backgrounds, ethnicities, religions and origins, thus free from many of the social constructs and limitations that still characterize other public places in the country.

6. Bianca Manzon Lupo, PhD researcher at the University of São Paulo and lecturer at the University of Mogi das Cruzes and University Nove de Julho, Brazil, with "The Maua Pier as a vague terrain: urban disputes and architectural design in the city of Rio de Janeiro", reflected about the concept of terrain vague by analyzing the Maua Pier, a bench originally built in 1948 at the Rio Port area, that had been the object of territorial disputes taken since the 1990s until the construction of the Museum of Tomorrow, in 2015.

7. Diego Beja Inglez de Souza, from Lab2PT, School of Architecture of the University of Minho, Guimarães, Portugal, with "Occupy Estelita: reactions to a grand project and the emergence of urban rights movements in Recife, Brazil", showed the case of a singular coalition of urban middle class and impoverished few local residents, activists and urbanists, claiming for more attention on the strategical role of this terrain vague on city center of Recife, Brazil, around the discussion for redevelopment of the New Recife project.

8. Varvara Toura, from *L´École des Hautes Études en Sciences Socieles* (EHESS/Géographie-Cités), Paris, France, with "Rethinking creativity at neighborhood level in the post-industrial era. The case studies of two urban voids redevelopments in France: Ile-de-Nantes and Docks-de-Seine", talked about the terrain vague derived from the shrinking cities phenomena in central European postindustrial cities. Varvara presented us former industrial districts as places of experimentation, addressing questions of territorial innovation and city making, that can breed creative activities offered by both local authorities and developers, towards an economic and demographic growth of deindustrialized shrinking European cities.

C&D. The third and fourth sessions were organized under the complementary theme of Morphologies and/or Typologies of terrain vague. The third session gathered a set of three presentations with cases between Portugal and Spain, and the fourth aggregated papers from different European realities between Portugal, Spain, Italy and Finland:

9. Lorenzo Stefano Lannizzotto and Fabio Lucchesi, from the Faculty of Architecture, University of Florence (Italy) and Rafael Sousa Santos from the Faculty of Architecture, University of Porto, presented "Walking in-between: Urban interstices on the Lisbon hillside", focused on urban interstices on the Lisbon hillside, taking as a case study the São Bento valley and its urban voids as a micro-structure of small terrain vaguest that materializes a singular urban structure.

10. Inês Vieira Rodrigues from Centre for Studies in Architecture and Urbanism of the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto presented "The ocean as a "terrain vague" of the twenty-first century", discussing the example of the Azorean sea case, whose limits have been physically and symbolically appropriated over time by the islanders, and now is the object of a precise delimitation and planning, allowing the interpretation of its emptiness as a kind terrain vague of the twenty-first century.

11. José Pedro Bento e Margarida Louro from CIAUD, Faculty of Architecture, University of Lisbon, Portugal, presented "Designing in two expectant areas of Lisbon and Barcelona waterfronts", opposing two expectant areas located on the limits of Lisbon and Barcelona, intending to address both the debates on rehabilitation policies in the inherited and canonical city, and the particular morphological problems with respect to the city-territory with which these areas are adjacent.

12. Frederico Camarin, from the Universidad UVA from Valladolid and from the *Bauhaus-Universität Weimar* - Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism, Germany, presented "Military terrain vague in Italy: expectant urban spaces waiting for their regeneration", where the now obsolete military land is projected as typology of terrain vague that is also understood as expectant urban spaces waiting for regeneration.

13. Orlando Gonçalves, from the University of São Paulo, Brazil, presented "Railway territories: structuring, disruption and reconnection ", about on the case of railway territories of the city of Santos, São Paulo, Brazil, which can be read simultaneously as building system that is structuring, disruption and reconnection places.

14.Hugo Reis and Rita Negrão, from ISCTE-IUL and IST, both in Lisbon, Portugal, in "Petit Projects: Vague deviations as urban strategies", proposed, not without an implicit critic of the grand project rhetoric, the concept of petit-projects as "vague deviations" and as urban strategies in in their own, where art can be used to symbolically reactivate non-productive areas.

15. Tomás Pereira Botelho, from ISCTE and FSCH – Nova University, Lisbon, and Ava Chantal Szychalski from Northwestern University School of Education and Social Policy, Chicago, USA, in "Subverting Terrain Vague: viewing Heuristic Change through Skateboarding, Auto-construction and Movement",  propose a critic and expanded interpretation of the terrain vague as a heuristic of change through skateboarding perspective, where the vague terrain emerges as a space of use, through self-construction, movement and marginality and also as a cultural and political stand.

16. The Lisbon based architect and researcher Nuno Tavares da Costa, theorized about a grand project in Lisbon, by the architect Paulo Mendes da Rocha, who designed an "indeterminate public space", using the potentialities of "terrain-vague", in a communication called "The unpredictability of space".

17. Fèlix Breton, from the University of Girona, Catalonia, presented the case of a building where also the characteristics associated with terrain-vague are used. In the case to create a resilient architecture: "The Cable Factory, resilient architecture in Helsinki".

# 53  The Cable Factory, resilient architecture in Helsinki

FÈLIX BRETON
University of Girona

## ABSTRACT

The Cable Factory is a cultural centre that benefited from the deindustrialization process in Helsinki. In 1989, the building was transformed from an obsolete industrial space into a cultural centre due to a social and cultural movement called Pro Kaapeli. For over 30 years, the Cable Factory has hosted a proactive community that is committed to it. This article presents the Cable Factory as a case study of resilient architecture. The objective is to propose a new concept of architecture that can promote sustainable development through spatial indeterminacy and a proactive attitude. The resilient properties of persistence, adaptation and transformation are based on the spatial indeterminacy of its raw spaces, rented at low cost. Raw space is defined as flexible, empty space that can evolve and change uses. The evolution of the Cable Factory is a process over time that depends on responsible use of human, material and economic resources, and the interrelation of three stakeholders: inhabitants, architects and the local government of Helsinki. The spatial indeterminacy of the Cable Factory confronts uncertainty and unpredictability at global and local level and generates social, cultural and economic capital for its community and the city of Helsinki. The Cable Factory is resilient architecture as it creates a dynamic architectural system that is interdependent in its social, spatial and temporal dimensions. Its community is self-organised and self-managed by means of spatial indeterminacy and it has created a horizontal interaction model. The diversity, independence and proactivity of this community give the Cable Factory a sense of place. It is an example of sustainable development for societies and city planning.

**Keywords:** Resilient architecture, spatial indeterminacy, raw space, sustainable development.

## 1. Pro Kaapeli Movement

The Cable Factory, also called Kaapeli, is an architecture product of time. This former Nokia factory in Helsinki was built in three stages from 1939–1954 for *Suomen Kaapelitehdas Oy* (Finnish Cable Factory Ltd.) on the shore of Salmisaari, an area that became industrial in the 1920s. During its years of industrial use, rubber coated stranded copper wires were manufactured for submarine electrical and telephone cables. Later, in 1967, *Suomen Kaapelitehdas Oy* merged with Nokia Ltd. and the company started to work on new lines of business, laying the foundations for the growth of the domestic electronics and computer industry.

Between the 1970s and the 1990s, countries moving towards neoliberal globalization began to relocate industries and shift from an industrial society to an information society. These global changes in the reorganization of the production system caused Nokia to lose interest in the Cable Factory and negotiations with the Helsinki City Council began in 1985 (Vainio, 2017). In 1989, the City Council working group proposed a plan to divide the 56,000 m² of the Cable Factory into three units, dismantling its largest area, the Sea Cable Hall, and demolishing part of the building while conserving 30,000 m².

In early 1989, Nokia started to vacate the building and rented the unused space to artists, architects and small businesses. The rentals were one-year contracts, after which the ownership of the building would be transferred from Nokia to the City Council. During the year, the tenants formed a social and cultural movement called Pro Kaapeli (1989–1991). This association disagreed with the City Council's plan and proposed an alternative to preserve the Cable Factory and its new community. The architect Pia Ilonen devised Pro Kaapeli's alternative plan, which consisted of finding the right combination of activities, locating them in a coherent way and maintaining a balance between all uses.



Fig. 1 – Cable Factory, exterior view of its inner courtyard. Source: (Kuvatoimisto Kuvio Oy, 2015)

In this period, the Cable Factory became a *terrain vague* (Solà-Morales, 1995) due to its industrial obsolescence. The Pro Kaapeli movement appropriated the available empty spaces, which evoked a sense of freedom and expectation, and generated a social and spatial transformation committed to the complex. Loss of function and the perception of its indeterminate spaces have been two concepts that the Pro Kappeli movement has maintained as essential and independent for its development.

The Pro Kaapeli movement acted through protests, invitations and presentations, and contacted the press and politicians to persuade them to accept its alternative plan instead of the City Council's official plan. Ilonen acted during that year and a half as Pro Kaapeli's negotiating technician, working with the City Council to resolve procedures and negotiate the new alternative plan. The strategy of this alternative plan was to preserve all Pro Kaapeli's workspaces and take into consideration a certain part of the programme of the City Council's official plan. The alternative plan, which Ilonen called "interior city planning", consisted of combining a percentage of artistic, public, commercial and general uses, among others, for the Cable Factory's spaces.

The pressure exerted on the City Council by the Pro Kaapeli movement, combined with an economic recession in the country that did not favour the plan defined by the City Council as it was expensive, led to the acceptance of Pro Kaapeli's alternative plan for the future development of the building. Consequently, the Cable Factory was preserved in its entirety. In 1991, the City Council set up a private, limited, independent property company for the management and ownership of the

Cable Factory called *Kiinteistö Oy Kaapelitalo*, which is part of the City of Helsinki within the administrative body Helsinki City Group. Currently, this property management company is represented by eight members: an independent chairperson, three tenant representatives and two officials along with two councillors from the City Council. These board members choose the managing director of the Cable Factory.

The City Council transferred the Cable Factory to the Kaapeli property management company, although Nokia kept an appendix that connects to the north wing of the building. In turn, the Kaapeli property management company permanently rents to the City Council a three-story area at the beginning of the south wing to house three special museums: the Theatre Museum, the Finnish Museum of Photography, and the Hotel and Restaurant Museum. The museums, as public organizations, and the Nokia annex were located in such a way that they did not interrupt the uses of the Cable Factory community and open and continuous circulation is achieved between their spaces.
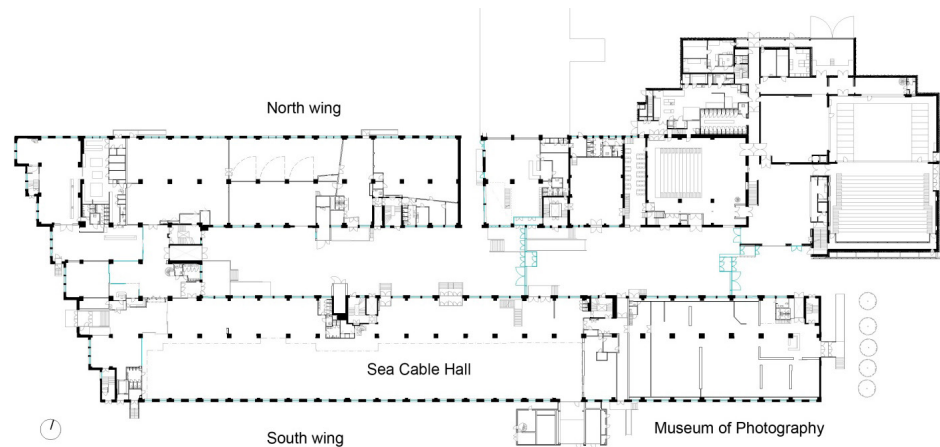


Fig. 2 – Ground floor of the Cable Factory. Source: Own creation based on (Ilo and JKMM architects, 2021)
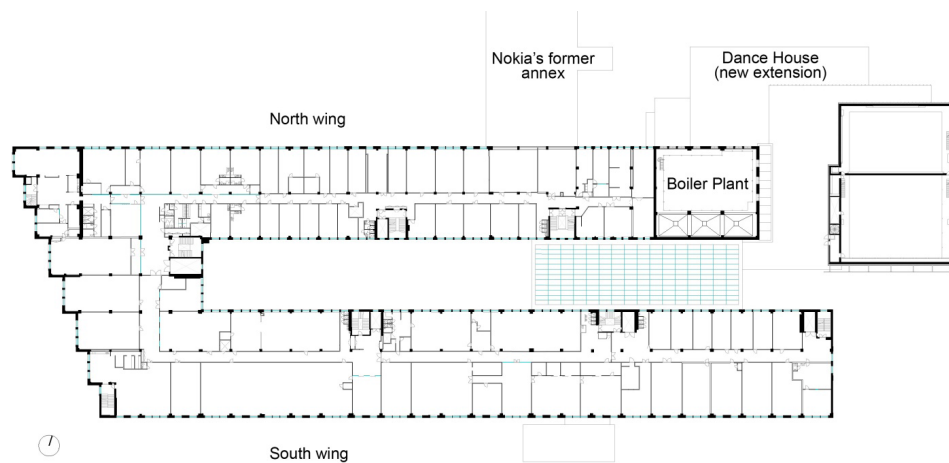


Fig. 3 – Third floor of the Cable Factory. Source: Own creation based on (Ilo and JKMM architects, 2021)

## 2. Raw space as a practice of spatial indeterminacy

The planning of the Cable Factory is very similar to city planning within a large interior space. Even some of its tenants define it as "a small town". The planning, carried out by Pia Ilonen in 1991, consists of a balance of uses that has a non-linear relationship with the spaces. This allows the spaces to be indeterminate, without a specific purpose. The rental of raw spaces by the Kaapeli property management company is based on a percentage of various uses that enables multiple options for the appropriation of the spaces. This planning turns the complex into a lived, persistent space, which is qualified by having the right combination of various activities, a smart rental policy, ease of use and interactive change management.

Raw space is an indeterminate, flexible, empty space that can evolve and support changing uses. These spaces already existed as a big *terrain vague*: an undefined, uncertain space due to the functional obsolescence of the old industrial factory. The alternative plan transformed the former *terrain vague* of the Cable Factory into raw spaces, which enhanced the spatial properties. The Cable Factory community used the raw space for its development.

The strategy is based on renting at low cost any raw space in the building for any use. The spaces are an initial void that the inhabitants can distribute and design in their own way. Once the activity is finished, the spaces must return to their raw space state for the next tenants. The spaces are usually rented to artists or artistic companies (musicians, painters, performers, dancers, comedians, visual artists, circus artists, film directors, etc.) who need a creative space to carry out their work or performances. However, other individuals and companies have brought their businesses, offices or studios to the Cable Factory, from combat sports areas or a local radio company to a school where children learn the basics of architecture.

### 2.1 The dynamic process of the Cable Factory through the operability of raw spaces

Over these 30 years in which the complex has become a multifaceted place, Pia Ilonen has carried out various interventions such as the design of the City Council museums in 1993, 1999 and 2020; the renovation of the Sea Cable Hall in 1998; the rehabilitation of the Boiler Plant in 2000; the extension of a sauna with an outdoor terrace on the roof in 2016; the Konttori meeting space and café in 2020; the extension and renovation of elevators and stairs; the design of multifunctional mobile walls for raw spaces and some space layouts for tenants, among other works. The spatial decisions of the Cable Factory community and Ilonen's various projects in the building have been approached from the "do nothing" philosophy: they have consisted of small, economic, operational actions over time. The result is responsible use of the material, economic and human resources that have made the Cable Factory its own success.

The Sea Cable Hall is in the south wing of the building and the largest space in the Cable Factory with 3,148 m² (110 x 24 x 14.5 m). This space is generally used to host large events, performances, festivals, exhibitions and major conferences for short periods of time. It can accommodate 3,000 people. Once the activity is finished, it returns to its state as a raw space.

The Sea Cable Hall has had many diverse uses over time (from Fig. 5 to Fig. 7), like the large spaces on the ground floor (Puristamo, Valssaamo, the Boiler plant and the Turbine Hall), which are also used for short periods of time for similar purposes.
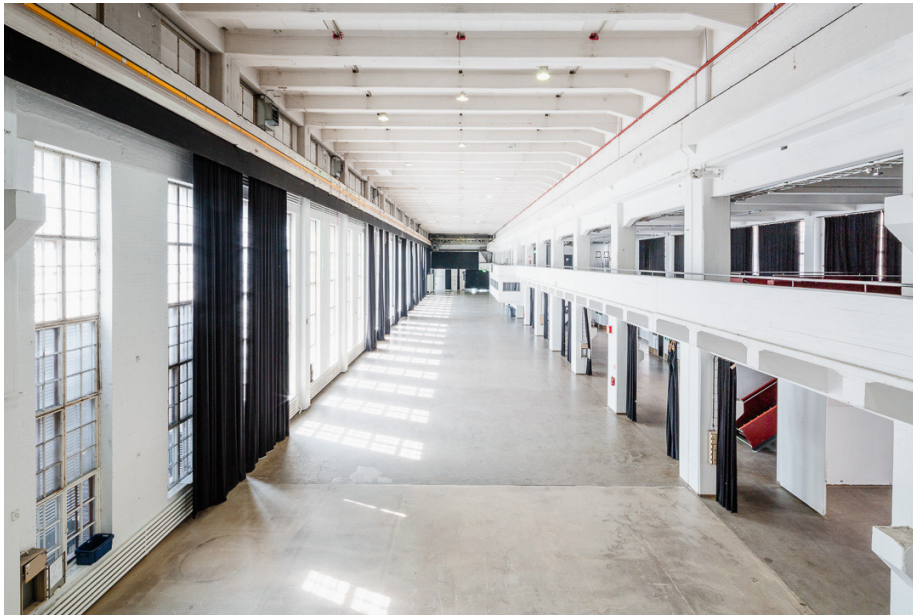


Fig. 4 – Sea Cable Hall raw space. Source: (Kuvatoimisto Kuvio Oy, 2015)



Fig. 5 – Drive or Die in the Sea Cable Hall. Source: (Stefan Bremer, 1994)



Fig. 6 – Helsinki Coffee Festival in the Sea Cable Hall. Source: (Paavo Pykäläinen, 2019)
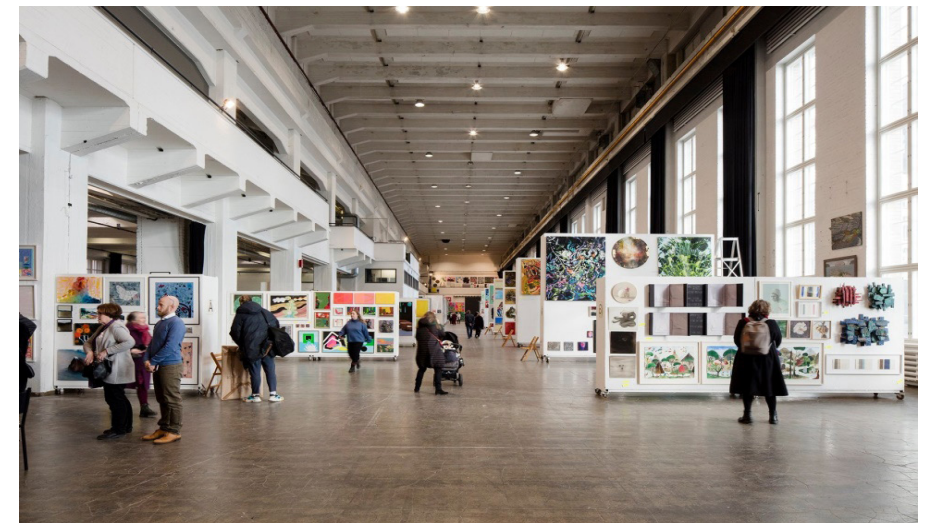


Fig. 7 – Annual Finnish art event in the Sea Cable Hall. Source: (Jussi Tiainen, 2020)

Ilonen planned the Boiler Plant for its operability according to possible uses over time (from Fig. 8 to Fig. 11). This space was used very regularly for Hurjaruuth's Winter Circus shows, and its basement as a foyer. Now, the Boiler Plant has been added to a new project to extend and transform the building designed by Ilo[1] and JKMM architects: the Dance House (2019–2021). In 2010, people involved in dance, such as Zodiak, established the Dance House association. Its main goal was to have a space dedicated to dance in Helsinki. In 2016, the Dance House project was transferred to the Kaapeli property management company, who decided on its location at the end of the north wing of the Cable Factory. This extension is rented

1  Pia Ilonen's current architectural firm

to the Helsinki Dance House association, which chooses and decides what cultural production to present. The Kaapeli property management company was interested in making this new space available to all tenants. For that reason, during the project design phase, the property management company invited all permanent tenants to participate in the decision-making. This was achieved through interviews and around 30 workshops and meetings to express opinions and concerns about the Dance House. This material and the interviews with the Helsinki Dance House association were the basis of Ilo and JKMM architects modifying the project design. Community participation in decision-making led to changes in building access infrastructure and contributed to enhancing confidence in the new extension as a space that would benefit the Cable Factory. They understood that the Dance House interacts strongly with the initial part of the inner courtyard of the building, as its access is located under a glass roof that will cover half of it.
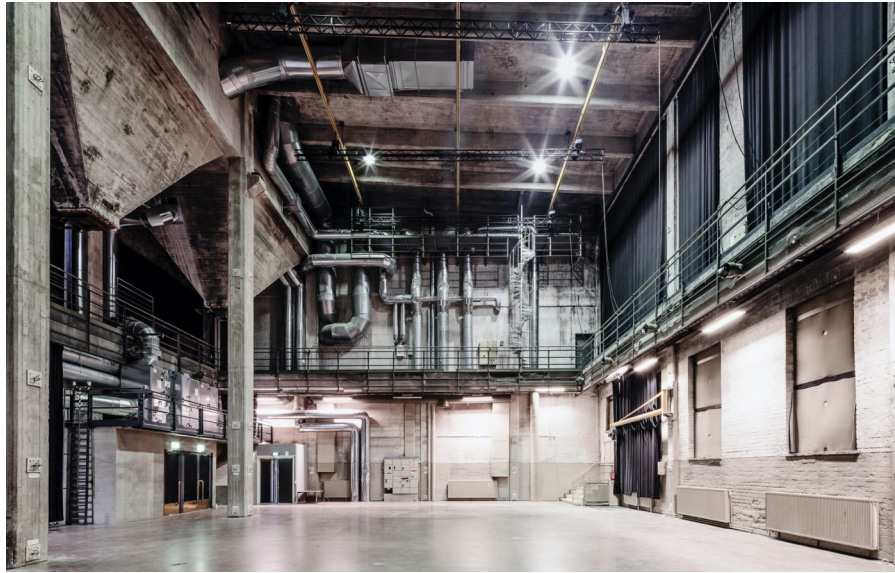


Fig. 8 – Boiler Plant raw space. Source: (Kuvatoimisto Kuvio Oy, 2015)



Fig. 9 – Guitar rehearsal in the Boiler Plant. Source: (Petri Anttila, 2015)



Fig. 10 – Hurjaruuth's Winter Circus in the Boiler Plant. Source: (Patrik Rastenberger, 2016)



Fig. 11 – Creative Lenses Final Conference in the Boiler Plant. Source: (KOY Kaapelitalo, 2019)

## 2.2 Self-organization to strengthen the system and face adversity

Throughout the Cable Factory process, tenants have modified, changed and exchanged their spaces. Many have increased and expanded their businesses or studios at the Cable Factory in addition to cooperating with each other. Other tenants have preferred to reduce their spaces due to their personal decisions or circumstances, or they have remained in the same space.

One of the oldest artistic associations that inhabit the building is the Center for New Dance Zodiak. In 1989, Zodiak obtained its first space. Since the beginning

of the century, it has been temporarily using the Turbine Hall, Boiler Plant and, finally, Valssaamo. It has changed and increased its spaces over time. Its last extension was in 2018 to house a dance studio in the Dance House, the new Cable Factory extension project.

Hurjaruuth, another artistic company, entered the Cable Factory in 1993 and obtained some spaces on the second floor for its main stage, backstage and foyer areas, among others. One year later, it created the Winter Circus, which performed on its own stage and later in the Sea Cable Hall. In 2000, the Winter Circus started putting on shows in the Boiler Plant when its renovations were completed. Every year, Zodiak and Hurjaruuth exchange their main stages for certain performances when one of them needs it.

Zodiak and Hurjaruuth, among many other businesses, companies and individuals, are examples of the interaction between the community and the possibilities of the spaces. They are examples of its self-organization: each raw space can be more or less suitable for certain uses due to its proportions, surface area and basic or more defined installations. Tenants discover these characteristics via the "trial and error" method in their own inhabiting of the spaces. The range of spaces also makes the complex more resilient as a system.

The Cable Factory is a building that is constantly changing and evolving, so that it can be used for any purpose by its community or future tenants. Currently, the Cable Factory has around 900 people working daily and 550 people on average as visitors, clients or students. It hosts about 500 events a year. Most of the people in this dynamic community change over time.

The Cable Factory is not a cultural centre *per se*, but an example of how culture and creativity can be developed independently and self-organised through its own financing.

In the early 1990s, the rental rates were about the same fixed price for all tenants, depending on the situation of each space and its dimensions. The artists habitually opted for more precarious spaces or sometimes reached an agreement to pay lower rent in proportion to their ability to pay. At the end of the 1990s, the Cable Factory avoided a gentrification phenomenon and emerged strengthened from that crisis: the Kaapeli property management company wanted to increase the rents as the basic renovations were coming to an end. The artists feared that the new rents would be out of their reach. At that time, uses began to become imbalanced, as the workspaces for artists were increasingly diminished and spaces for commercial tenants, who could accept higher rents, increased. After some years of negotiations, the Cable Factory finally adopted a sliding scale of rent according to the square metres of each raw space and the profession of each tenant. Rentals to commercial companies, arts organizations and individual artists were

differentiated. In this way, artists began to pay 40% less than commercial companies. This change in building policy was intelligent because what Kaapeli lost in rental fees, it gained with a very high occupancy rate, ensuring that all spaces are active and with an offer of more than one year. In 1998, Pia Ilonen was asked to rework another more detailed master plan of the balance of uses, planning that has characterized the Cable Factory since its inception. This crisis demonstrated that although the Cable Factory administration has a top-down management model legally, it is transversal in nature because it promotes bottom-up positive feedback in its social structure, which enhances the decision-making of the dynamic system. Therefore, it is a consensual and horizontal organization that maintains the potential properties of the raw spaces.

From the beginning, there was a proactive community with a collective project. This community was created naturally and spontaneously to propose an alternative plan to the City Council's. For over 30 years, the community and the building have been strengthened with rental earnings. The Kaapeli property management company paid for the main building repairs, extensions, renovations, new projects and maintenance gradually. However, the building could continue to be used in good condition. After 20 years, the bank loan was cancelled and profits were obtained for true development of the Cable Factory. The community decides and approaches matters from the perspective of the building and the perspective of the tenants. It understands that each inhabitant knows the demands of their own place of activity. It is a project of organization and participation to operate the building and the continuity of a committed community, in addition to maintaining the essence of the place by combining the industrial history with the multiple stories of the people who happen to be in it. This lived and phenomenological place is reflected on the walls and on the floor, for example, most of the rails of the old factory were conserved.

**2.3 Raw Space as a tool for social transformation on city level**

The Cable Factory has influenced the City Council and its urban planners to incentivize the practice and change of perception of obsolete industrial spaces. The Helsinki City Council wanted to promote the same model for Suvilahti, an industrial factory that stopped operating in the Kalasatama area in the 1990s. In 2008, the City Council delegated the management of Suvilahti to the Kaapeli property management company. For this reason, Suvilahti has many similarities with the Cable Factory: it is an autonomous, diverse, self-organized and self-managed community characterized as a "living organism" (Krivý, 2012). Low-cost rentals are applied to Suvilahti's raw spaces. Suvilahti can be analysed as an expansion of the Cable Factory located near East Helsinki.

In summary, two facts are evidenced in the relationship between the Cable Factory and Suvilahti cases. The first is that the Cable Factory has been clearly

successful as resilient architecture that is capable of enhancing the building and its Ruoholahti area through a dynamic architectural system. And second, it has created a "project identity" (Castells, 1997) that redefines the social position of its community and manages to transform the social structure of the city of Helsinki.

Although the Cable Factory community did not initially propose any cultural identity, the site is associated with cultural and creative values. However, if this community changed its values, so would the building, because the practice of its raw spaces is limited by the balance of uses planned by the architect Ilonen. Therefore, it is a type of spatial indeterminacy that can persist, adapt and transform, which allows a range of activities decided by its inhabitants. This flexibility is what maintains its system.

Obtaining Suvilahti was positive for the Cable Factory community. There is a relationship between these two communities. They can exchange places to obtain new spaces according to the aspirations of each tenant. The operational addition of Suvilahti was a natural task for the Kaapeli property management company, and it has demonstrated sufficient management capacity by acquiring another building within the Helsinki area: the former headquarters and pharmaceutical factory of Orion in Vallila, acquired at the end of 2019. With these three building complexes, the Kaapeli property company manages around 100,000 m² in different areas of Helsinki.

### 3. Conclusion. The Cable Factory as a case of resilient architecture

The Cable Factory is a case of resilient architecture as it has been able to create a dynamic architectural system. This dynamic system is formed of three interdependent dimensions: social, spatial and temporal. In the social dimension, the community, architects and Helsinki local government have interacted to fulfil roles as stakeholders. In the spatial dimension, the Cable Factory spaces contain a degree of indeterminacy through the practice of raw space. The actions of the inhabitants enable these spaces to evolve. The tenants can change uses according to their needs, due to the resilient properties of persistence, adaptation and transformation that the spaces enable. This process of uses, related to the programme, activity and flow of people in different periods of time, connects architecture with the temporal dimension, to avoid its obsolescence.

From the beginning, the Cable Factory demonstrated the evolving capacities of its spaces by changing from an industrial use to a cultural one. It has the capacity to persist as the building was preserved as a whole and the uses can be changed without modifying the spaces. It has the capacity to adapt as the layouts of the spaces can be adjusted and modified according to the activities and flow of people. Finally, it has the capacity to transform as a new use has been generated for an obsolete industrial building by modifying its installations

and making small structural renovations and its exterior or interior spatial volume can be altered.

For over 30 years, this diverse community has decided on the uses of the spaces in a participatory, self-organized manner via a horizontal system. It has understood the spaces in an indeterminate manner, that is, independent from uses and people. In this way, the community has been able to develop social, economic and cultural capital by renting raw spaces. From an economic perspective, it is self-manageable, self-sufficient and independent of any subsidy. The community could benefit from the post-industrial process that globalization generated within the context of Helsinki. It has been strengthened over time by creating sustainable development for the Cable Factory through change and evolution and investing minimal material, human and economic resources in a responsible manner. The Cable Factory expansion with the Suvilahti complex, and the former headquarters and pharmaceutical factory of Orion, and now with its Dance House extension project demonstrate its transformative potential as a dynamic architectural system and city generator.

Instead of prioritizing the form or function of a building, resilient architecture focuses on the space and its evolution as a dynamic system. The architect does not design a finished space, but rather plans it indeterminately, providing flexibility and opportunities to confront the unknown and the unpredictable. The architect acts as an agent of change.

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# 59 Military terrain vague in Italy

## Expectant urban spaces waiting for their regeneration

FEDERICO CAMERIN
Departamento de Urbanismo y Representación de la
Arquitectura, Instituto Universitario de Urbanística,
Universidad UVA de Valladolid, Spain
and Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism, Bauhaus-
Universität Weimar, Germany

### ABSTRACT [1]

During the last three decades, most of the European countries were affected by a process of dismantling-abandonment-disposal of military premises which would result in their regeneration. Italy, in this respect, represents a very particular case. Several factors are contributing to the long-lasting abandonment of these public-owned assets, thus generating a particular kind of expectant urban spaces in the whole country.

In this context, the proposal critically addresses the late-1980s-onwards approach on the abandonment and regeneration of redundant military sites in Italy. In particular, the focus is on the relationship of military terrain vague with urban development. Author claims that the abandonment-regeneration of these properties is subjected to strong real estate pressures overcoming the urban dynamics. The paper, consequently, demonstrates that the abandonment-regeneration strategies of military sites have continuously responded to a speculative approach to realise new profit-oriented operations based on the extrapolation of the differential ground rent. The essay is fundamentally structured in two sections. The first part analyses the reasons behind the creation of the so-called 'military terrain vague' in Italy based on geopolitical, military, public finance, and urban development logic. The second part focuses on the comparison between the abandonment-regeneration of two military sites located in Rome and Milan towards the materialisation of new profit-driven spaces and the factors avoiding their implementation. The study cases are the former Guido Reni barracks in the Rome's Flaminio neighbourhood aimed to materialised the new 'City of Science' and the military compound "Parade Ground-Baggio warehouses" in western Milan periphery, which is likely to be redeveloped into a new area of centrality for the wealthy.

Keywords: Terrain Vague, Military terrain, Expectant urban spaces, Urban regeneration

1   By option of the authors this article only included the lecture presented at the conference.

# 59  Space__between

## Remnants of a City as Catalysts for Change

JUAN CARLOS CALANCHINI GONZÁLEZ COS
Facultad de Arquitectura, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

**ABSTRACT** [1]

It all starts with a question… or too many. What can be done with the unproductive remnants of any given city? Can they be transformed to create a shared, cohesive and productive urban environment?

Understanding that the city is an unfinished plan, ever-productive, ever-dynamic and ever-changing, it cannot be ignored that, while transforming specific zones in a city, other zones get abandoned in the developing process for an undefined period of time. Often seen as negative spaces rather than offering positive identity, an important focus will be given to the indeterminacy and uncertainty of these urban slivers.

This research project will focus on these unoccupied, abandoned or underutilized places which people rarely talk about, analyzing different dynamics of reintegration into the city's fabric while incorporating Ignasi de Solà-Morales' terrain vagues, Michael Foucault's heterotopias, as well as some case studies in Gordon Matta-Clark's œuvre to the discourse.

Specifically, I argue that terrain vagues should be seen as site-specific tools for critique and creativity. In order to positively take over any urban void, I address the issue of property, social attachment and identity to the place, intertwined with the dynamics of architecture and urbanism.

I propose to incorporate the concepts of memory and time inherent to these dynamics, in order to: develop a profound reading of any given site; generate a reinterpretation that can trigger a longstanding change to attain the reinstatement of public property with creative and straightforward approaches; and then, perform a temporal or permanent, architectonic or artistic intervention, aiming for a new sense of social meaning.

In conclusion, the present paper sheds new light on the necessity to embrace the opportunities provided by these urban voids. Art and architecture can act as key elements to link people and spaces within a sociocultural context and thus create catalysts for change endowed with meaning.

**Keywords:** terrain vague, urban voids, city, abandonment, ruin.

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1  This paper has been selected for publication in a special issue of the journal *CIDADES, Comunidades e Territórios* (SCOPUS indexed).

# 62 Designing in two expectant areas of Lisbon and Barcelona waterfronts

PEDRO BENTO
CIAUD, Faculdade de Arquitectura, Universidade de Lisboa

MARGARIDA LOURO
CIAUD, Faculdade de Arquitectura, Universidade de Lisboa

## ABSTRACT

The focus of this work is to establish applied and morphological research on very particular urban fabrics in the metropolises of Lisbon and Barcelona. Objectively, these are two expectant areas located on the limits of their central cities, considering both their administrative and physical borders, fundamentally marked by their waterfronts, and which open up to different scenarios of critical and project appropriation. In Lisbon, this area is formalized by the Pedrouços docklands, an area of the riverfront, formerly occupied by the activities of the Port of Lisbon, located in the western part of the city, formalizing the border with the municipality of Oeiras and assuming itself as a potential space for multiple transformations.

In Barcelona, the view falls on part of its promenade, especially on the land occupied by the building of the old Sant Adrià Thermal Power Plant, located on the left bank of the Besós river, on the municipal boundary of Sant Adrià de Besós, and it is also defined as a strategic area for contemporary reflection.

The objectives are the understanding of the phenomenology related to terrain vague and waterfronts and the development of different urban and territorial qualification scenarios for them. The research methodology used consisted of defining the object of study and the hypothesis and, the technique used was "Research by Design". The hypothesis that has been worked with is that the urban qualification scenarios in these areas are open and admit different morphological, density and layout typologies.

In short, it is intended to address both the debates on rehabilitation policies in the inherited and canonical city, and the particular morphological problems with respect to the city-territory with which these areas are adjacent. The reflection ends with a set of designing proposals and intervention strategies that point out possible scenarios of new urbanity, capable of binding the surroundings and highlighting their relationship with water.

**Keywords:** limits, waterfront, Lisbon, Barcelona

Fig. 1 – Sant Adrià de Besòs. Bento, 2020

## 1. Introduction

The object of study of this research are the expectant and interstitial spaces of two water fronts: the Doca de Pedrouços, in Lisbon and the coastal front of the three chimneys, in Sant Adrià de Besòs, Barcelona. The objectives are: on the one hand, the understanding of the phenomenology related to the "terrain vague" and the water fronts and, on the other hand, the development of different scenarios of urban and territorial qualification of the same. The research methodology used consisted of defining the object of study and the hypothesis and, the most used technique, the "Research by Design". The hypothesis that has been worked with is that the urban qualification scenarios in these areas are open and admit different morphological, density and layout typologies. Thus, the article begins by making a critical review, as a theoretical framework, of some of the most important reflections carried out on the object of study; A brief description of the physical framework is then presented, stating the problem; to then present the appropriate project responses. Finally, the work ends with the presentation of two conclusive notes.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

The present work can be inserted in different fields of contemporary urban and morphological reflection, but there are at least two that we cannot escape referring to: that of expectant, empty or interstitial spaces and that of water fronts.

Regarding the first field, we must say that this has been and continues to be the subject of extensive reflection. Solà-Morales (1996; 2002) defined this concept as *terrain vague* and applied it to the void, vacant, free of defined limits and affirmed that it constituted an important category in the metropolitan city. Fausto and Rábago (2001), Machín (2009) and Messen (2005) approached these spaces as *urban voids*. The first applied the concept to land or even intraurban buildings that have no defined use or are not inhabited; the second, he applied it to free intra-urban lands, preferably private and, the third, to residual, interstitial, obsolete spaces or on vague landscapes. The anthropologist Marc Augé (2000) and the sociologist Amendola (1997) described it as *non-places*. The first referring to empty spaces, where people transit, and referring to spaces opposed to the concept of *place*; and, the second, to the spaces created by the urban dynamics caused by postmodernity, also being spaces opposed to the place. Bazant (2001), Méndez (2009; 2011), Peimbert (2008) and the anthropologist Cedeño (2007) called it *urban interstices*. The first, he applied it to intermediate wastelands, spaces that are being left by uncontrolled urban expansion in the periphery; the second, to the intermediate space between plateaus, the third to the forced relationship with the built: interstitial landscape and the fourth applied it to the discontinuous space of the city. The architect Clichevsky (2007) defined it as *vacant land* and applied it to the void, vacant, unused private land, within the perimeter of agglomeration. Finally, Águila Flores (2014: 54), in a recent publication, defined interstitial spaces as "those (empty spaces) that accompany the phenomenon called urban expansion."

With regard to the second field - the waterfronts - it should be said that it is also the subject of enormous academic reflection. Numerous academics such as Joan Busquets, Francisco Monclús Fraga and Juan Alemany or María del Carmen Blasco Sánchez and Francisco Martínez Pérez in Spain; Victor Matias Ferreira and Jorge Gaspar, Manuel Salgado or João Costa in Portugal; Dominique Mashini, Daniel Talesnik and Alejandro Gutiérrez in Chile; Hans Meyer in Holland; Regine Keller in Germany; Laurent Vermeersch in France; Rinio Bruttomessi in Italy, and organizations such as Project for Public Spaces and La Città d'Acqua, among many others, have developed important works and research on the subject.

## 3. Physical framework / Problem

The research carried out during the last two years addresses two interstitial peri-urban territories, which have been the subject of various studies by different administrations and academies. In Lisbon, this area is formalized by the area of the Pedrouços docks, and specifically by the action area defined by the Doca de Pedrouços Strategic Document, approved in 2011. An area of the river front, formerly occupied by the activities of the Port of Lisbon, located in the western part of the city, formalizing the border with the municipality of Oeiras and which is assumed as a potential space for multiple transformations. In Barcelona, the view falls on part of its promenade, on the land occupied by the building of the old Thermal of Sant Adrià,

located on the left bank of the Besós river, and specifically on the area of action of the PDU d'Ordenació del Front Litoral in l'Àmbit de les Tres Xemeneies, from January 2018 and which is also defined as a strategic area for contemporary reflection.
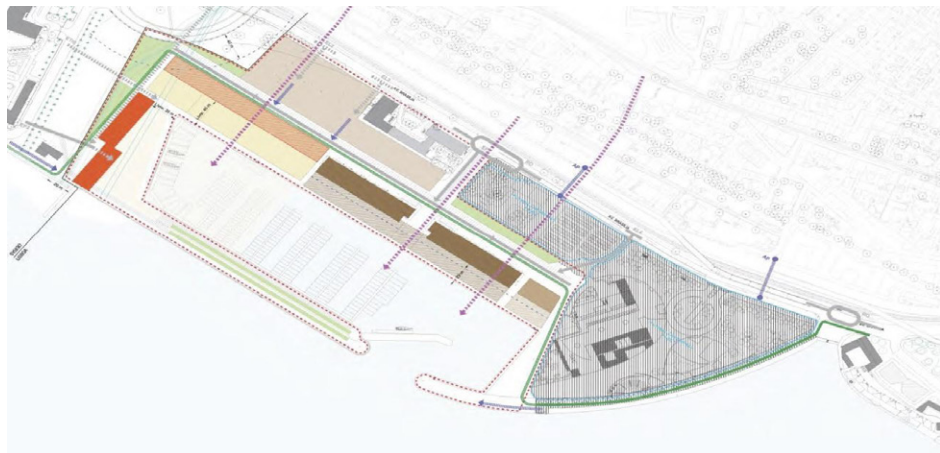


Fig. 2 – Doca de Pedrouços Strategic Document - Implementation Proposal, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa and APL -Administração do Porto de Lisboa, S.A. 2011.



Fig. 3 – General Intervention Plan of the Lisbon Riverfront - Framework Document, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2008.

The Pedrouços dock area is located in the parish of Santa María de Belém and covers approximately 125,000 m2. The whole area was occupied until the beginning of 2012 by industrial buildings, largely unused, and without architectural interest, meanwhile demolished, except for the "Edifício da Lota" from the 60s, which due to its unique relationship with the pier is intended to requalify. The reconversion program focuses in particular on two distinct areas, which complement each other and work in an integrated manner. The first zone constitutes the entire front of the dock and includes the area destined for the future recreational marina of the Pedrouços dock, which will integrate the necessary valences for the realization of the main national and international ocean navigation events. The second zone consists of the strip along Av. Brasilia and the final auctions with the east and west ends. It is configured in an area of accessibilities, parking, green spaces and new construction. The objectives proposed in the Doca de Pedrouços Strategic Document approved and published in 2011 for the area in question aim to contribute to:

- requalify an area that is currently disqualified, giving it characteristics that last over time;

- equip Lisbon with a recreational marina and its infrastructures with the conditions to host important national and international ocean navigation events and large recreational vessels;

- urban reorganization of the northern strip of the intervention area in contact with Av. Brasilia, in terms of uses, equipment, accessibility and green spaces;

- dignify the landscape and urban integration of the Torre de Belém, eliminating the metal viaducts that connect Av. De Brasilia and Av. Da Índia, and

- establish a formal and functional articulation with the reconverted public outdoor spaces within the scope of contiguous operations, in particular, the areas surrounding the Champalimaud Foundation.
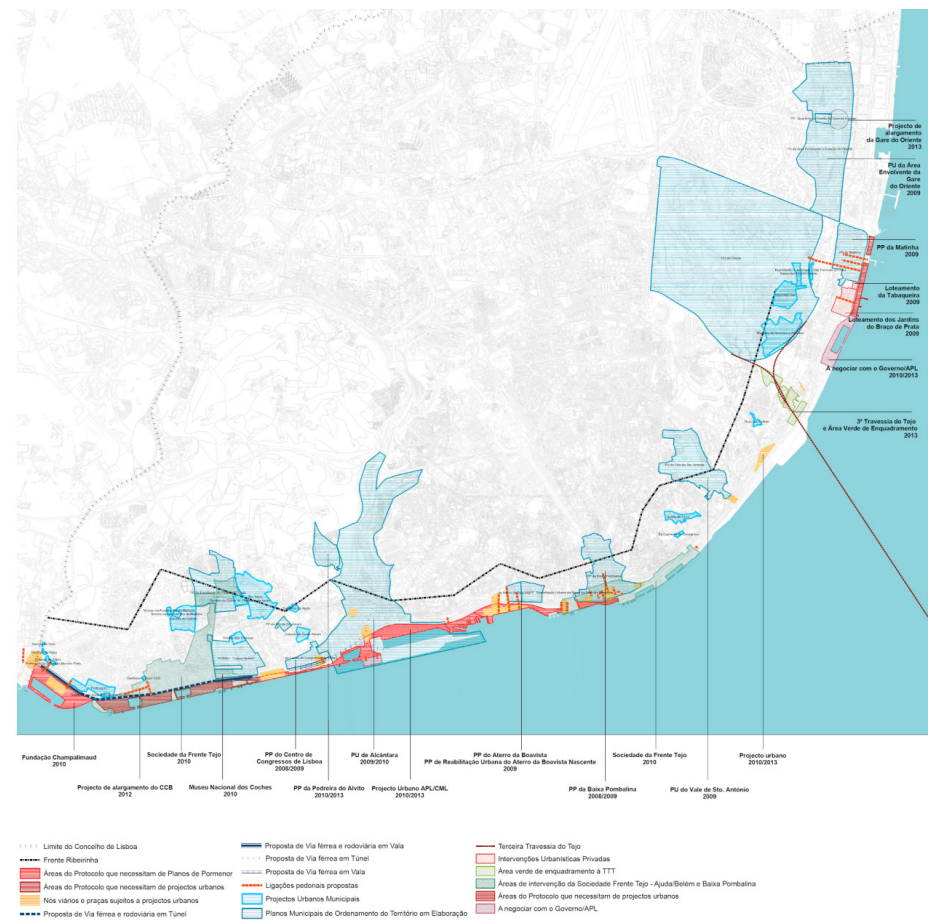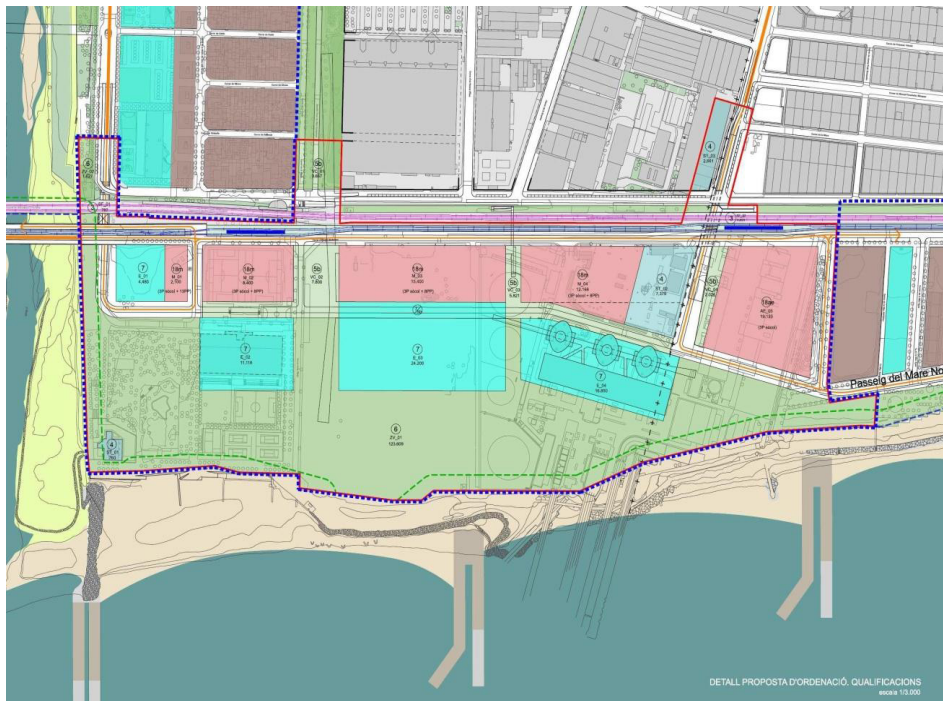
Fig. 4 - Detail of the Front Litoral PDU Proposal, Generalitat de Catalunya y Estudi Ramón Folch, January 2018.
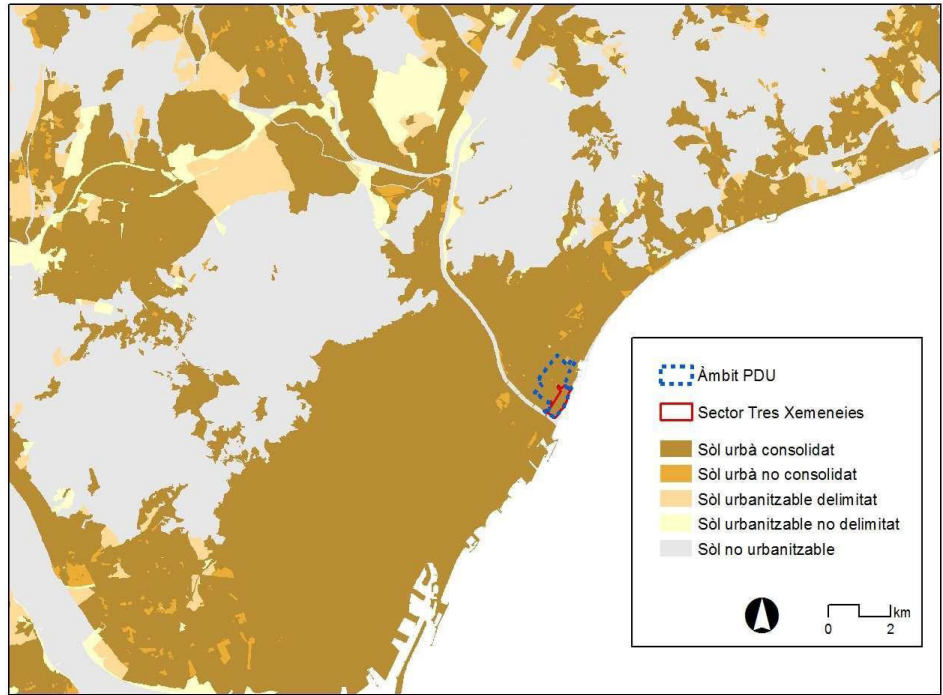


Fig. 5 - Metropolitan context of the PDU according to the soil classification, Generalitat de Catalunya y Estudi Ramón Folch, January 2018

- In Barcelona, although the area of the PDU will be specified throughout the drafting work, it starts from a land that occupies a total area of 124.9 Ha, corresponding to the area of the sector that delimits and orders the PDU, of about 32, 6Ha and an area of 92.3 Ha corresponding to the urban fabrics adjacent to it, which are located in a more interior position, in order to promote their transformation and to guarantee the continuity of these fabrics of Sant Adrià and Badalona with the façade coast. The sector that delimits the PDU, called the Three Chimneys, and object of new planning, is located on the coastline, on the left bank of the Besòs river. It ranges from the mouth of the river Besòs to the new urban development of the Port of Badalona, between the municipalities of Badalona and Sant Adrià del Besòs. The sector covers an area with an area of 326,712 m2, (32.67Ha), which is delimited as described below:

- To the Northwest, along Avenida Eduard Maristany and the land reserve linked to the railway system of the Barcelona Mataró Line, together with incisions at the level of Calle Olímpic, Calle de la Playa and Avenida del Maresme.

- To the Northeast, by the boundary of the residential sector made up of the blocks between Paseo del Mare Nostrum and Avenida de Eduard Maristany, south of the Badalona marina, called Barrio de la Mora.

- To the south-east, by the delimitation of the Terrestrial Maritime Public Domain (DPMT) towards the sea.

- South-West, along the same delimitation of the DPMT corresponding to the Besòs river up to Avenida de Eduard Maristany.

### 4. Project Responses

The project strategies are developed based on two premises: on the one hand, through a critical review of the planning instruments presented for the two case studies and, on the other hand, through the response to a functional program of utopian and exploratory nature, alternative to the aforementioned plans and which is detailed below. Finally, it should be noted that this project research "Research by Design" is carried out in the curricular units of Laboratory Project IV and V of the 4th year of the Master in Architecture developed during the academic years 2018/2019 and 2019/2020 by the group of students who make up the aforementioned curricular units and their respective teaching team.

Lisbon, and especially its waterfront, constitutes a potential space for multiple transformations and appropriations. The existing dysfunction in the Port of Lisbon, caused by the deactivation of many of its areas, promotes new uses that allow the connection between the built network and the river. Recent large-scale interventions, such as the New Cruise Terminal, the expansion of the MAAT, the

construction of the Champalimaud Foundation or even the restructuring of public spaces, such as the Ribeira das Naus and the Plaza del Comercio, are configured as incursions that effectively open a new stage in the permanent and qualified experience of the river front.

Associated with these uses (perhaps more stable and assumed as new polarities and emerging urbanities) coexist other phenomena of an especially temporary nature that activate, during certain moments, attraction actions in strategic areas of the city. Some examples would be events such as the global Web Summit or the summer concerts in Parque das Nações or in the Passeio Ribeirinho de Algés. Thus, in this context, the Lisbon Volvo Ocean Race event stands out as a field for project reflection. One of the best known sailing regattas, started in 1973, which already has thirteen editions completed, and where the last three were established with a connection to Lisbon, settling precisely in the western area of the Pedrouços dock, which we are now dealing with.

In this way, assuming the pretext of the temporary qualification of this area of the city, combined with the opportunity for a permanent regeneration of the dock and surrounding areas, this object is chosen as the privileged space for project reflection.

Therefore, an urban program is established for which project strategies must be developed that qualify the space in question and its surroundings. On the one hand, it must articulate an ephemeral part of the urban space, related to the implementation of the Lisbon Ocean Race Village program with its own functional areas defined by: exhibition area, activity area, team area and others; and, on the other hand, the permanent part, qualified with new uses, such as: hotel, marina and commercial areas with adjacent restaurants and a nautical sports complex.

In total, nine urban occupation scenarios have been deployed, of very different character and shape.The exploded Barcelona, and in particular its promenade, continues to be territories with great urban potential for carrying out numerous transformations and appropriations. In fact, the dysfunctionality of some sectors, among which, that delimited by the land occupied by the old Sant Adrià Thermal Power Plant - located on the left bank of the Besós, municipal limit of Sant Adrià de Besós, province of Barcelona - constitute magnificent opportunities and are defined as strategic areas of contemporary reflection. This particular and extensive area of the promenade - where there is still part of the impressive built structure of what had once constituted the Three Chimneys Thermal Power Plant, operating for approximately 38 years (between 1973 and 2011) and which is widely known for its emblematic chimneys of approximately 200 meters high (recently classified as a cultural asset of local interest), - remains a controversial focus of discussion on the directions to take in terms of future strategies, and how to operate or maintain the existing architectural heritage legacy.

Thus, the exercise that has been attempted consists in taking up some of those discussions of a more architectural scope and, simultaneously, outlining different urban qualification strategies that reconstruct the city's relations with water and with its different nearby urban environments. The only programmatic requirement at the level of urban proposals is that they contemplate the creation of a new urban facility - a museological complex and research center that is related to the issue of energy and its paradigms - that can be developed below.

Also in this case, nine urban occupation scenarios have been deployed, very different from each other, but which as a whole have wanted to offer urban improvement solutions capable of qualifying the aforementioned interstitial space and its surroundings.

**4.1 Morphological typology, density and tracing**

After the detailed analysis of the 18 proposals studied (9 in Lisbon and 9 in Barcelona), it is very curious to observe how the urban qualification scenarios for these areas can be so open and admit morphological, density and layout typologies so different from each other. With regard to morphology, at least four types of action have been read: the orthogonal type proposals, the organic type, the radial type and, a few, that by mixing elements of at least two of the morphological types listed above, make up some hybrid type proposals.

**4.1.1. *Orthogonal Morphology Proposals***

From the reading carried out, it is concluded that the most explored morphological types are still orthogonal, adding up to seven proposals in total. However, although they may keep certain elements in common with each other, such as wide, straight and perpendicular streets, creating a checkerboard shape, the spatial diversity achieved and the urban elements put in value are very rich and heterogeneous.

Fig.6 - Group 1Lx Proposal, Correia, Reis and Gordalina, 2019.



Fig. 7 – Grou p 5Lx Proposal, Freixial, Costa, Aires and Fischer, 2019.



Fig. 8 and 9 – Group 7Lx Proposal, Lovrecic, Mamic and Carvalho, 2019.



Fig. 10 – Group 1Bcn Proposal, Plácido, Manuel, Silva, Cernadas and Silva, 2020.
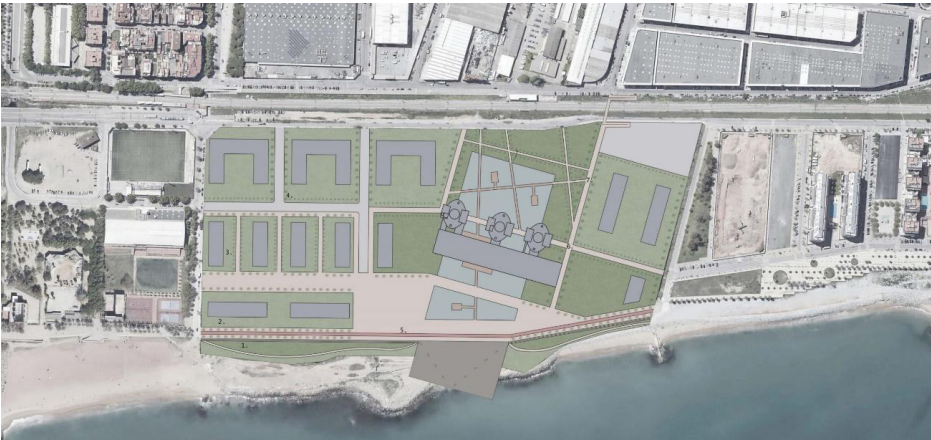
Fig. 11 - Group 3Bcn Proposal, Guerreiro, Catalão, Pinto and Costa, 2020.
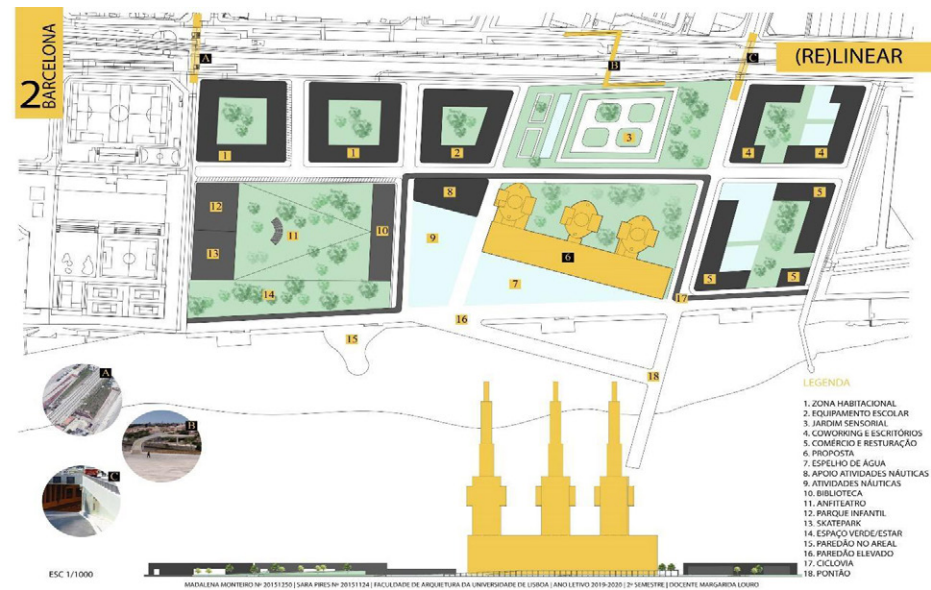


Fig. 12 – Group 4Bcn Proposal, Monteiro and Pires, 2020.

Figs. 13 and 14 – Group 9Bcn Proposal, Correia, Braz de Oliveira, Appleton and Afonso, 2020.

### 4.1.2. Organic Morphology Proposals

There are fewer proposals that develop an organic urban morphology (2 in Lisbon and 2 in Barcelona), but the results are no less interesting and the proposed urban public spaces are very diverse, creative and innovative.



Fig. 15 - Group 4Lx Proposal, Junior , Tumpej, Alves and Reis, 2019.
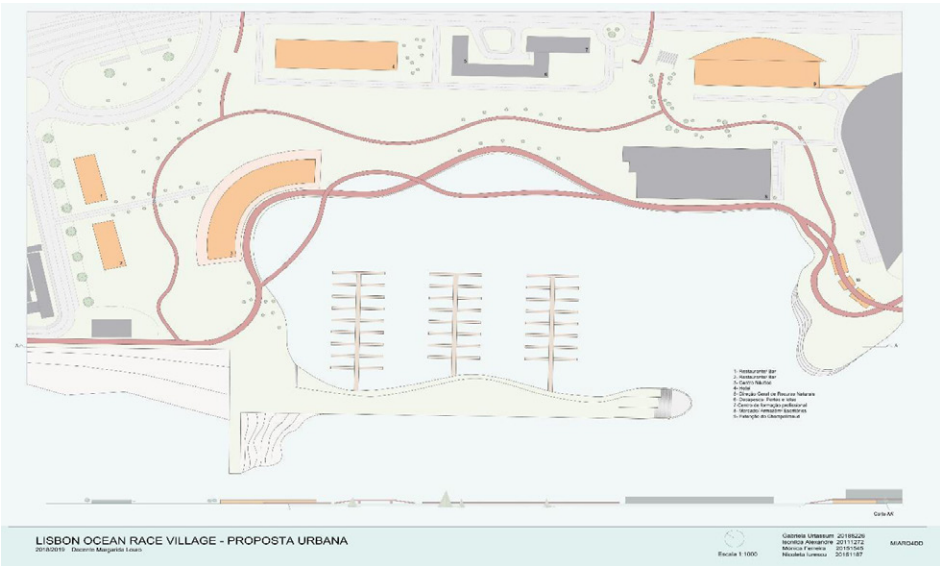
Fig. 16 – Group 6Lx Proposal, Urtassum, Alexandre, Ferreira and Iuresco, 2019.



Figs. 17 and 18 - Group 5Bcn Proposal, Fangueiro, Neves, Mendes, Ferraz and Espírito Santo, 2020.
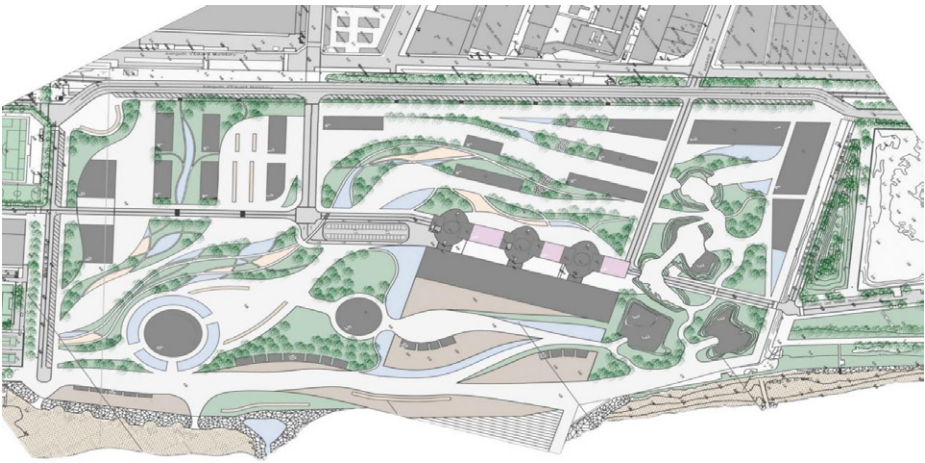


Fig. 19 - Group 6Bcn Proposal, Menino, Furtado, Pedroso and Abreu, 2020.

### 4.1.3. *Radial Morphology Proposals*

The urban proposals that are framed in a radial type morphology have been the least numerous (only 2) and have been developed only for Lisbon.
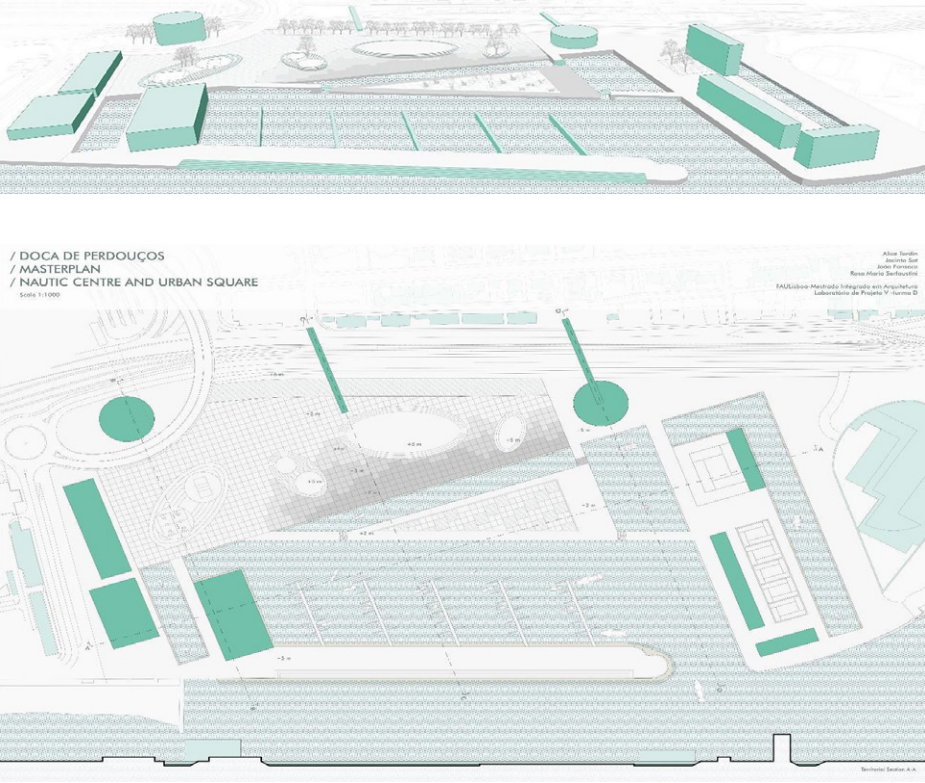


Figs. 20 and 21 - Group 8Lx Proposal, Tordin, Sat, Fonseca and Serfaustini, 2019.
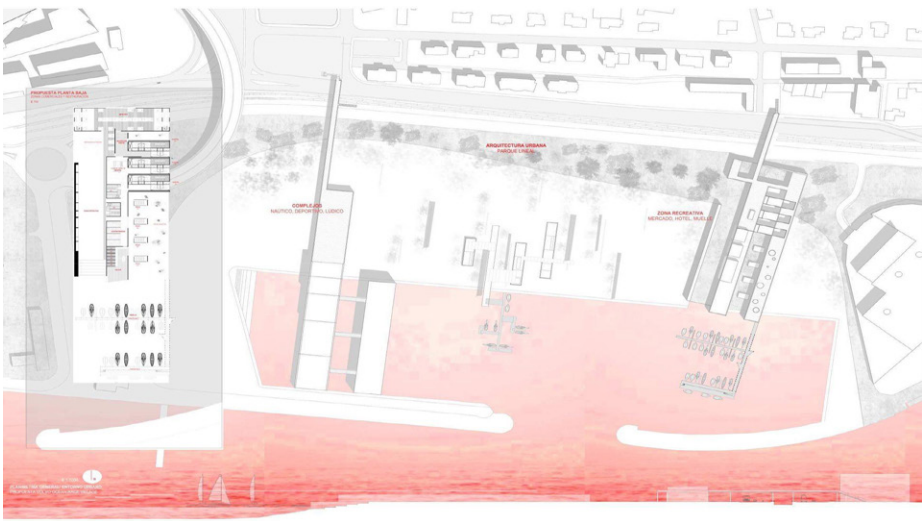
Fig. 22 - Group 9Lx Proposal, Alvarenga, Atristain, Redondo and Rivera, 2019.

#### 4.1.4. *Hybrid Morphology Proposals*

Therefore, we can highlight five proposals that configure a type of hybrid morphology (2 in Lisbon and 3 in Barcelona) that also present a great diversity of urban solutions for the terrain vague studied.



Fig.23 - Group 2Lx Proposal, Vieira, Estrompa, Sá and Toi, 2019.
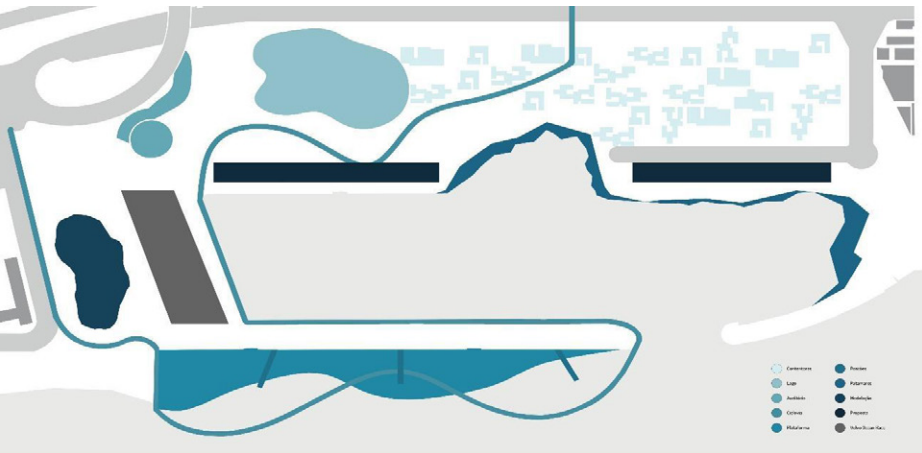


Fig. 24 - Group 3Lx Proposal, Silva, Palha, Sobral and Constantino, 2020.



Fig. 25 – Group 2Bcn Proposal, Barbosa, Ramos, Rocha and Lourenço, 2020.



Fig. 26 - Group 7Bcn Proposal, Arita, Deolindo and Custódio, 2020.
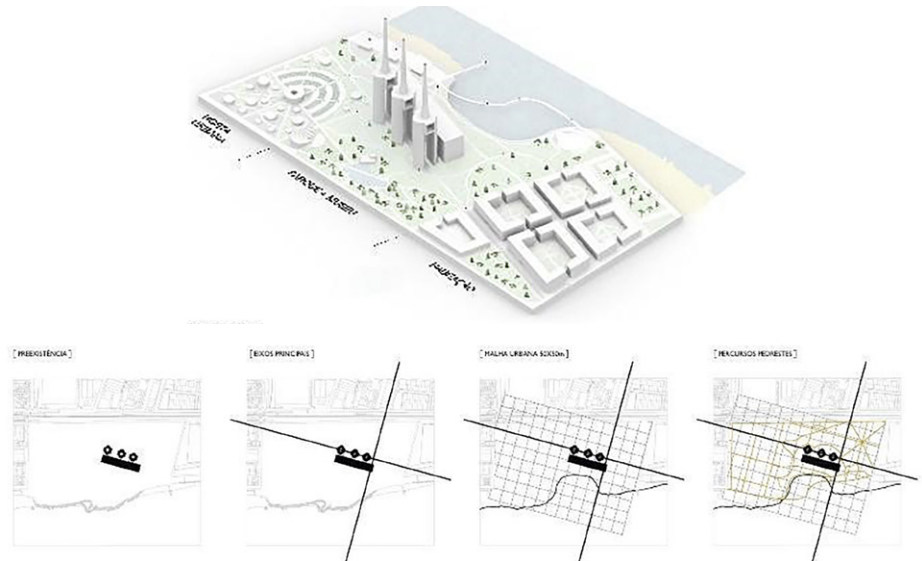


Figs. 27 and 28 - Group 7Bcn Proposal, Arita, Deolindo and Custódio, 2020.

Fig. 29 - Group 8Bcn Proposal, Vidinhas and Miranda, 2020.

### 3. Concluding Notes

From urban planning and architecture there are many different answers that we can offer to areas that present the same type of problems and opportunities. In other words, both territories - Doca de Pedrouços and Front Marítim de les tres Chimeneas - suffer from similar problems: territorial isolation; physical barriers raised by heavy mobility infrastructures that are difficult to overcome; social stigma due to previously existing industrial activities; abandonment and obsolescence of the built heritage, etc. and opportunities with a certain resemblance: a location that was previously peripheral but currently of extraordinary centrality; well communicated areas; and, given the scarcity of land in both Lisbon and Barcelona, these plots have a high economic interest, reinforced because the land is located next to the coastline. But the actions to be carried out can be all that we want them to be (preferably consensual and shared with society) and the research presented here is nothing more than a set of examples of different scenarios to choose from: if for more organic morphologies, orthogonal, radial or hybrid; if by a high, low or intermediate density and if by paths that break with the existing ones or otherwise they are drawn by continuity.

Finally, the relationship with preexistence, that is, the existing heritage legacies in the two contexts (cold stores in Pedrouços and chimneys and turbine room in Sant Adrià de Besòs) and the way in which these have more or less influenced the various proposals. Ultimately, all the proposals presented here not only try to integrate in one way or another the historical memory of these preexistence, but the preexistence constitutes the starting point for the project of a new urbanity and that attitude marks a position very clear about the strategy of projecting with

what has been built. It is evident that this is an open process... and we believe that there is no better laboratory than the academic one to carry out all the inquiries and project explorations that allow us to qualify the contemporary urban. Through the set of papers presented, we hope to have contributed our bit to the advancement of the discipline and thus contribute in a particular way to the theme chosen for this fourth edition of the congress.



Fig. 30 - Pedrouços, Louro, 2020

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# 67 A public space in the post-apartheid city:

## The Golden Mile Beachfront of Durban (South Africa)

SILVIA BODEI
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa

ROANNE OBERHOLZER
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa

### ABSTRACT

Accessible, safe, and the longest on the African continent, the Beachfront Golden Mile is a unique place for the city of Durban. The imposing eight kilometer Promenade is lined on the side of the coastal road by tall apartment blocks, hotels, and a public hospital. The Promenade itself is full of bars, restaurants and sports clubs integrated with green areas rich with vegetation and palm trees, parking areas, and spaces for traders. The access points to the long beach and the sea, realised through wooden walkways, are inserted within a wide landscape intervention, consisting of natural barriers of plants and sand dunes, created to counter the erosion of the beach. Populated throughout the day by people from a variety of social backgrounds, ethnicities, religions and origins, the Beachfront allows for atypical interactions, free from many of the social constructs and limitations that still characterize other public places in the country.

The research presented highlights the historical stratification of the various interventions that have contributed to the formation of Durban's Golden Mile. Started in 19th century, under the Union of South Africa (a self governing dominion of the British Empire) and then developed during the 20th century, especially by the Apartheid regime, the large infrastructure took its current configuration for the 2010 FIFA World Cup and was finally extended to the mouth of the harbour in 2019. Through a diachronic reconstruction the research intends to show the current strategic role of this important public space for the city and for the democratic South Africa.

Keywords: Urban Design, Urban Development, South African Architecture, Apartheid Planning.

## 1. Introduction

Populated at all hours of the day by people from all walks of life, ethnicity, and lifestyle, the contemporary Beachfront Golden Mile promenade is an open, lively and, in many ways, unique place in the city of Durban and throughout South Africa. But this space in front of the sea - eight kilometers long, making it the largest promenade on the African continent - was not like this for almost a century. From its foundation, and for almost the entire 20th century, it was conceived and experienced by most of the inhabitants of the city as a closed and "empty" system.

To better understand its history and subsequent development in the contemporary era, it is appropriate to recall the words of Ignasi de Solà-Morales when he describes the "terrains vagues" as those empty and unoccupied places and territories in which "the relationship between the absence of the use, of activity, and the sense of freedom, of the expectancy, is fundamental [...]. Void, absence, yet also promise, the space of the possible"(1995, p. 120). In the case of the Beachfront the "terrain vague" periphrasis acquires a significant meaning, internal to the specific context of South Africa.

After the first settlements along the coast by British settlers in the 19th century and subsequent interventions that began to shape the waterfront, it was in the 20th century, especially with the apartheid planning instituted by the Afrikaans-led government from 1948 to 1994, that the Beachfront became an "empty", "absent" space. Indeed, the settlers initially built this place for themselves and in 1930, beach segregation was officially introduced by Natal Provincial Notice No. 206, nearly two decades before apartheid laws were enacted. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Amendment Act of 1960 finally formalized the practice, already in use, of separate beach facilities for different races. In 1977 in Durban, more than two kilometers of beach were reserved for whites (at the time 22% of the population), 650 meters to Black Africans (46%), 550 meters to Indians (28%) and 300 meters to Coloureds (4%) (Durrheim & Dixon, 2001).

The Beachfront, like places in all South African cities, was therefore traumatized and fractured by racial planning, but at the same time, due to its natural, formal, and strategic characteristics, it remained a territory awaiting a different, "possible" future. With the end of apartheid, from 1990 it became officially accessible to all, and, thanks to the various interventions carried out over time (some already in the 80s, then especially those for the 2010 World Cup and the most recent intervention in 2019), it has gradually transformed into an articulated and welcoming system, becoming one of the most important public spaces of the South African democratic era. Therefore, retracing the history of this difficult process can help to grasp its characteristics and the contemporary meaning of the whole.
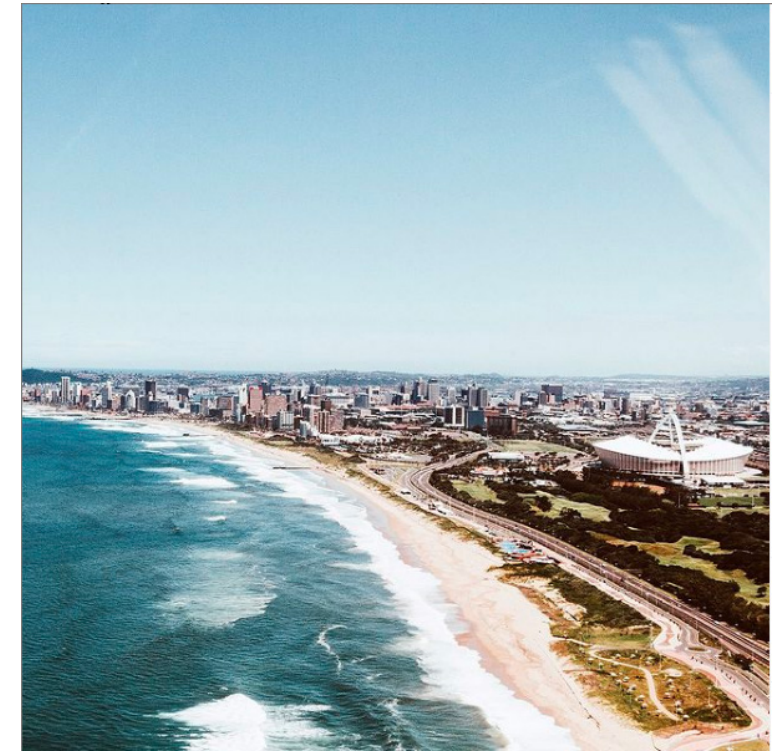


Fig. 1 - Aerial photograph showing the Promenade, Battery Beach Node and Moses Mabhida Soccer Stadium built for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Source:(Greaves, 2015)

## 2. 1824-1970s Durban Beachfront's segregated development

### 2.1 Durban Beachfront's first colonial settlements

The overarching colonial story of the Durban Beachfront is not unique in its aims; it is one of economic extraction and of imperfectly recreating the colonial 'motherland'. These narratives were materialised by creating the infrastructure for a trading harbour and simultaneously building leisure facilities, which mimicked those in England, for visitors and sailors (Jackson, 2015).[1]

From early on, colonial settlers linked their economic prospects to the development of Durban's harbour, which led to a series of industrial, dredging, and breakwater extension developments (Jackson, 2015). These include Captain Vetch's crescent-shaped pier at the entrance of the bay, constructed in the mid 19th century, and further dredging in the late 19th century, to allow for larger colonial ships to cross the bar (Triveshan, 2004). Colonial engineer Peter Paterson designed the first lighthouse in Durban, which was the first on the east coast of Africa and took

1 The trading harbour was initially for ivory, hides, cattle and grain and later to support the mineral boom in Kimberley and the Witwatersrand. Durban was called "the Brighton of South Africa" in a 1915 Durban Municipal publicity brochure (Preston-Whyte, 2001, p. 584).

three years to construct, due to difficulty transporting the heavy materials up to the visible location of the lighthouse (Kearney, 1973).
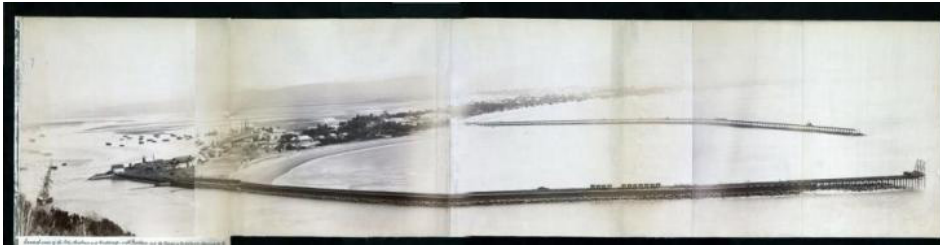


Fig. 2 - Lithograph of the Point, Port Natal and Bluff, Durban, sketched from Captain Gardiner's Mission Station, 1855. Source: (Poverello, 2012)

The narrative of recreating England in its colony informed the types of leisure amenities around the beach and the overall built environment of the Beachfront.[2] In the early 20th century, the Durban Council invested heavily in tourist infrastructure, particularly in hotels, a shallow bathing enclosure protected from sharks, and the Kenilworth Tea Room arcades (Van Oordt, 2006). By 1908, Durban was a premiere holiday resort in Southern Africa, attracting 15 000 tourists per year (Maharaj, 2006). Reference was made to England in marketing material employed by Durban's Municipality.[3]

The start of World War Two led to a shift in Durban's landscape as a result of defensive measures. On the Beachfront, primary changes included building blockhouses at the harbour entrance, introducing anti-submarine nets, and demolishing prominent city features which could have assisted enemy navigation, like the lighthouse (Williams, 1993).

Paramount to achieving a "little Brighton" in Durban was the control of Black African, Indian, and Coloured people in public space (Preston-Whyte, 2001, p. 584). Due to the objective of colonial extraction, their presence could not be completely absent, as their labour was required. This dilemma was the major informant for colonial and later apartheid segregation strategies in the settler colonies they were trying to create. Parts of the Beachfront, along with prime amenities and spaces in South African cities, were emptied of part of their populations.

In the 1930s, policies on the restriction of leisure activities in the city for Black Africans were introduced. These strategies were unique to the city of Durban and later became known as "the Durban system". This system was operated by the Native Affairs Department of the Apartheid government and was the precursor to

the national Pass Laws Act of 1952 (Swanson, 1976). It aimed to control the influx of 'non-whites' into the city, by requiring black Africans to apply for a permit to stay in the CBD. This intersection of the control of the city's leisure amenities and the control of who was allowed into and out of the city shows the strategic use of leisure in Durban to aid segregation. In 1948, segregation policies were replaced by formal planning, at the start of the Apartheid regime. The Apartheid project sought to enforce racial division in all spheres of public and private life (Lemon, 1991). In the first two decades of rule by the National Party, over one hundred laws were passed to support the vision of Apartheid planners for racially segregated spaces, creating all manner of racially restricted areas in South African cities - spaces emptied of their 'non-white' populations. One of the most infamous of these laws was the 1950 Group Areas Act, which demarcated geographical boundaries for the residence of different race groups, placing White people closest to economic and leisure opportunities, and pushing Coloured people to the peripheries.

### 2.2 Apartheid spatialisation on the Beachfront

It can be argued, however, that the Beachfront as a form and natural condition resisted segregation. The 1953 Separate Amenities Act had to undergo various amendments including expanding the definition of "occupation" to include swimming, and expanding the definition of "land" to include sand at sea level, and the sea itself, in order to be applied to the Beachfront. Additionally, the Beachfront is linear in form, with four strips - sea, sand, promenade, and road - running parallel across the eight kilometer stretch. The archetypal apartheid city was radial in form, and employed key strategies like the use of transport routes as barriers, the control of movement using the 'dompas' buffer zones, the control of exit/entry routes into spaces, and the organisation of living facilities according to race and proximity to economic opportunities.[4] At a more architectural scale, it used walls, signage, separate amenities, and surveillance. While some of these strategies were able to translate to the beachfront, many were not. The ideology of non-contact was translated into natural separating elements in the landscape - e.g. rock outcrops and breakwater piers (Durrheim & Dixon, 2001). The segregation of South Africa's beaches was, therefore, mainly dependent on policing and signage for implementation and was most readily implemented in Durban out of all South Africa's coastal cities.

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2   What was then "Port Natal".

3   This extract in particular shows the colonial language used to describe the environment "Overlooking the beach promenade will be found a number of palatial hotels, modernized in every particular, and able to compare favorably with those to which one is accustomed at the best holiday resorts in the Old Country" (Preston-Whyte, 2001, p. 584).

4   A document that all Black African people had to carry with them under the Apartheid regime to prove their idenity and where they were allowed to live and work under the Group Areas Act.
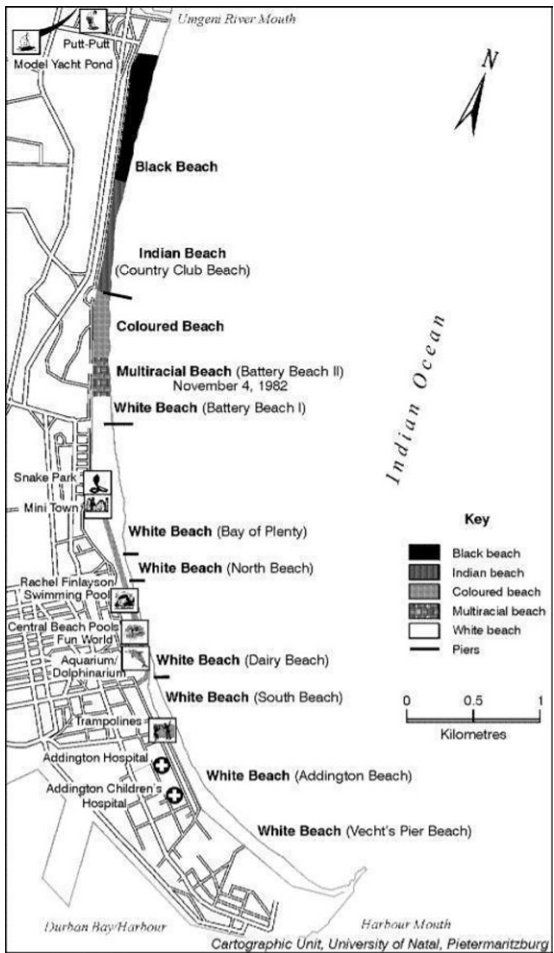
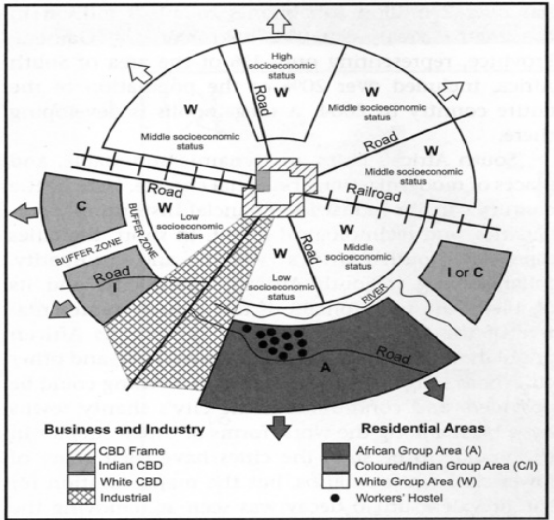Fig. 3 - Plan of Durban Beachfront, 1982.Source: (Durrheim & Dixon, 2001)



**FIGURE 24-12** The model Apartheid city, showing residential and industrial areas and central districts (CBD). *Adapted from Davies (1981).*

Fig. 4 - The Model Radial Apartheid City, showing residential and industrial areas and central districts (CBD). Source: (Cole & De Blij, 2007)

In 1959, after finally managing to legislate the segregation of beaches following amendments to the Separate Amenities Act, the Apartheid Government and private sector invested heavily in development along the beach as white tourists (local and international) began to spend time and money on the Durban beach. The seaside frontage experienced four-fifths of the growth in hotel space and two-thirds of the growth in apartments that occurred in central Durban in the mid 20th century (Preston-Whyte, 2001). By the early 1970s, beach apartheid had become widely entrenched in all South African coastal cities.
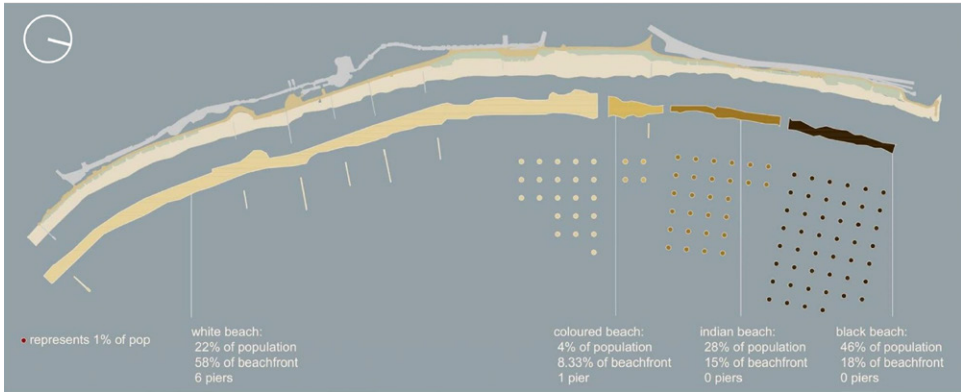


Fig. 5 - Representation of the beachfront land allocated to different races during apartheid and the relative population sizes of those race groups in 1977. Own creation based on (Durrheim & Dixon, 2001)

### 3. The end of Apartheid and contemporary interventions

**3.1 The 1980s: Towards integration and democracy**

In the early 1980s, at a time of significant political changes, the Durban Municipality decided to invest new resources in the development of the waterfront and established the Beach and City Committee. Its mandate was to carry out a significant urban restructuring of a seven kilometer long area in an effort to emulate the 1930s landscape which was characterised by piers and promenades, picnic areas, lawns for sunbathing, and landscaped parking areas (Edwards, 1989).

In 1986, a new road system was created for cars in order to convey commuter car traffic away from the seafront, favoring the pedestrianization of the path along the beach. A central aspect of this system was to solve the passage from street level to the beach. The idea was that the buildings functioned as "bridges" between the road and the beach, and as landmarks of the walkable promenade created in front of the beach. With the collaboration of external architects, various other projects were carried out, including a new playground, new swimming pools, changing rooms distributed along the entire beach, and the addition of green areas, wind-sheltered seats, and various water features around the paddling pools in the Central Beachy (Bruce, 1988; Edwards, 1989; Garth, 1987). For

the first time, this large and articulated intervention was realised with a point of view more attentive to the needs of the entire population than the structured and closed apartheid planning. The situation was gradually changing and, in 1982, the first integrated beach was introduced and inserted between the "White" and "non-White" beaches, acting as an intermediate space. The end of segregation on the Beachfront was slowed down by resistance from White residents of Durban, which was stronger than that experienced in other South African coastal cities. It was only in 1989 that the repeal of the Separate Services Act of 1953 was announced across the country, and the opening of beaches became state law in June 1990 (Rogerson, 2017; Morris, 1998). This moment anticipated the end of apartheid and the beginning of the democratic era, which occurred in 1994.
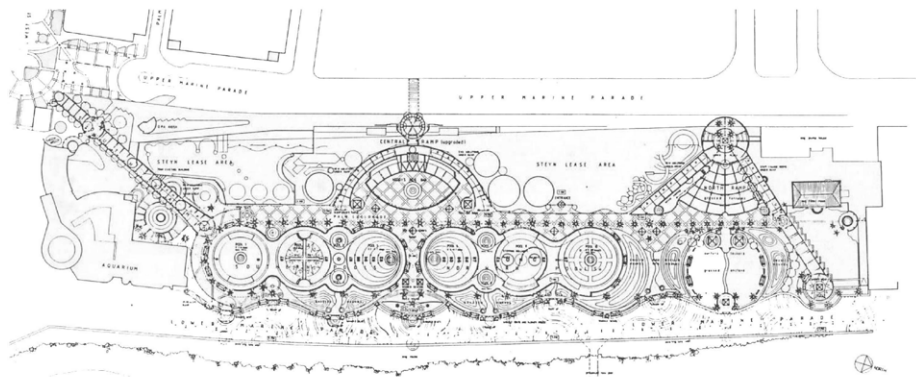


Fig. 6 - Plan of Central Durban Beachfront redeveloped by Stafford Associate Architects including the reconstruction of the paddling pools. Source: (Stafford, 1988.)



Fig. 7 - View of Central Durban Beachfront redeveloped by Stafford Associate Architects including the reconstruction of the paddling pools. Source: (Stafford, 1988.)

**3.2 The years of Democracy**

In the early 1990s, with the complete accessibility of the beaches to all race groups, the Beachfront began for the first time to be truly perceived as a single system. However, this character was fully defined with the redevelopment carried out for the FIFA World Cup in 2010 when the Municipality intervened in a radical way to improve the existing Promenade, which was extended for over seven kilometers

and connected directly to the new Moses Mabhida stadium.[5]

The main development objectives included integrating the central beaches within the entire length of the Beachfront, maximising public access to all the beaches, promoting safety through environmental design, integrating strategic areas of rehabilitation of the dunes, and promoting a healthy lifestyle for the population of Durban (Michael Tod Architects, 2010).[6]

The various interventions implemented in the 80s and 90s, integrated with previous interventions, made the Beachfront a rich and articulated public space. The road, lined with tall buildings for apartment blocks, hotels, and a public hospital, was integrated on the street level with parking areas and new spaces for informal sellers, recreating a long linear market, while the Promenade was redeveloped with a new floor with urban furniture, toilet blocks, and green areas equipped for sport along the way.
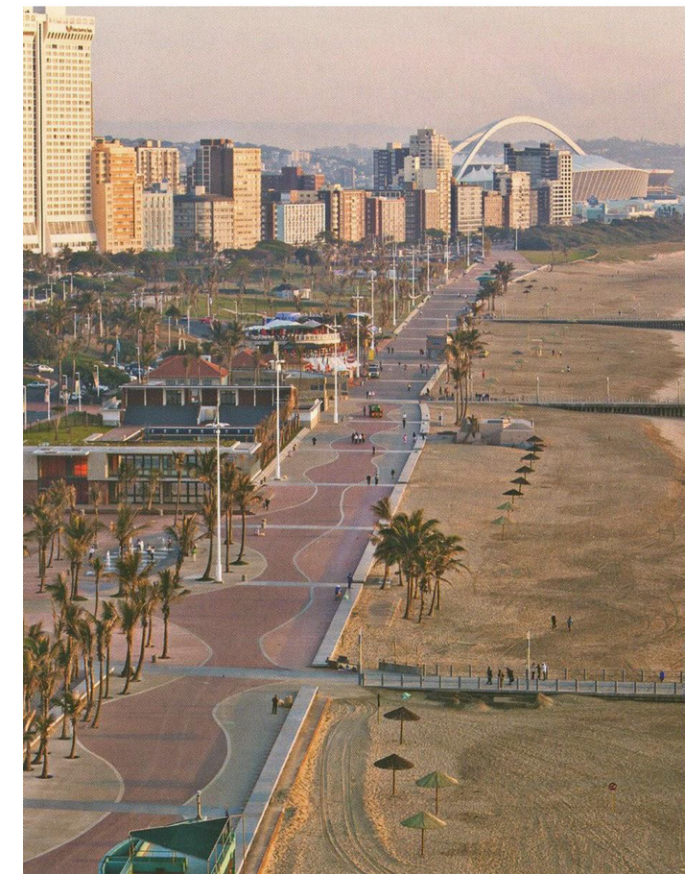


Fig. 8 - View from Wedge Beach looking North, showing sand, piers, promenade with seat edge, and building nodes.

5   With the start of the democratic era, public-private partnerships began to characterize the interventions in the Beachfront as, for example, in the case of the construction of the Suncoast Casino in North Beach and the Beach café in the central area of the promenade.

6   The intervention for the World Cup was one of the most important projects carried out by the Municipality in Durban and there are several local publications on the subject.
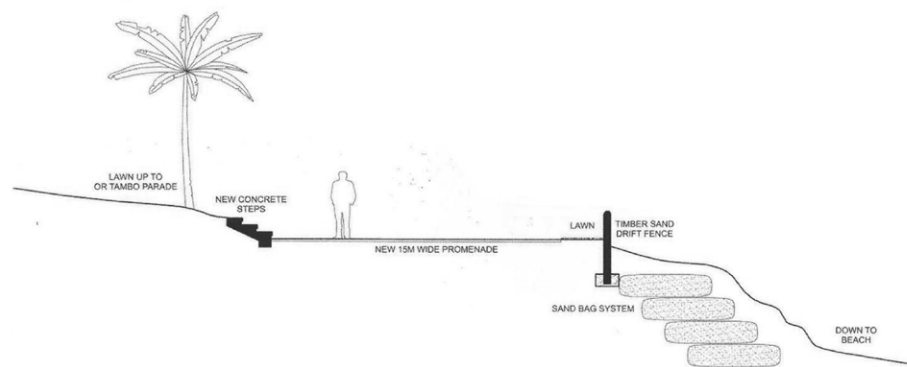
Fig. 9 - Typical Section through the Promenade with sand bag system, common at Southern
Beaches. Source: (Peters, 2011)

The existing structures and buildings that had direct access to the Beachfront from the street were integrated with new buildings in order to create a series of strategic nodes with beach facilities  and commercial activities (e.g. Addington, South Beach-New Beach, Dairy Beach, Bay of Plenty), distributed along the Promenade (Michael Tod Architects, 2010; Peters, 2011). The accesses to the long beach and the sea, marked by wooden walkways, were then inserted within a large landscaping project, creating natural barriers of plants and sand, which also served to counteract the erosion of the beach (Pooley, 2010). Finally, the beach was gradually expanded - currently it is between 15 and 20 meters wide - and the natural sandy strip transformed into a system interspersed with piers and integrated with support services (e.g. swimming pools, areas for lifeguards, sports clubs) dedicated to sports activities.



Fig. 10 - Sand, Vegetation, Promenade and road systems along with key development nodes for
the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Own creation based on (KZNIA, 2010)

An important element of the Beachfront is that countless sports are engaged in daily and at all hours: surfing, swimming, fishing, jogging, but also surf skiing, diving, football, skating, sailing, yoga, cycling, beach soccer and volleyball are played

by a diverse group of people. On any given day at the Beachfront, one could see both women in burqas and men wearing speedos doing sport and exercising. The main objective of the new intervention - to create a large public space for leisure time, capable of welcoming the population of all social backgrounds, ethnicities, religions and origins, while remaining open to other spontaneous, unforeseen activities - has therefore been fully realized. Shembe rituals, the preaching of prophets, fishing on the docks, exercises in outdoor gyms, lunches in expensive restaurants, the informal sale of recycled items, sand sculptures, and performances by street artists all happen in the same space, allowing for unique interactions and intersections of different lifestyles and worldviews.



Fig. 11 - Subsistence fishermen at the harbour mouth. Source:(Greaves, 2020)



Fig. 12 -  Young skaters and bikers meet at the skatepark, at North Beach, part of the Bay of
Plenty Nodes designed by DesignWorkshop. Source: (Greaves, 2019)

Fig. 13 - New Promenade intervention showing new paving, wooden boardwalks, vegetated sand dunes and high rise skyline looking toward North Beach at the uShaka Node. Source: (Greaves, 2015)



Fig. 14 - People swimming and walking by Moyo Restaurant and Pier by KOOP Design. Source: (Greaves, 2015)

Matthew Kay, a contemporary South African photographer, describes Durban's Beachfront as "unique in that it is free from many of the social constructs of other public spaces. Nobody owns the space between the promenade and the sea; it belongs to everyone and nobody. This ambiguity allows for a freedom and a quiet

anarchy that can be seen everywhere but often goes unnoticed" (2015, online). Chantal Mouffe, a Belgian political scientist, calls this "quiet anarchy" "agonistic space" in which the post-political democracy is contested (Mouffe, 2007, p.3). People with very different, and often conflicting, origins are, in fact, able to exist in the same space, thus allowing the repressed conflicts to manifest and express their own narratives.

The importance that the Beachfront has acquired for the population has led to its expansion over the years as a result of the need to create adequate spaces to accommodate more people. The last urbanized section of 750 meters, which was inaugurated in 2019 (COX Architecture and Iyer Urban Design Studio) and which extended the Promenade to the harbor entrance, was conceived as an elevated public space with curvilinear shapes including a long parking area, services, and commercial activities that overlook the beach (Bodei, 2020)[7]. The Beachfront system works so well that, it could be argued, there is a need to extend the same project typology along the coast, towards the river and the port.
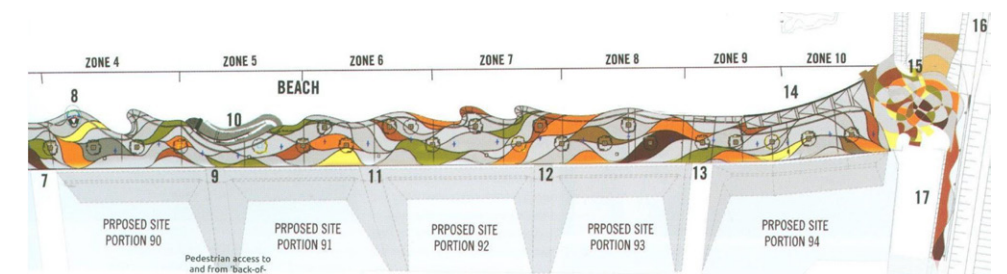




Figs. 15 & 16 - Plan and views of the new extension of the Beachfront Golden Mile. Souce: (COX Architecture and Iyer Urban Design Studio, 2019)

7  Together with this intervention, the Municipality has also thought to insert a row of skyscrapers to create a new urban skyline (COX Architecture and Iyer Urban Design Studio, 2019), an idea with a strong commercial character, but difficult to achieve due to lack of capital.

## 4. Conclusion: The Beachfront Golden Mile as a free and continuous space

One of the questions that arises about how to redevelop the "terrains vagues" is to understand "How can architecture act [...] without becoming an aggressive instrument of power and abstract reasons [...] Undoubtedly, through attention to continuity: not the continuity of the planned, efficient and legitimated city but of the flows, the energies, rhythms established by the passing of time and the loss of limits"(de Solà-Morales Rubió, 1995, p.123). Retracing the history of the Beachfront Golden Mile, it is clear that the imposing eight-kilometer promenade is a complex space, the result of numerous interventions over time, but the idea of unity and continuity is particularly evident. Nowadays, this aspect is easy to grasp when we come across it as we observe, with curiosity and pleasure, the movement of people, the activities, the "energies", and the continuous liveliness of the place.

Bernard Tshumi states that space cannot be dissociated from the events and movement of the bodies that inhabit it, specifying that what happens is a characteristic of the space itself (Migaryou, 2014). This long public space facing the sea is  full of bars, restaurants, and sports clubs integrated with green areas rich with flowers, aloes, ground cover and palm trees. It contains parkings and spaces for traders in an alternation of closed, open, and rest areas, experienced in their entirety by the population. This aspect is even more important for a place that, in the past, was fractured and traumatized by colonial interventions but, above all, by the rigid and uniform apartheid planning, which the government established for a strict and oppressive control of the country (Morris, 1998). The Apartheid model was also applied in this case, but the Beachfront, due to its position, linear shape, and the presence of the natural elements of sand and water, managed to partially preserve the continuity of its form.. The recent interventions were therefore inserted in a "space of the possible" and its continuous articulation, together with the opening of diverse activities, have undoubtedly been the main features of its success (de Solà-Morales Rubió, 1995, p. 120).

However, contradictions and conflicts still exist in this space. Between 2009 and 2012, for example,  subsistence fishing (which is estimated to support at least 10 000 people) was banned from public piers and the marina as part of the regeneration of the city's public space for the 2010 World Cup (Maharaj, 2017). The reaction of fisher folk to the various restrictions was immediate: protest marches and  vigils were organized on prohibited sites often parts of the promenade and piers, and continuous appeals to the authorities were made. As a result of these various forms of public activism, the fisher folk were able to reclaim some of their lost spaces.

In 2012, several media also described the rituals of traditional African religions that take place on the seafront, as dangerous, undesirable and unhygienic (Comins, 2012). The complaints were mostly from surfers and spear fishermen, the majority of whom were "White". Although, in this case, the protests show positions and perceptions that are a legacy of the divisions inherited from apartheid, the events reveal the profound and free transformations that occurred in the use of spaces by those who inhabit them. In her essay "What Is Freedom?" Hannah Arendt writes that "the *raison d'être* of politics is freedom and that this freedom is primarily experienced in action"(1958, p.146). The architecture and design of the city are also an important part of this action.

The Golden Mile Beachfront has become a center of continuous and plural activities, which daily tell individual and collective stories and express cultures. Today, it represents a significant space of freedom - a positive engine that is overcoming the barriers and divisions from the past still present in many South African cities and public spaces.

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# 83 Rethinking creativity at neighborhood level in the post--industrial era

## The case studies of two urban voids redevelopments in France: Ile-de-Nantes and Docks-de-Seine

TOURA VARVARA
EHESS/Géographie-Cités

### ABSTRACT

The former industrial districts are often places of experimentation, addressing questions of territorial innovation and city making. Their geographical position within or on the outskirts of cities shows the dynamics of the future territorial development of cities. The reappropriation of these neighborhoods after the period of deindustrialization and the creative activities offered by local authorities and developers can contribute to the economic and demographic growth of deindustrialized shrinking cities. In the research creativity is defined as a process to recover from social and economic recession which are usually linked to deindustrialization. The main goal is to survey how urban spaces with absence of functional use, *terrain vague*, contribute to explore alternative ways of urban dwelling (sustainable, participatory) as well as the differences observed in the implementation of creative strategies in central districts and peripheral areas.
The research method is descriptive-analytic. The descriptive is used in order to define creativity and relate it to previous studies in *terrain vague*. The analytic is used in order to identify the reasons that led to population decline and the correlations between sustainable urban development, citizen engagement and demographic evolution. The performed analyses included a combination of statistics techniques (diagrams of demographic evolution) and qualitative methods (interviews with local authorities, inhabitants and the teams of architects and urban planners of the projects studied in the research). The outcome revealed that the political, economic and social context plays a major role in the strategies of creativity in a city by promoting several times gentrification, especially in peripheral areas. The final conclusion is that the system of traditional actors in the development of urban projects has to redefine the roles of each one, in order to promote innovation, by establishing the inhabitants as real social actors.

**Keywords:** Shrinking cities, urban voids, creativity, France.

## 1. Introduction

Almost all industrial brownfields have in common the manifestation of abandonment, of a loss of their function, of neglect. These urban voids result from the renewal of forms of production and the global distribution of industrial activities (Fontagné & Lorenzi, 2005). Their industrial heritage is linked to a working class society and a bygone economic model. The most frequent answer to the question of redevelopment of brownfields is to do away with all the traces of the city's industrial economy according to the logic that anything that is no longer useful for production is no longer desirable for the construction of the new image of deindustrialized shrinking cities (Andres & Javin, 2008). The question of the creative urban dwelling of former industrial cities remains today a political and social problem which modifies urban functions (Ecomusée le Creusot-Montceau, 2002). We could also note the conflict between, on the one hand, the economic revitalization of former industrial cities and, on the other hand, the preservation of their industrial past. The main goal of the paper is to question how new creative territorial policies (urban renewal programs, participatory public policies) for the redevelopment of former industrial brownfields, *terrain vague*, in France (Ile-de-Nantes, Docks-de-Seine) can contribute in the revitalization of deindustrialized shrinking cities, as long as the differences observed In their implementation in central districts and peripheral areas.

## 2. State of the Art

The paper is part of the thematic area of shrinking cities and particularly of the reintegration into the urban tissue of zones with special spatial and social identity, *terrain vague*. Ignasi Solà-Morales in the mid 1990's described *terrain vague* as a contemporary space of project and design that includes the marginal wastelands and vacant lots that are located outside the city's productive spaces, which according to him are oversights in the landscape that are mentally exterior to the physical interior of the city. The preservation of the identity of these specific zones refers to the collective memory (Halbwachs, 1997) and concerns the form and the social groups to which these urban spaces are addressed. The understanding and the interpretation of the wider areas in which the urban voids are included allows the recording of the structural elements of the space (Prost, 2004), which in turn are the main axes of the redevelopment programs.

''The creative city imaginary is an evolutionary concept, reflecting post-industrial and cultural *turns*, resulting in a hybrid of assemblages and definitions: assemblage in terms of both socio-spatial theory, notably in geography, and in the creative construction through *found objects*, where the creative city is seen to draw on a city's cultural assets, *offer* and *creative essence*'' (Evans, 2017, p.311). In this context we can identify three axes in the programs of redevelopment of former industrial brownfields, which we used for our research:

- the preservation of the industrial past,

- the sustainable dimension of the redevelopment programs and

- the active citizen engagement in the design processes

### 2.1 The preservation of the industrial past

The strong territorial specialization of production, which makes demographic dynamics dependent on economic dynamics, characterizes the development and growth of industrial cities in France (Fischer, 1994). The loss of production jobs has reduced the density and diversity of French industrial cities (Poitrenaud, 2006). The urban life of these cities is not guaranteed and at the same time the possibility of exchanges and their attractiveness is reduced as a result of the disruption of the urban tissue (Levy, 1999).

The notion of urban life applies to spaces, such as industrial sites and working-class neighborhoods around factories, where the presence of industry leads to networks and exchange links with the urban tissue outside the industrial sites (Fache, 2006). Two structural elements of the urban tissue of the industrial city are chosen to address the issue of urban life and the role of local urban development in the planning process of industrial cities:

- work, as an element that generates the notion of living and

- district, especially the popular one, which is the basis of the organization of these cities.

In French literature there are few references that show the link between the preservation of industrial heritage and the post-industrial redevelopment of urban voids (Grange & Poulot, 1997; Comby, 2001; Bonneville, 2004). The rehabilitation of industrial buildings can be considered as a process within the framework of urban renewal programs, particularly as it is a measure for city revitalization. The idea of reconversion of industrial buildings developed in France by Bernard Reichen and Philippe Robert, aims at rejecting urban regeneration programs characteristic of the *Trente glorieuses (1946-1975)* (2002). In the same context, the European *Working Heritage project* is looking for good practices in the reconversion of European industrial buildings as well as the requalification of their environment.[1] We observe that industrial buildings reconverted in Europe accommodate a variety of uses: social housing, offices, businesses and artistic and cultural places (cinemas, theaters, libraries). Beyond the safeguarding of buildings and memory, there is a particular interest in sustainable development in terms of overall energy

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1   http//workingheritage.european-heritage.net.

savings (Desmoulins & Robert, 2005) or, more generally, reconversion can be a lever for the revitalization of entire districts and territories (André & Smith, 2006).

## 2.2 The sustainable dimension of the redevelopment programs

Since 2004, we have observed in France a change in the national policy of regional planning from local production systems towards competitiveness clusters.[2] This spatial planning trend, which distances the city and industry, is increasing alongside with the demands of building a sustainable city. The conversion of industrial brownfields into tertiary activities is carried out in order to revitalize the economic tissue of deindustrialized shrinking cities (Léo & Philippe, 1997). Industrial cities are choosing to invent their model of sustainable and productive city. Indeed the sustainable city, developed in the literature as the future of city planning, brings very few answers for industrial cities (Letté, 2012). Concerns about eco-businesses have only been emerging since the 2000's (Boiral, 2005).

The desire of local political and economic actors to revitalize the economic tissue can be observed at different scales through departmental or regional initiatives, allowing efforts to be pooled (Caisse des Dépôts, 2015). The development of intercommunalities in France makes it possible to carry out economic revitalization projects even in the context of cities' deindustrialization as was the case of the city of Valenciennes. In the case of Valenciennes, the establishment of Toyota, a Japanese automobile manufacturer, in Onnaing (logistics site) has contributed to the economic revitalization of the city (Business France, 2017). Toyota's success in creating 2800 jobs has enabled: "to consider the transformation of brownfields into activity zones, particularly by resorting to the creation of free urban zones."[3] (Luxembourg, 2014, p.825). Valenciennes is therefore considered as a good example of conversion of a former industrial city to a sustainable one which benefits from local and international support.

## 2.3 The active citizen engagement in the design processes

The discussion about engaging citizens in the procedures of urban planning dates back in the 1960's and has its roots in social movements like May 1968 in France (Lefèvre, 1968). In the context of creative territorial policies it is interesting to study how the collaboration between urban planners and citizens in the processes of urban voids redevelopment contributes to achieving better living conditions for all citizens as a response to social inequities identified in most cities worldwide.

2   https://competitivite.gouv.fr/la-politique-des-poles/les-poles-de-competitivite/
qu-est-ce-qu-un-pole-de-competitivite.

3   The free urban zones are urban districts with a population of more than 10000 inhabitants characterized by high unemployment rate, in which the French government encourages the installation of new enterprises in order to achieve their economic revitalization, by proposing to the enterprises tax exemptions for a period of 5 years.

At international level the interest to engage citizens in the processes of urban voids redevelopment starts in 1990's and is linked to preoccupations about environmental protection and urban resilience (Guérard, 2004). We can see in quantitative researches of the era in French industrial cities that there was a significant interest by citizens to participate in community planning as a response to global preoccupations about urban resilience (Rui, 2004). For many French researchers like Hoffman-Martinot and Sorbets the direct participation of groups of citizens in the processes of decision making at neighborhood level helps to integrate in communities marginalized groups (for example immigrants) and thus achieve social cohesion (2003).

We should underline that in English literature, the term *citizen engagement* refers particularly to the experiences and the individual and collective actions of inhabitants aim at promoting, according to some authors, the issue of participatory democracy (Sirianni & Friedland, 2001). In contrast, in the French context, we see that the term *citizen engagement* has a sense of the legitimacy of speech, that is to say in the name of who the inhabitants speak and what social weight their speeches have. It should be noted that there is a legitimacy of speech and a different social weight when the inhabitants are represented by an association, as can be seen in various projects of urban void redevelopment in France (for example the sustainable neighborhood Clichy-Batignolles) as well as in the two case studies of the paper(collaboration of the inhabitants with professional associations working on the subject of preservation of industrial heritage).

## 2.4 The two case studies

Nantes is located in the west of France with an area of about 6500 hectares. Its population in 2017 was about 300000 inhabitants. Nantes, which is known for the redevelopment of former industrial brownfields as Ile-de-Nantes, was chosen as a case study due to the significant population decline that faced after the closure of the local industries in the late 1980's.



Fig. 1 – The park of the shipyards in Ile-de-Nantes. Source: (Toura, 2019)

The second case study Saint-Ouen is a city in the Seine-Saint-Denis department. It is located in the northern suburbs of Paris with an area of about 430 hectares. Its population in 2017 was about 90000 inhabitants. Saint-Ouen, which is known for its industrial activities since 19th century, faced as Nantes a significant population decline in the late 1980's due to the departure of local industries in the periphery of the city. Nowadays, the city is known for the redevelopment of former industrial brownfields as the Docks-de-Seine that started since 2005.



Fig. 2 – The main park of the Docks-de-Seine. Source: (Toura, 2019)

The two case studies chosen show a different vision of the issue of creativity at territorial level as they were not developed at the same period. In the current paper we will compare the creative territorial policies adopted for the two case studies in order to underline that the political, economic and social context plays a major role in the strategies of creativity in a city by promoting several times gentrification, especially in peripheral areas.

### 3. Methods

The method adopted for the research was the descriptive-analytic, in which the descriptive method is used in order to define creativity at territorial level, identify its main axes in the programs of redevelopment of former industrial brownfields and relate it to previous studies in *terrain vague*. The correlation between sustainable urban development, citizen engagement and demographic evolution was preformed through an analytic method. The target group is quite large, as it involves researchers and practitioners in social sciences (architects, urban planners, sociologists, economists, anthropologists), who are specialized in the subject, but it can also interest local authorities and national governments working on creative territorial policies for the redevelopment of urban voids and the revitalization of shrinking cities.

The analysis of the two case studies was performed by using a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques. The quantitative included the analysis of demographic and economic data taken from the municipalities of Nantes and Saint-Ouen and the French national institute for statistics and economic studies. The qualitative included the analysis of interviews with local authorities, inhabitants and the teams of architects and urban planners that participated in the projects of urban redevelopment of the two case studies. The basic purpose of these interviews was to study the role of each local actor (politicians, professionals, inhabitants) in the implementation of new creative territorial policies, aiming to contribute in the revitalization of deindustrialized shrinking cities.

### 4. Results

Nantes history is linked to industry especially in the 1950's and 1960's with an emphasis on the food and shipbuilding sectors. The year 1987 marks the end of industrial activity in the city with the closure of shipyards in the district of Ile-de-Nantes.[4] In his speech in March 1989 the newly elected mayor of Nantes, Jean-Marc Ayrault, declared: ''I am going to give a radiant image to the seventh city of France. Nantes must find its role as a great European metropolis of tomorrow''.[5] In this context, the City Council decided in the early 1990's to include the district of Ile-de-Nantes in the city's urban redevelopment programs (Chemetoff & Kerouanton, 2012).

The interviews that we conducted in the city from 2017 to 2019 showed that the financing of the redevelopment program of Ile-de-Nantes by funds of the European Union, allowed the design teams to experiment with and propose new creative territorial policies for the redevelopment of the district. These policies included the creation of *écoquartiers* (French sustainable neighborhoods), the engagement of citizens in the design processes especially of district's public spaces, the preservation of the local industrial heritage and the economic and social growth of the district after several years of recession.

Three different design teams worked on the redevelopment program of Ile-de-Nantes since 2004 (atelier Alexandre Chemetoff, ateliers Marcel Smets and Anne-Mie Depuydt, ateliers Claire Schorter and Jacqueline Osty), offering a different vision of creativity at territorial level. It is important to underline the strong commitment of Nantes City Council for the district's redevelopment program as long as the political continuity at city level since the beginning of the project in 2004 (all mayors were members of the French socialist party).

The industrial history of the second case study, Saint-Ouen, is linked to the Docks-de-Seine district, where the city's railway station was built in 1856. The two main

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4  Plan Local d'urbanisme (PLU)-Local plan of Nantes.
5  https://fresques.ina.fr/auran/fiche-media/Auran000086/jean-marc-ayrault-maire-de-nantes.

sectors were those of energy production and waste treatment. The departure of Total (2003) and Alstom (2004) from the Docks district marked the beginning of a city's redevelopment program for central districts, as large zones alongside the river Seine were left *inactive* (D'Orso, 2014). The Mayor of Saint-Ouen, Jacqueline Rouillon in an interview in 2011 during her second term, talked about the Docks project saying that the municipal vision was that: ''The Docks will become an exemplary and innovative living district in terms of social cohesion, environmental protection and economic development''.[6] In this context, a ZAC was developed in 2007, aiming at the redevelopment of the district.[7]

The interviews that we conducted in the city from 2017 to 2019 showed that the inscription of Docks in the program of the French Ministry of Environment for the creation of *écoquartiers* in districts for urban redevelopment (*Label écoquartier*), allowed the teams that undertook the design project to experiment with new territorial policies. The city of Saint-Owen, and particularly the Docks district, are part of the redevelopment program of the greater Paris area (*Grand Paris*), resulting in the creation of competitiveness clusters of metropolitan interest. In the case study of the Docks, the goal of the team that leads the redevelopment program since 2005 (atelier Makan Rafatdjou) is to rehabilitate existing industrial buildings and reintegrate them to the sustainable neighborhood of Docks-de-Seine, to engage citizens in the design processes of district's public spaces, while at the same time the economic growth of the district is achieved through the creation of a large metropolitan energy pole (Apur, 2006).

Unlike the first case study of our research, we observe that in the case study of Docks-de-Seine since the beginning of the project in 2012 only one design team worked on the redevelopment program of the district, while at the same period three different mayors were elected, members of different political parties (communist party, liberal party, socialist party). These, alongside with the inscription of the project in the French national program *Label écoquartier*, had as a result either an imitation of creative territorial policies implemented in other projects of the same type (*écoquartiers*) or conflicts inside the City Council regarding the priorities of the project (economic growth or social cohesion).

In our theoretical framework we indentified three axes in the programs of redevelopment of former industrial brownfields. Based on this analysis and the field research we observe that in the case study of Ile-de-Nantes the preservation of the industrial past is achieved through the reconversion of industrial buildings and the requalification of their environment as is the case of the former shipyards. On the contrary, in the case study of Docks-de-Seine even though several industrial

6   IDF1 archives (www.idf1.fr).

7   A concerted development zone (ZAC) is, in France, a public operation for the development of urban space under the terms of the town planning code and instituted by the land orientation law no 67-1253 of December 30, 1967 to replace the priority areas to be urbanized (ZUP).

buildings were reconverted, several were demolished in favor of tertiary activities, which led to a loss of district's former identity. We can see that the transition towards sustainable development was achieved in the case study of Ile-de-Nantes through the construction of research centers, offices and public buildings, resulting also in the increase of city's population.
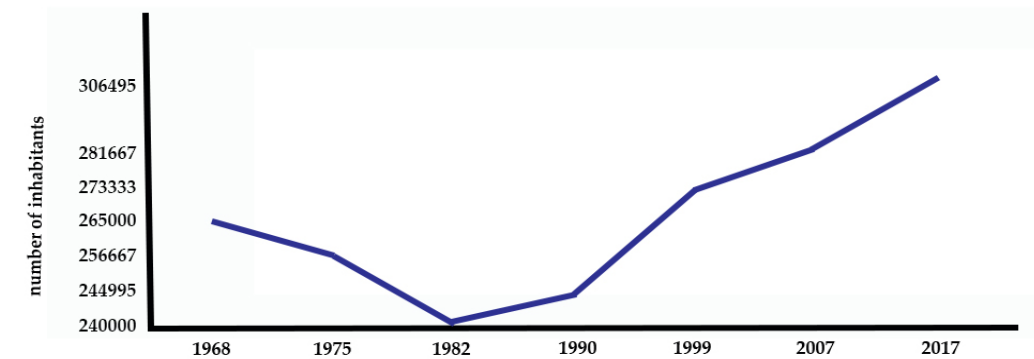


Graph 1 – Demographic evolution in Nantes between 1968 and 2017. Source: (Toura, 2019)

The same effect, the increase of city's population, had also, in the case study of Docks-de-Seine, the construction of offices, public buildings and the maintenance of industrial activities.
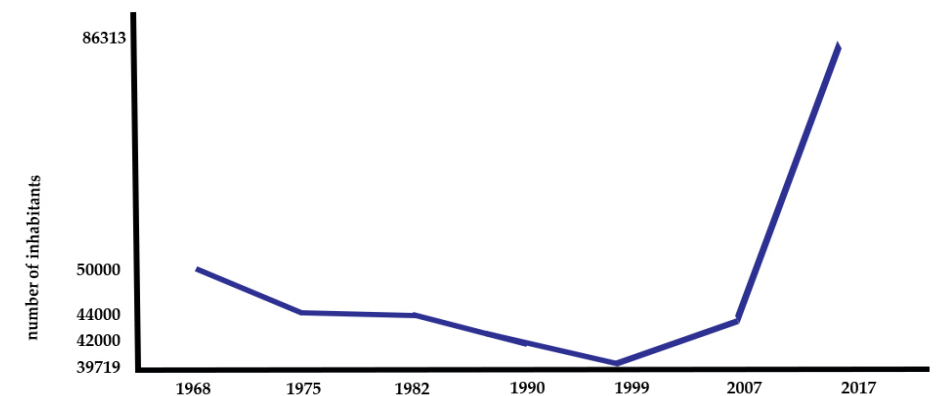


Graph 2 – Demographic evolution in Saint-Ouen between 1968 and 2017. Source: (Toura, 2019)

In both case studies we must underline the risk of gentrification, especially in the second one, as we observe an increase in the property prices based on the socio-economic profile and the high incomes of the new inhabitants.

Table 1 – Number of working positions in Nantes (2009 and 2014)

| Categories | 2009 | 2014 |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 165840 | 178471 |
| Craftsmen, tradesmen, businessmen | 6778 | 8208 |
| Senior managers and professional occupations | 39726 | 46379 |
| Intermediate professions | 49798 | 54931 |
| Employees | 48162 | 47849 |
| Industrial workers | 21376 | 20457 |

Source: Own creation based on (INSEE, 2014)[8]

Table 2 – Number of working positions in Saint-Ouen (2009 and 2014)

| Categories | 2009 | 2014 |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 34466 | 36060 |
| Craftsmen, tradesmen, businessmen | 1912 | 1969 |
| Senior managers and professional occupations | 11353 | 13489 |
| Intermediate professions | 8829 | 8623 |
| Employees | 6801 | 6807 |
| Industrial workers | 5571 | 5115 |

Source: Own creation based on (INSEE, 2014).[9]

Local authorities and developers encourage in both case studies the active citizen engagement in the design processes. In the case study of Ile-de-Nantes citizen engagement is based on the commitment of Nantes City Council to experiment with new tools and policies for the city's redevelopment programs, whereas in the case study of Docks-de-Seine citizen engagement is part of the inscription of the project in the French national program *Label écoquartier*.

## 5. Conclusions

The notion of *terrain vague*, as presented by Solà-Morales, implies more than a simple definition, it holds in it the potential to become another mode of perception and intervention. In the paper we tried to analyze the dynamics behind the creation and consequent application of this multidimensional notion. Our research showed that the political, economic and social context plays a major role in the strategies of creativity in deindustrialized shrinking cities, by promoting several times

8   https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/cog/commune/COM44109-nantes.
9   https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/cog/commune/COM93070-saint-ouen.

gentrification, especially in peripheral areas as we have seen in the case study of Docks-de-Seine. At the same time, the decision of local authorities to inscribe projects of urban redevelopment in national strategic plans for the revitalization of urban areas, as is the French *Label écoquartier*, poses restrictions to creative territorial policies at local level and leads to an imitation of practices and tools.

The different redevelopment policies for urban voids in the case study of Nantes (progressive transition from the deindustrialization to sustainable and participatory urban policies, alongside with policies of preservation of the city's industrial past), compared to the ones in the case study of Saint-Ouen (inscription of an urban redevelopment project in a national strategic plan for the revitalization of urban areas) help us to understand the transformations of French deindustrialized cities and the different aspects of their interface, as it is evident that there is a huge socio-economic gap between the central and the peripheral cities' districts. The interviews with the local actors tried to answer the question of how these special, in terms of spatial and social identity, urban areas could be adapted to different needs, by proposing a different vision of the French national strategic plans used for the revitalization of shrinking cities. Citizen engagement could be added as a new dimension of these plans, as the citizens become true social actors who decide about their living and working conditions and don't depend on political decisions usually taken at national level and not at the level of the city.

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# 85  The Mauá Pier as a terrain vague

## Urban Planning, Media and Architecture in Rio De Janeiro

BIANCA MANZON LUPO
PhD Researcher at the University of São Paulo, Professor at the University of Mogi das Cruzes and University Nove de Julho

### ABSTRACT

Strategic urban planning and mega sporting events in Rio de Janeiro can be considered fundamental challenges for the reconstruction of city´s global image in the 21$^{st}$ century, enhancing the so-called *terrains vagues*, as theoretically suggested by Ignasi de Solà-Morales in 1995. This article aims to reflect about the concept of *terrain vague* by analyzing the Maua Pier, a bench originally built in 1948 at the Rio Port area, that had been the object of territorial disputes taken since the 1990s until the construction of the Museum of Tomorrow, in 2015. This study will raise the hypothesis that both urban planning and media have become fundamental factors for the architectural design thought for the Maua Pier. So, we will investigate the main projects elaborated to this area (including the proposals of the 1990s, Guggenheim Rio and Museum of Tomorrow) connected to the respective urban plans (*Rio Sempre Rio, Porto do Rio* and *Porto Maravilha*) and to the dominant images broadcasted by media (Brazil + 500, New Millennium and Sustainability). The empirical analysis sought to enrich the knowledge about the theoretical concept of *terrain vague* and its capacity of transforming contemporary territories.

Keywords: Maua Pier, Guggenheim Rio, Museum of Tomorrow, Terrain vague

## 1. Introduction. The concept of *terrain vague* and the Maua Pier

The French expression "*terrain vague*", proposed by Ignasi de Solà-Molares in 1995 (2002), is a largely used concept related to the urban vacant spaces inside the metropolitan territory that commonly remain abandoned, unfulfilled and on the margins of the official urban plan initiatives. The concept "*terrain*" relates to a spatial and urban connotation, more than the term "*land*", for example. On the other hand, the adjective "*vague*" has different etymological roots. From the Germanic "*woge*", its semantic field is associated with oscillation and instability. From the French "*vacuus*", it indicates vacancy, emptiness and availability. From the Latin "*vagus*", it is related to indeterminacy, imprecision and uncertainty (Gür, 2012). So, the meaning of "*terrain vague*" can be associated with a state of abandonment, a physic or semantic void and a potential quality. This expression has been used to emphasize the condition of expectation for a potential use of urban spaces, despite that many of these lands are animated by spontaneous, informal and ephemeral events. Empty urban areas left out of formal urban planning initiatives, or areas produced from obsolete infrastructure´s demolishing can be considered as "*terrains vagues*". Although they are professedly forgotten, these lands may suddenly become desired for different agents that wants to incorporate them into the productive space markets. The "*terrain vague*" is not a type of space, but a speculative attitude that gets energy from the projections about what can be done in the future (Colmenares, 2019).

The casual availability creates a field of action for speculative forces that try to occupy urban voids generally with multifunctional architectural programs (Flores, 2015). The feeling of abandonment becomes a stimulus for recycling existing spaces and infrastructures, especially in areas degraded by macroeconomic changes in the urban space produced by post-industrial capitalism and globalization. Both strategic planning and urban entrepreneurship create expectation about the occupation of vacant terrains (Harvey, 2005). The Oscar Weinschenck Pier (better known as Maua Pier), located in the port area of Rio de Janeiro, is a great study case to deepen understanding the "*terrain vague*" concept, considering its interconnections between urban planning, media and architectural design. Originally built as a bench in 1948, it has remained for decades in a singular vacant condition. In the 1990s, Maua Pier has become a highly attractive territory to symbolize the port area´s revitalization. In parallel, it started to host private uses associated with entertainment, such as shows and summer parties. This article intends to discuss the territorial dynamics involved on this dispute, analyzing the architectural designs proposed to the area, connected to the respective urban plans (*Rio Sempre Rio, Porto do Rio* and *Porto Maravilha*) and to the dominant images broadcasted by media (Brazil + 500, New Millennium and Sustainability). This study will be structured in three moments: the 1990s projects; Guggenheim Rio and Museum of Tomorrow. The empirical analysis sought to enrich the knowledge about the theoretical concept of *terrain vague,* reflecting about contemporary territorial transformations.

## 2. Methodology and materials

The research adopted the study case methodology to analyze the concept of *terrain vague* applied to the Maua Pier (Yin, 2001). Firstly, we will analyze bibliographic references (Solá-Morales, 2002; Colmenares, 2019, Gür, 2012 and Flores, 2015). Secondly, the Pier will be studied by three main analytical inputs: architectural designs, urban plans and prominent images released by the media. So, the main research sources selected are the architectural projects, the guidelines provided by urban plans and written press articles extracted from the collections of the largest newspaper of Rio de Janeiro: *O Globo*[1] (Lapuente, 2016). This study will raise the hypothesis that both media and urban planning can be considered fundamental factors that influence the architectural design. Moreover, the research proposes other secondary questions: How and why the Maua Pier was occupied? Does the Pier today meet the city´s needs? Has the debate over its occupation ended?

## 3. Maua Pier and urban planning in Rio de Janeiro

Originally, the Maua Pier was created for the 1950 World Cup at the site known as *Largo da Prainha*, connected to the Maua Square, an important public space built in the beginning of 20th century, during the Pereira Passos´ urban interventions, to accentuate the cosmopolitan image of the then federal capital. The Pier´s construction, which started in 1948, was not completed in time for the World Cup. Even after it was finished, the berth was not properly able to be used because it was "*a doomed structure: when a ship touched there, the arm would swing like a cement float*" (Bloch, 2015). So, it remained adrift in the Guanabara Bay for more than half a century. In the following decades, the former visibility of the Maua Square declined mainly because of the political and administrative emptying caused by the transfer of the federal capital to Brasília, in 1960. The port infrastructure obsolescence and the construction of the Perimetral Viaduct, concluded in 1978, have also contributed to the region´s emptying process, so that the financial and state-owned investments have been displaced mostly to the west part of the city, especially Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá.

Owned by Docas Company, there was no public access to the pier. Despite that, in 1990s, the Company started to rent it for hosting sporadic private events such as outdoor theater plays, art fairs, summer parties, New Year celebrations, shows and cultural markets (Vianna, 1996; Branco, 2003). In 1992, the Municipality first registered Rio de Janeiro to host the Olympic Games. During the mayor Cesar Maia´s government (1993-1997), the strategic plan *Rio Sempre Rio* (1995) prioritized the requalification of the port area and the "*revitalization of the Maua Pier*

1  The newspaper was chosen because it belongs to *Grupo Globo*, responsible for constructing the Museum of Tomorrow, through the *Roberto Marinho* Foundation. The reports mentioned in this study will be analyzed as documentary sources of information about the occupation of the Maua Pier, also considering the media as a social political agent.

*and adjacent buildings*" (Camargo, 2011, p. 105). In 2001, the urban plan *Porto do Rio* established similar guidelines. In 2009, the strategic plan *Porto Maravilha* was implemented to prepare the city for hosting international events such as: United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio + 20, 2012), Confederations Football Cup  (2013), Football World Cup (2014), 450 years of the City (2015) and Olympic Games (2016). There was a noticeable interest in "*offering the 'city in crisis' since the 1970s and, above all, a new project, a new destination*" (Vanier, 2011, p. 2). As a result, the Maua Pier went through a process of resignification, assuming centrality in the port area discussions.

### 3.1. Architecture and celebrative events in the 1990s

In the 1990s, two celebrative events contributed to the architectural thinking of the Pier: the 5th Centenary of the Brazilian Discovery (Brazil + 500) and the New Millennium, a topic widely publicized by media, films and television series. In 1994, the architect Paulo Casé suggested building a corporate tower containing five-star hotel, convention and exhibition centers. The Pier´s building would host marina, shops, restaurants, parking lot, culture and leisure center, theater and concert area. It would be placed at the Pier a caravel´s replica to stimulate the maritime tourism, rescuing the image of the port as the "*city front door*" (Moreira, 2004, p. 99) (Figure 1). In the same period, the New Millennium was a great reference taken by architectural projects. According to *Rio Sempre Rio*, the Municipal Secretary Luiz Paulo Conde opened a public competition that would select an architectural proposal for the Pier, considering it as a "*cultural heritage of the year 2000*" (IDG, 2016). The competition´s winner was the architect Índio da Costa, whose project contained plaza, amphitheater, shopping, entertainment and convention center (Figure 2). There was a large sphere inside a metallic structure that remained to Buckmunster Fuller and Archigram neo-Futurist architectural experiences.
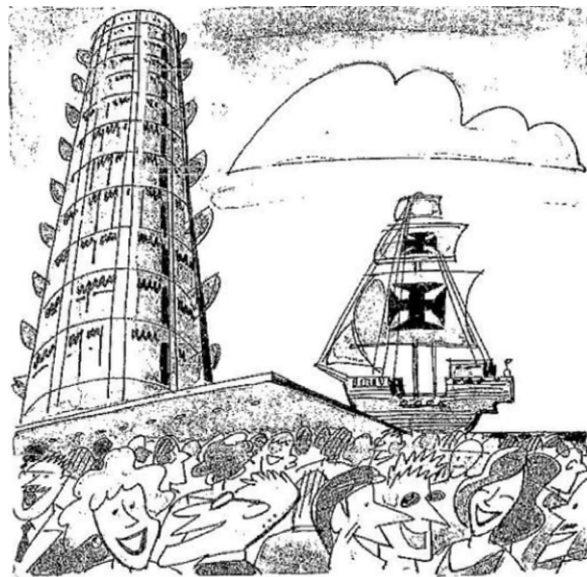


Fig. 1 –  Paulo Casé (1994). Source: (Arruda, 1994)



Fig. 2 – Índio da Costa (1996). Source: (IDG, 2016)

During Luiz Paulo Conde´s administration (1997-2000), the architect Ronaldo Saraiva proposed the project "*Rio third millennium: revitalizing the carioca's self-esteem*", which included entertainment space, aquarium and an "*animated museum of the Brazilian history*" (IDG, 2016) (Figure 3). In parallel, the Docas Company lead a consortium to carry out the construction at the Pier, proposing a corporative multifunctional smart building within five-star hotel and shopping mall (Figure 4). Nevertheless, the Municipality did not authorize to build this project because it did not express "*cultural, leisure and entertainment features*" (Cordeiro, 2001). So, the consortium sent a second proposal with shops, restaurants, cafes, cinema, theater, convention center and a metallic sphere containing a 360° projection room "*in a futuristic style*" (Antunes & Schimidt, 1999). The wide variety of proposals during the 1990s demonstrates the lack of consensus about neither architectural aesthetics, nor building program. In addition, the media and celebrative events were undertaken as architectural themes to be formally integrated into the building design.
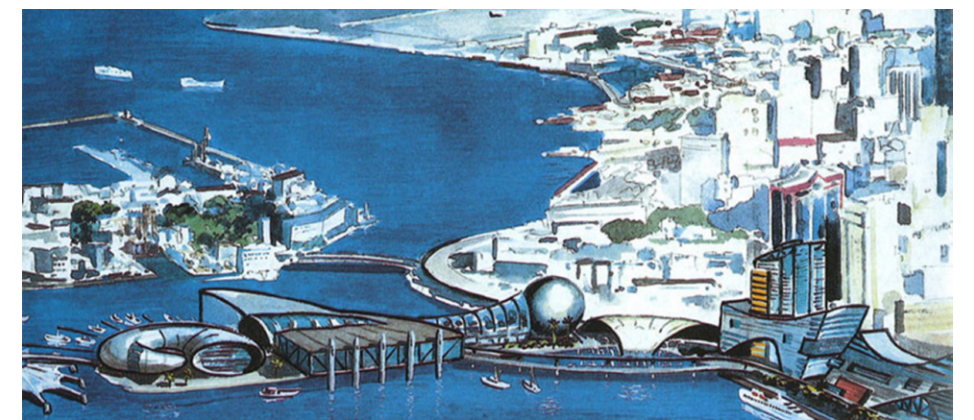


Fig. 3 –Ronaldo Saraiva (1997). Source: (IDG, 2016)
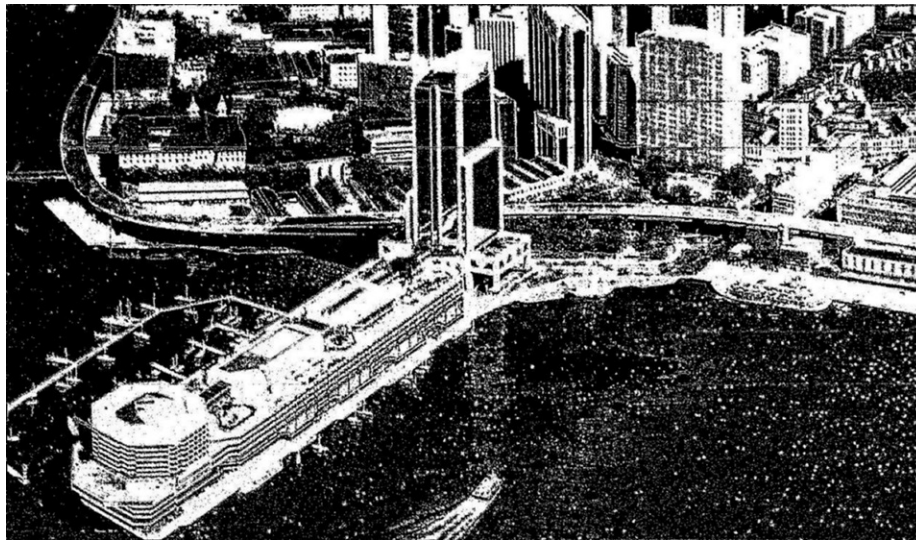
Fig. 4 – Docas Company (1997). Source: (Almeida, 1997)

### 3.2. Rio de Janeiro as a global city: Guggenheim Rio

In the 2000s, the desire to integrate Rio de Janeiro to the global art market defined new strategies for occupying the Pier. The Guggenheim Rio, an electoral campaign promise of the mayor Cesar Maia (2001-09), was the main project encouraged for the Pier. During the Brazil + 500 celebrations, there was the great Rediscovery Exhibition (São Paulo, 2000), which would be host in the Guggenheim Museums of New York and Bilbao. This contact soon became a prospection action for a Brazilian Guggenheim, in the context of the franchise´s international expansion led by the Guggenheim Foundation Director, Thomas Krens (Ostling, 2007). After analyzing Rio de Janeiro potential places to host the museum, the architect Frank Gehry indicated the Maua Pier as the best option. The architect Jean Nouvel, whose worldwide known work included the Arab World Institute (Paris, 1981-87) and the Cartier Foundation (Paris, 1991-94), was hired to design this project (Figure 5).



Fig. 5 – Guggenheim Rio. Jean Nouvel (2002). Source: (https://bit.ly/3bcs1yK)

In 2003, Nouvel presented a preliminary study to create a building below sea level. The museal rout predicted a sequence of discoveries that included: semi-underground area for exhibiting contemporary Brazilian art, courtyards, exhibition area to the permanent historical collection, multimedia galleries, tropical vegetation garden, 35m high waterfall and a big steel cylinder for temporary exhibitions. This project was highly criticized because of its high costs, the symbolic representation of an extremely superficial Brazilian that reiterates tropical stereotypes (Leonídio, 2003) and the inadequacy of the architectural solutions to the local landscape, climate and collection´s conservation (Horta & Turazzi, 2003). The project´s viability study (signed by IDOM Company) pointed out other problems, such as: hard maintenance of swimming pools and waterfalls, expensive almost complete demolition of the Pier and biological pest risks. According to the contract, the Municipality would have to support the museum´s maintenance that, even considering a stable condition, predicted *"an annual operating deficit of US $ 8 to US$ 12 million, excluding acquisition financing and capital expenditures"* (Rio Estudos, 2002, p. 65). A popular action, accepted by Brazilian justice, embargoed the construction claiming the illegal hiring of the Guggenheim Foundation. So, the Pier´s destination remained uncertain.

### 3.3. Sustainability and Museum of Tomorrow

Meanwhile, the Docas Company continued to rent the Pier for private events. In 2003, the company *Hype Babilonia Eventos* was hired to create a cultural program to the Pier. In the 2000s, the Maua Pier Company, responsible for the Maritime Passengers Station, started to restore some warehouses at the port region to host entertainment events. According to company´s president Luiz Cerqueira, the Maua Pier Company wanted to completely open the Maua Pier for public enjoyment. In 2009, Rio de Janeiro was defined to host both Football World Cup (2014) and Olympic Games (2016). It was implemented the *Porto Maravilha* Consortium Urban Operation to revitalize the port area by the Complementary Municipal Law nº 101/2009, which established that the Pier must host "*leisure/cultural activities and events*" (2009, p. 5). So, it would be occupied by an expanded public walkway with pergolas, kiosks, fountains and open amphitheater (Figure 6). In parallel, the Roberto Marinho Foundation (FRM), a private non-profit organization linked to Grupo Globo[2], was carried out to create two cultural projects in the Rio´s port region: the Pinacoteca do Rio (MAR-RJ) and the Museum of Tomorrow, inside two empty warehouses.

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2  Grupo Globo is the largest media Brazilian conglomerate since the 1960s.
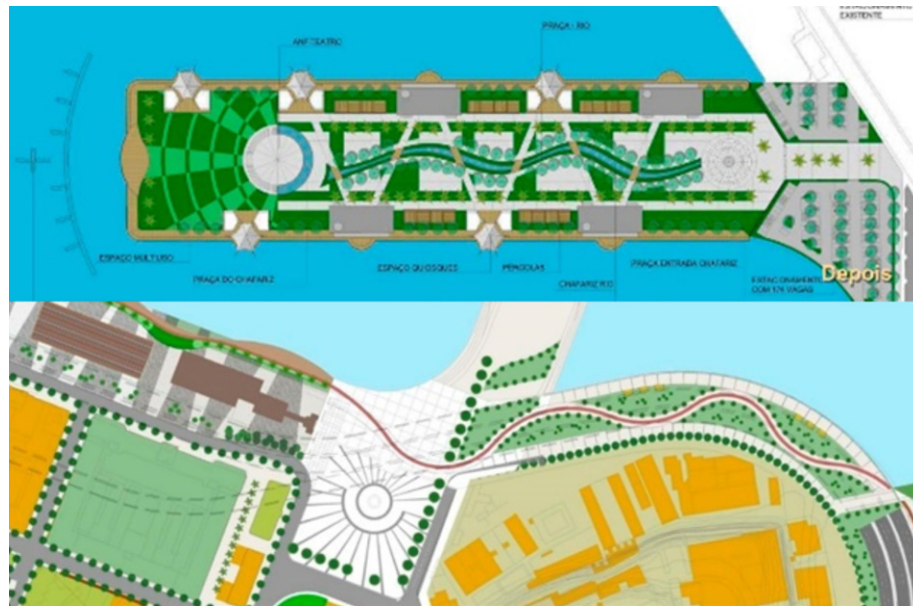
Fig. 6 – Urban Park. Source: (Porto Maravilha, 2009, p. 29)



Fig. 7 – Museum of Tomorrow. Source: (https://bit.ly/32x3C2Q )

However, these plans changed after a trip made by the mayor Eduardo Paes (2009-2017), where he met some projects of the architect Santiago Calatrava, especially the City of Arts and Science (Valencia, 1991-2006). Paes asked FRM to transfer the Museum of Tomorrow to the Pier, where it would be designed by Calatrava. The futuristic organic-inspired architecture proposed for the Museum developed the concept of sustainability, internationally discussed in Rio de Janeiro at the events of Eco 92 and Rio + 20. Both 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games had strongly incorporated the sustainability rhetoric, promising to hold "green games". Engaging in this perspective, Calatrava created a LEED sustainable standard aligned building, including mobile windshields in the roof to capture solar energy and a water treatment station underground to help purifying the Guanabara Bay´s waters (Figure 7). The Museum of Tomorrow classic architectonical affiliation is closer to the Brazilian architecture tradition than Nouvel's fantastic project. In addition, its urban implantation created a public walk around the museum, unlike Nouvel´s architecture. Notwithstanding, other critical aspects of the Guggenheim Rio could be applied to the Museum of Tomorrow, including the high costs. How and why this project carried out to occupy the Pier?

## 4. Final considerations. How and why the Maua Pier was occupied?

The Maua Pier is an interesting case to deepen the understanding of the "*terrain vague*" concept proposed by Solá-Morales. In the 1990s, the Pier was not exactly an abandoned or unused structure, as it housed ephemeral private uses mostly related to entertainment. However, the international diffusion about strategic planning and the desire to insert Rio de Janeiro in the global competition for private investments have contributed to the consolidation of a discourse about the underutilization of the Pier and the desire for renewing, maybe opening it to the public access. The Pier has become a target of investment disputes that, for different reasons, could not be carried out until that the city was chosen to host two mega sporting events in 2010s. In this context, the need to comply an unalterable calendar contributed to the fast projects´ execution, although this often justifies urban legislation violations, suppression of popular participation and oppression of social movements (Bottura, 2014). By analyzing the architectural proposals for the Pier, we can see that "*something other than theory guides and controls the practice of design*" (Hays, cf. Sykes, 2013, p. 255). The architectural design seems to be capable of assimilating varied references, often external to its own disciplinary camp, to thematize urban spaces by creating multifunctional buildings. The table 1 sums up the connections between architectural design, urban planning and dominant media images. In the 1990s, the architectural designs were intrinsically associated with the mediatic images of Brazil + 500 and the New Millennium. The following museum proposals seemed to understand the museum as an architectural program able to incorporate multifunctional uses (such as restaurants, shops, cafes). The only proposal apart from a multifunctional building was the urban park, aiming to reincorporate the maritime connection to the city and to ensuring public access to the Maua Pier.

Table 1 – Projects for Maua Pier, dominant images in the media and architectural program

| | Architect | Urban plans | Dominant media images | Desired city images | Architectural program | O Globo articles[1] about Maua Pier |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1990s | Paulo Casé (1994) | Rio Sempre Rio (1993-95) | Brazil + 500 | Cultural entertainment program | Replica of a caravel and corporative tower | 109 |
| | Índio da Costa (1996) | - | New Millenium | Rio Cultural Heritage of the 2000s | Shopping, convention and entertainment center | |
| | Ronaldo Saraiva (1997) | - | New Millennium, Brazil + 500 | Rio third millennium | Entertainment space, aquarium and Brazilian history museum | |
| | Docas Company (1997-99) | - | New Millenium | - | 5 stars hotel, shopping center and smart building. | |
| 2000s | Jean Nouvel (2002-03) | Porto do Rio (2001) | - | Rio global city | Guggenheim Museum with underwater tropical forest | 487 |
| | Urban Park (2009) | Porto Maravilha (2009) | Sustainability | 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games | Expanded public promenade | |
| 2010s | Santiago Calatrava (2009-15) | - | - | Eco 1992, Rio + 20 | Science museum | 1705 |

Creation based on (Lupo, 2020).

The media has played an important role not only for documenting, but also for leading debates over the Pier´s occupation, contributing to the consolidation of territorial hegemonic impulses. The development of the occupation process of the Pier can be accompanied by the quantity of written articles published by *O Globo,* which increased considerably in the 2010s, when the project was finally carried out. In fact, the own media complex, represented by FRM, proved is own capacity of interpreting the Brazilian political, legislative and social context specificities to make the project feasible. Is was also relevant the so-called "wow factor" (Tokman, 2007), a financial concept related to the ability of an event to cause surprise, astonishment or fear, that is potentiated by possible disagreements and

critical aspects. Despite the controversy´s importance, however, it is necessary a certain level of social and political consensus to make a project realizable. Media broadcasting can contribute to materialize a project, but there must not be such a big scandal that makes it unfeasible. In case of non-viability, it can be re-proposed for other location or even for the same location in a different way. In this sense, the own failure of Guggenheim Rio can be considered a condition, or even a cause, of the Museum of Tomorrow.

The association to sustainability, widely broadcasted by media in the 2010s, also collaborated to enable the Museum of Tomorrows´ construction, besides its better urban connection. Throughout the analyzed period, the urban guidelines established for the Pier did not specify whether it should be a public or private space. The Pier´s commercial exploitation by Docas Company, focused on entertainment activities, contributed to consolidating the Pier as a socio-spatial segregating space. The Museum of Tomorrow managed to reconcile it with a public approach, guaranteeing public outdoor uses to the Pier. The Museum seems to meet the city´s needs, stimulating visitor´s engagement to undertake sustainable actions, contributing to the museal inclusion of not frequent audiences[3]. The Museum´s actions, in partnership with local communities and public schools, expand its functions beyond creating a tourist landmark. It is also an important research center, promoting interesting debates on current themes. However, the discussions about the Pier seem not to be over. Recent public budget cuts for cultural institutions in Brazil and the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic have left the Museum of Tomorrow in a permanent state of uncertainty.

## Acknowledgments

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3   According to data from the Museum (2019), 48% of the visitors do not attend regularly to museums and 14% have never visited a museum before.

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**(Footnotes)**

1  In the 1950s, there were published 69 articles; in the 1960s, 39; in the 1970s, 5 and, in the 1980s, 3.

# 91 Subverting terrain vague

## Viewing Heuristic Change through Skateboarding, Auto-construction and Movement

TOMÁS PEREIRA BOTELHO
ISCTE-IUL / Nova-FSCH /  Doutorando Integrado CRIA

AVA CHANTAL JOHNSON SZYCHALSKI
Northwestern University School of Education and Social Policy

### ABSTRACT

*Terrain vagues*, under a skateboarding perspective, are useful lands. From them, skaters may acquire material to use in the construction of rudimentary obstacles for street skating; upon them skaters may project their identities by means of performative usage, thereby subverting the concept of *vague*. Terrain vagues are relational spaces central to urban studies, and provide a distinct understanding of skateboarding as an active urban practice and as agency provider. Using ethnographic material obtained from fieldwork in select cities Portugal, we aim to produce a theoretical approach that combines elements of urban theory, architectural thinking and anthropological methodology.

The act of stealing materials from *terrain vagues* not only constructs new meanings for these objects, but also invokes a sentiment of auto-construction. The empty may be seen as such from the perspective of some urban users, whereas through the skater's lens it will acquire new meanings through acts of subversion. We will correlate these discursive productions with current urban and anthropological rhetorics such as auto-construction and the heuristic value of how the city reads itself. By considering a reversal of symbolic construction in the core usage of terrain vague, one can construct a narrative of how cities consider sports. Here we wish to invert the scope: ask not how skaters read the *vague*, but what does *vague* utilization by skaters reveal about the ways sport structures are planned and built amidst contemporary cities.

Lastly, we will consider these arguments and revise the notion of *terrain vague*. What can the empty, the absent, and the obsolete objects that dwell in these lots symbolically construct? Skateboarding entails movement and usage of urban components. Skateboarding alters the core of urban projects, offers much to how cities can be read, and expands our notion of the *vague*. Acknowledging these ideas will therefore contribute to the interdisciplinary study of urban theories, and further aid in the inclusion of skateboarding rhetoric when evaluating usage of urban spaces.

**Keywords:** Terrain vague, skateboarding, subversion, agency.

## 1. Introduction

In his 1962 book *Travels with Charley*, John Steinbeck describes his encounters with Americans who live in mobile homes, which can be transported on the back of trucks. Living in one of these grants the ability to travel around the country, while retaining a stable housing unit. Steinbeck writes about his fascination with the nomadic lifestyle, and in his writing highlights the characteristics of the *terrain* these people use for their houses. The land chosen must have certain practical requirements, such as access to water, but the most crucial feature is that it must be an empty lot; it must be *vague*.

Similarly, *terrain vague* (Solà-Morales, 1995) is a pivotal concept when theorizing about skateboarding, for skaters seek these empty lands and comprehend them as useful. *Terrain vagues*, under a skateboarding perspective, are spaces that may be transformed into skate parks; from the *terrain* skaters may acquire material to use in the construction of rudimentary obstacles for street skating; in these terrains skaters may also practice their skills, projecting onto them their relational identities by means of temporary appropriation (Bey, 1991).

The concept holds closely to the absence of usage, the emptiness and sense of expectation about what the terrain might be or become (Solà-Morales, 1995). This ambiance, that the vague exudes, enables urban users to project onto the terrain an expectation, and therefore new meanings which derive from occupation and usage - even if temporary. This article will, therefore, delve into two ways that *terrain vague* affect skateboarding: the transformation of these spaces into skate-parks, and their temporary occupation - and subsequent subversion - by skaters.

Secondly, we will debate the extensive rhetorics behind street and park usage and how the space in which the practice is done affects the atmosphere behind it. We will also examine how, by re-positioning ourselves theoretically in the decisive moment of urban transformation, we may further deepen the concept of *terrain vague* when examining skateboarding, and how this will enrich the urban user's experience and also contributes to the debate on the right to the city.

Then, we will analyze a case study of a *terrain vague* used by a group of young skaters[1] in Figueira da Foz. We will analyze how the construction of the Ponte Galante development project in Figueira da Foz, wrought, in 2007, not only public outrage, but also created the opportunity for a group of skaters to occupy the construction area, steal materials and "vandalize" it. This analysis aims to establish a dialectic relation between *terrain vague* and *Temporary Autonomous Zones* (Bey, 1991), and to show how even a vacant area is always somehow relational with its surroundings - social and urban.

We conclude by revising how the narratives we present can spark a debate over the concept of *terrain* vague. We will also debate the importance of heuristic and collective dialectics in planning urban spaces, and the impact these may have upon the city's many users.

## 2. Park and Street Agency

While walking around a city one may notice empty and unused locations; areas next to new buildings, abandoned plots or improvised parking lots. One might argue that, when confronted with such places, one would wonder what they could be. But we must know the city; and we must move in order to know the city. As Careri (2013) bluntly puts it: "*que tipo de cidades poderão produzir essas pessoas que têm medo de caminhar?[2]*" (pp. 242).

Skateboarding *ethos*[3] entails a similar movement-based perception, for it is through the usage of urban elements that skaters show the creative dynamics of this activity[4] in particular. With the urban landscape the skaters re-invent space, as Karsten and Pel (2000) defend: "*the way in which skaters use the city is essentially different from that of the rest of its inhabitants and visitors*" (pp. 327).

Within skateboarding history exists a long-standing debate regarding a binomial dialectic: street and park skateboarding. This distinction is part of the conceptual *pathos*[5] of the practice itself. Street skateboarding is often regarded as pure, freer and more innovative than park skateboarding (Borden, 2019). In street skateboarding, skaters traverse the city in its entirety to better understand the space's potential. There is a benevolent symbiosis between skaters and environment in this movement: it enables a better recognition of urban possibilities, and concurrently improves the ability and experience of the skaters themselves.

In contrast to the freedom of streets, the skatepark is a controversial space, almost a quarantine tool, that wishes to "tame" the sport and erase it from the public eye (Chiu, 2009). However, there are alternative narratives on how these spaces of practice have contributed and shaped architectural and social debates. These argue for a conceptual shift surrounding how skateparks are built - better integration of user-experience - in order to improve the dialectics and heuristic relationship between skaters and architecture (Thompson, 1998; Miller 2004). This relationship is important to maintain due to the inevitability of the skaters presence in these urban spaces, and because of its value as a learning process to better equip our cities for

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1 - The group consists of four white males, ages between 15 and 25, who will remain anonymous due to the illegal nature of some of the events described. We will refer to them as CP; JC; VN and MB.

2 - What kind of cities might these people produce if they are afraid of walking? (Author's translation).

3 - The set of practices that characterize the underlying philosophy, moral nature and cultural settings of this particular community.

4 - Skateboarding, as a practice, has multiple significations and denominations, such as sport, ludic activity or form of urban mobility. These notions also constitute distinctive forms of apprehending the concept and significance of the city itself.

5 - The emotional landscape of the practice.

the entirety of its users, which concurs with Glenney and O'Connor's (2019) statement that, "*[skateparks are] part of the hybrid ecology of the city*" (pp. 852).

Another rhetoric establishes an approach that entails a hybridization of the urban space itself, as reiterated by Nelson (2012):

> The great irony of skateboarding is that the best places in the world to skateboard weren't designed to be skateboarded in... our best approach may not lie in designing skateparks segregated from other activities, but in finding ways to incorporate skateboarding throughout the city... Skateboarding in a skatepark is like hunting in a zoo. (pp. 125)

The success of implementing changes based on this idea relies on the collaboration of skaters and designers to build the urban spaces themselves as skateboarder-friendly, not relegating skaters to a confined arena of practice. The simile "*like hunting in a zoo*" mirrors debate in urban practices such as graffiti (Caldeira, 2012) or parkour (Mould, 2009), in which urban dwellers defend their right to the space, calling on the fundamental differences in experience between a performance played out in the open compared to one confined to a specific arena. Caldeira (2012) continues this debate with examples from the graffiti scene in São Paulo, explaining how the city built specific walls to be painted, in an attempt to "organize" the painted space. Artists then went on to claim that those who used these predetermined spaces lost the subversive and marginal spirit inherent to the practice. The entelechy is lost if one is not free to move around the city and claim the spaces as their own.

In the particular case of Portuguese skateboarding, skaters present two pivotal problems in the park vs street skating rhetoric:

        1 - Skateparks are often built within a larger sports dialectic, aggregating other leisure facilities. The consequences, as Menezes (2010) describes, range from children and toddlers wrongly occupying a space destined for a dangerous, more "adult" practice, to problems with transportation and access to such parks.

        2 - Skateparks alter the vibe or atmosphere of the urban setting. Bruno Teixeira, owner of Lisboa's Flow Skate School and longtime skater, argues that the skatepark logic has institutionalized skateboarding logic in the city of Lisboa. Bruno argues that skaters in Lisboa rely more heavily on skateparks, compared to other Portuguese cities. In Porto, where skaters favor a more street-based performance, places such as the concert hall Casa da Música enable skaters to maintain a street logic due to its friendly architecture and easy access. The slopes around the building are perfect for skaters to practice, signaling an example of the hybridization of urban elements to include a myriad of urban users.

The Portuguese skateboarding scene is no stranger to the underlying debate over the significance of movement as part of the *ethos* of the *comunity of practice*[6] (Lave, 1988; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). In the last two decades skateparks have been built around the country, in cities such as Tondela or Águeda, in an effort to provide the skateboarding community with adequate structures. These are transformations in which *terrain vague* plays a crucial role, for it is understood as an urban and political product. If an empty lot is transformed into a skatepark, then the *terrain vague* itself is seen as part of a mechanism to either limit freedoms of this marginal community of practices through integration into a neoliberal sports narrative, or to provide them with potentially adequate facilities. This binomial perspective is reflected upon the terrain of the skatepark itself as it encapsulates and encourages both potential perspectives: the positive of the freedom to practice, and the negative confinement within a closed space.

Nevertheless, it is not because skateparks exist that urban areas are suddenly devoid of marginal bodies. Places originally intended for other purposes, such as Praça da Figueira (Lisboa) or Casa da Música (Porto), are still used by skaters. Such an insistence is due to the fact that it is through constant movement and re-appropriation of urban elements that skateboarding, as a practice, symbolically exists. The core agency of this community of practice stems from their ability to travel and temporarily re-negotiate the essence of the urban landscape. This is not to say that skateparks are useless; they are safe practice spaces and incur a significant role in the sport's history. But this inherent confinement of the group deconstructs the performative entelechy and a theoretical shift is needed in order to better equip our cities with user-friendly spaces.

### 3. Subverting *Terrain Vague*

The Ponte Galante development comprises a twenty-story hotel, two adjacent apartment buildings with a large sized balcony at floor level, and four other buildings in a parallel street. Construction commenced in July 2004, with a previously publicly unknown urban detail plan[7] being presented only two months earlier. Contrary to public thought - stating that the development consisted solely of a 4-story hotel with a large surrounding park - the urban detail plan was riddled with violations of the PDM[8]. When such a matter became public, the outrage was immediate: residents organized protests, displaying wooden black X's in their front doors or coordinating noisy car protests; political parties questioned the procedures and organized open meetings to inform the public. Only in autumn of 2004 was the project finally put up for a vote in the municipal assembly, where it passed due to the ruling party's majority.

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6  - Communities of practice rely on three capacities: a sense of a joint enterprise, mutual engagement and a common and transversal collective of rituals, practices and symbols.

7  - "*Plano pormenor*", in the original portuguese.

8  - "*Plano Director Municipal*", which is the legal instrument that organizes municipal land, defining guidelines and strategy for developments.

Amidst outrage, a group of citizens, represented by the Coimbra-based lawyer, Trilho y Blanco, presented a restraining order, managing to delay the start of the construction. These were overruled and construction resumed, only to be halted yet again by another restraining order brought by Trilho y Blanco. It was only in April of 2006 that this project was ratified and construction resumed. The ratification of the urban detail plan occurs during a government meeting, with signatures from Prime Minister José Sócrates, and the Minister of Environment, Nunes Correia. This event caused significative political and social ruptures, followed by multiple protests and resignations from Socialist Party members of Figueira da Foz town hall. Despite efforts, construction was completed in 2010.

Regardless of public outrage, both the project promoters and municipal supporters defended the development. Their argument was centered on a revitalization idea, claiming that this development project could transform Figueira da Foz back to the important tourist city it once had been in the 1950's. The geographical position of the city between Lisboa and Porto, its accessibility via highway, and its historical identity as a popular beach town compelled arguments defending Ponte Galante. It also provided the city with a distinguishing feature from nearby beach towns, such as Aveiro, Nazaré or Mira.

In addition to economical and tourism motivations, there is an underlying idea that through urban investment there could be a chance to revitalize the city's social and cultural identity. This argument, although not uncommon, reveals the relational and symbolic importance of urban projects to the conceptualization of a city.

The Ponte Galante project is an example of how the usage of an empty lot can shape relations citizens have with the land itself. In 2007, when construction was undergoing, a group of four skaters broke through the site's fences in order to steal wood and other materials for DIY obstacles. Their motives were not innocent: they chose this particular site because they wanted to take a stand. As VN explained: "*we thought that by stealing a couple of bricks or wood pallets that we could stop the project, or at least cause some confusion.*" Similar statements can be found throughout their speech, implying not only a sense of subversion,  but one directed at the project. These acts of "vandalism" were perpetrated in relation to a symbol: the transformation - under serious accusations of wrongdoing - of the urban settings.

From 2007 to 2010 the group frequently accessed the construction sites, primarily at night when, "*we felt protected*" (MB). They acknowledge the illegality of their actions, yet there is an inherent justification processed through the idea of confronting such a controversial project. A latent sense of inability to alter the urban space proved crucial to their motives, as they re-interpreted the construction site into a protest arena. Their temporary occupation of the site resonates with the

TAZ (Bey, 1991) concept: through their acts of "vandalism," they briefly renegotiate the symbolic relations with the urban area itself. It ceases to be a future hotel, becoming instead a "*supermarket*" riddled with manifestations of subversion and confrontation of a neoliberal urban tempo.

The hotel opened in 2010, but the six apartment buildings were left vacant and abandoned due to financial complications. Trilho y Blanco states that the restriction orders threw a severe spanner in the works, delaying constructions and rapping up costs. MB embodies social angst by stating that "*they deserved it.*" The vacant apartments created an uncanny atmosphere, epitomized by a joke from a nearby resident: "*who would want to live in a ghost building? Imagine getting trapped in the elevator, how would anyone know?*" This eeriness was reinforced by the lack of policing, which also allowed the four skaters to temporarily occupy the area and practice.

The stony floor was excellent for the wheels, contrary to the typical Portuguese "*calçada,*" so the group subverted an access balcony to the ghost apartments into an improvised playground. They practiced flips while revelling in the knowledge that the area, although developed, was devoid of other people. Through their performances they altered the intended purpose of the space; in part because of its symbolic meaning to the population, it was not just another abandoned place amongst the urban jungle, it was an abandoned development that had caused consternation within the core of society.

After the Leslie hurrican in 2018 made the area too dangerous to skate in, the group stopped temporarily occupying their makeshift park. A renovated skatepark on the beachfront also shifted their focus, and as CP states, "*after a while the anger dies down.*"

### 4. Conclusions

Throughout this article there has been an underlying idea of *terrain vague* as a commodity. This aspect is significant for it underlines the relational dimension of both the concept and the physical space. *Terrain vague*, therefore, is inserted in a network of actors that mold the meaning of the land, negotiate their (ab)uses and in doing so transform the urban experience and environment.

A case study that further emphasizes the relational aspect between skaters, empty, marginal spaces, and the local community, is the Burnside skatepark project in Portland, Oregon. In 1990, a group of skaters illegally occupied and started construction on a vacant area on the East End underneath the Burnside Bridge. Later, this DIY project was legalized (Glenney & O'Connor, 2019). This example underlines how skaters have managed to confront neoliberal structures and establish independent agency derived from the *terrain vague*. Such an occupational narrative can be

juxtaposed with the concept of auto-construction (Caldeira, 2015), in the sense that skaters constructed their own park by claiming a vacant lot, and in doing so created a new form of citizenship and agency defined by the consumption of space itself.

A pivotal example of urban recovery, this skatepark altered the *terrain vague* from a space occupied by marginal members of society, such as homeless people, to a space that is celebrated for its urban contribution. The fact that this project transcended illegality translates a newfound agency, and in doing so not only legitimizes the skaters' practice, but also reorganizes the neoliberal urban hierarchies by stating that one marginal usage is more valid than another in a skateboarding vs. homeless narrative. This reinforces the relation between micro and macro structures, and the kind of agency derived from occupation, between urban dwellers and the society they are inserted in; no act is without consequences, and no *terrain vague* transformation is secluded from the wider context. And although a form of power may derive from occupation of the *terrain vague*, skateparks are often still seen as control devices, a rhetoric also common in Portugal. The preferred form of agency is one that entails movement, that allows for the urban users to freely roam the city and explore the various elements it provides. Skateboarding, is thus an act of re-appropriation of the city.

The Ponte Galante development project aforementioned how *terrain vague* can establish relations between environment and occupant. Through the study of how skaters occupy and subvert this empty development, we can situate the local and national relations that the development established. Tracing the story of the original intentions to develop the vacant lot, to how it was later used by a group of skaters, we are able to understand how, from the *terrain* itself, a network of relations and actors established itself. Political, economic, social and legal decision makers enacted relations within the vacant areas and how they were transformed, including a group of skaters that performed their outrage and dissatisfaction through subversive occupations of the area. This study-case enables us to understand that there is a display of relational structures played out in accordance with how the *terrain vague* is transformed.

What the group of skaters illustrated was not only how an urban actor relates himself with unused urban areas, but also how certain performances renegotiate - and are renegotiated - by the process of temporary occupation. Skateboarding in the Ponte Galante area was, to this group, a protest performance, which means that it ceases to be a ludic activity and becomes something charged with political and symbolic meaning. The *terrain vague* is not the only part of this symbiosis that is being altered; the skateboarding performance is simultaneously transforming and transformative.

Skateboarding, in accordance with the arguments presented, is therefore an important practice and community when studying the impact of *terrain vague* and

assimilation into the urban settings. The aforementioned Burnside Project is usually studied as a seamless transition of spatial use, but it is imperative to consider the perspective of the active participants: why did the skaters illegally occupy a vacant lot in the first place? Such a question must coalesce with a heuristic approach to better project and analyze the sport structures a city provides.

What follows is a call to integrate marginal practices, such as skateboarding, within current urban construction postulations. *Terrain vagues* fall into the category of lots that will be managed by political decision makers to perpetuate municipal guidelines of narratives such as sport, shelter, transportation and movement. The reasoning behind their usage, however, must come from a place of conversation and acceptance of the local necessities. The larger rhetorics must be based on a heuristic approach of learning from the communities that use the city and also those that seek to reclaim it. Contributions such as open-source urbanism (Jiménez & Estalella, 2014; Jiménez, Estalella & Zoohaus Collective, 2014) enable us to contemplate the agency of art collectives, quotidian users and citizens of the urban settings. By blending their visions and needs into city planning, the atmosphere and experiences of all citizens may be improved.

If we are to consider the city as a method (Jiménez, 2017) for a better *polis*, we must ask ourselves for whom it is intended. It comes as dangerous and unwise to ignore local users' and marginal community of practices' narratives, for it will only perpetuate the paroxysms of self-serving urban rhetorics and widen the rift between the idealism of the city and its actual range of inhabitants.

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# 92   Occupy Estelita

## Reactions to a grand project and the emergence of urban rights movements in Recife, Brazil

DIEGO BEJA INGLEZ DE SOUZA
School of Architecture of the University of Minho, Guimarães, Portugal. Landscape, Heritage and Territory Laboratory (Lab2PT)

### ABSTRACT

During the last decade, the menace of a grand project that can decharacterize the landscape of Recife, a chaotic metropolis originated from one of the main ports in Northeast Brazil, created the conditions for the emergence of a original and consistent urban movement claiming for participation on the decisions of the future of the city. Either occupying the site physically or through the web platform 'urban rights', Occupy Estelita invented a new kind of urban social movement gathering activists, scholars, urbanists, lawyers, artists, filmmakers and students that helped to raise a wave of contestation of the usual forms of production of the Recife's space.

In one side, the ambitions of the powerful local real estate market to seize the last waterfront of Recife and reproduce the model of high rise upper class housing that characterize the beachfront, supported by mayorship and some architects involved in the project. On the other, a singular coalition of urban middle class and impoverished local residents, activists and urbanists, claiming for more attention on the strategical role of this *terrain vague* on city center, public land inherited from the dismantled railways state company that should host more social relevant uses like affordable housing and public spaces. If the New Recife project will surely maculate the panorama of the city center transforming the historical landscape in background, this urban struggles helped to foster a cultural reaction to the arbitrary and real estate driven decisions on the dynamics of the production of the urban spaces.

If one can question the practical consequences of this struggle, it is undeniable that Occupy Estelita represented an shock on a metropolis marked by the succession of revolutionary episodes and lethargic periods and an fundamental contribution to inspire the emergence and the actions of other movements on Brazilian cities claiming for 'urban rights'.

**Keywords:** Urbanization, Right to the city, Urban rights, Social movements.

## 1. From Mauritiopolis to (South) American Venice

Since its origins, duality and strong contrasts characterizes the urban history of the capital of Pernambuco. One of the earliest urban concentrations of colonial Brazil, established in the XVI century as a strategic port for triangular commerce and territorial domination, Recife was originally a functional settlement over a natural port, protected by the geological marine structures that baptized this strategic spot. The religious and political capital of the Pernambuco's province was Olinda, built over a hill to control the maritime traffic and the Caetés movements, the native population settled in its surroundings. Following the Western Indian Company invasion in 1630, Recife was chosen to be the center of this new colonial enterprise. Olinda was abandoned and burned while Recife received important urban investments, expanding its limits beneath the isthmus and occupying islands and other drylands in the Capibaribe valley. The duality between a portuguese inspired city and a pragmatic dutch urbanization model is presented by the geographer Josué de Castro (1948) and can be also understood as a first episode of destruction of the city in order to affirm a different space production mode. This dynamic, we argue, is a constant in the Recife's history until our days and reflects, in a strongly contrasted fashion, the struggles between capital and urban developmentism associations against the popular claims for participation and urban rights.



Fig. 1 – Boa Viagem postcard printed in 1970's (Private collection).

## 2. The Boa Viagem paradigm and the Mucambópolis

If until 1950's the urbanized perimeter was concentrated around the estuary, on the surroundings of the port, with the emergence of an particular association between modern architecture, verticalization and the yet incipient Real Estate market, the city expanded along the Capibaribe valley and towards South, in the direction of the beach. The first high-rise apartment buildings of modern Recife were built either along the waterfronts or at Boa Viagem beach, mobilizing architects recently installed in the city. Acácio Gil Borsoi, originally from Rio de Janeiro and the portuguese Delfim Amorim, were responsible for the dissemination of modern architecture in the city through its classes in the University and by its prolific production to public institutions but specially to private investors. At the early days of Boa Viagem, these apartments were directed to support a yet incipient beach frequentation to the city's upper classes that could afford to have a secondary home in its own city. Shortly, with the expansion of the public transportation but mainly with the generalization of the automobiles, Boa Viagem became permanent address to middle class. The history of the first buildings built at seashore are telling of the emergence and consolidation of a new product that would shape the further development of the city. In a documentary produced by CIA agents to convince North American public that Pernambuco was under a 'cubanization' process,[1] Holiday, Califórnia and Acaiaca buildings appear as a symbol of the high-end products of a unbalanced capitalism, based on agrarian exploitation and social inequalities.

"Even in the back-warded Northeast, they build a city like this one. Brazil is not only the largest nation in Latin America, it is also the wealthiest. That is Brazil is fabulously wealthy for a few who live in cities like this one, Recife, capital of the State of Pernambuco and Northeastern Brazil. Here is the seat of power and the control of the economy of twenty million farmworkers who live in this region (...). Here they are dealing sugar, the principal crop of this area. Sugar built the city, sugar keeps it bright and new and strange to the man who grows the sugar cane, the peasant, one of the twenty million."

Holiday building was designed by the engineer Joaquim Rodrigues in late 1950's as a complex of beach-support apartments that was gradually occupied by lower income inhabitants that profited from an emerging neighborhood, eager of cheap workforce. Now, it has been interdicted by mayorship due to security reasons and it is completely void, giving place to speculations about its future, from its demolition to the renewal of the structure and white expulsion of its impoverished inhabitants. California building, designed by Borsoi, integrates a service block and small apartments that were also occupied by low income residents, origin of persistent stigmatization as a nest for drug dealers and prostitutes. In recent years, it has

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1  Rogers, Helen Jean. Brazil: the troubled land. Documentary. New York, McGraw Hill, 1964. HMN Archive da USC School of Cinematic Arts. <https://vimeo.com/134849043>.

been occupied by young couples, artists and cultural producers that fostered a discrete gentrification process. The service block has been occupied by bars, a gourmet coffee shop and an art gallery recently. In the other hand, the generous Acaiaca apartment block designed by Amorim has become a model for the upper class housing that decided to move to the beachside.[2] Both Amorim and Borsoi took part of the discussions about how to regulate and orientate this new wave of high-rise construction and avoid the construction of a continuous wall of buildings along Boa Viagem (Reynaldo, 2017). At this time, Brazil was still a democracy and Brasilia was being planned and built. The modern architects contribution proved to be coherent to contemporary urbanistic proposals and incorporated the lessons learned in Rio de Janeiro, where the expansion towards the beach fostered by Real Estate developments over a anachronic urban models resulted in problematic neighborhoods like Copacabana. In the other hand, this alternative urban plans and these paradigmatic exemples opened the way to the generalization of the isolated high-rise apartment building as a byproduct exploited intensively by the emerging financial capital. The architects graduated in this periods, apprentices of Borsoi and Amorim, took an active part on the construction of a new district apart from the historical city where the capital earned with monoculture in the countryside found an effective reproduction mode. While modern architecture flourished along the waterfront, the housing crisis was aggravated turning Recife into the capital of the slums, built over flooded areas by to accommodate migratory streams that recurred to the city as strategy to escape from the harsh conditions of life that characterized the monoculture lands. By then, Recife earned a new nickname — Mucambópolis, according to the geographer Mario Lacerda de Melo (1978), the metropolis of the shacks.

With the 1964 *coup d'état* that established a military dictatorship, the destiny of the city became to be a technocratic issue and the public sphere was set apart from planning. Geraldo Magalhães, the first of the 'bionic' mayors, appointed directly by Pernambuco's governor, dreamed of building a 'New Recife' made of motorways built over the old city's center as symbols of progress and development. The case of the extension of the Dantas Barreto Avenue, during this period, is telling of the prevalence of autocratic and authoritarian decisions against the recommendations of the city's professionals and popular claims. A XVIII century church, after being classified as heritage by the National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN), had to be demolished to give way to the Avenue that never proved its utility. As a result of the developmentist policies fueled by military government and the lack of consequent social housing programs, the precarious and improvised popular settlements kept growing over the mangroves and hills, aggravating the contrasts between rich and poor that can be read until today on the Recife's landscape.



Fig. 2 – Central district waterfront occupied by the first skyscrapers (Diego Inglez de Souza).



Fig. 3 – Waterfront disputes in contemporary Recife (Diego Inglez de Souza).

### 3. The creation of the ZEIS and the emergence of the Right to the City

One of this slums is particularly emblematic: Brasília Teimosa (Stubborn or Defiant Brasilia, in a free translation) started to be built at the same time as Brasilia was being erected, in a strategic position over a port administration landfill, between the city's center and the beach. This ironic duality between modernity and backwardness that baptized this popular neighborhood reflected the contradictions present in the logics of territorial and urban planning in Brazil.[3] While there was available land at Boa Viagem and the houses were being substituted by apartment buildings, Brasilia Teimosa continued to grow and served as a workforce

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2  On the history of the Acaiaca building, see Inglez de Souza (2019).

3  Andrade, Joaquim Pedro de, Brasília: Contradições de uma cidade nova. Documentary (1967).

repository. A promiscuous relationship between rich and poor, socially represented by the domestic and informal labour that helped to maintain inequalities, may explain the spatial continuity between luxury apartment buildings and shacks agglomerations. This new Brasilia stubbornness referred to the popular resistance that fought against the successive menaces of demolition of the slum to accommodate other uses, such as an touristic complex, proposed by the mayorship and planned by the well-known urbanist Jaime Lerner. With the relative opening of the dictatorial regime and the redemocratization process in the late 1970's, popular reinvindication allied with the openness of the professional and academic sectors on recognizing the 'real' city and its informal settlements, created an atmosphere that helped to invent a original dispositive. The creation of the Special Zones of Social Interest (ZEIS) was an important milestone that permitted to protect the impoverished populations to be removed, recognizing a certain degree of a yet blurred right to the city. The importance of the creation of this mechanism can be measured by its incorporation by other cities in Brazil that faced the same socio-spatial segregations and was included in national level in 2001 with the approval of the City's Statute to be mandatory delimited in the local urbanism plans to be elaborated. During the first Lula's administration (2003-2006), Brasilia Teimosa has been chosen to host one of the earliest interventions of the recently created Ministry of the Cities.[4] The remotion of the precarious palaphitic constructions on the shore, constantly menaced to be washed away by the high tides, gave place to a new Avenue, integrating the neighborhood to Boa Viagem and opening a new waterfront. If it was an important action to connect these two socially distant realities, it also opened the way to new ambitions to the area.



Fig. 4 – The so called Twin Towers and Recife's historical center (Diego Inglez de Souza).

4  On Brasilia Teimosa's history, see Inglez de Souza (2012).

### 4. From Manguetown to Hellcife

Starting in 2012, another wave of contestation of the grand projects that were being discussed spread out among urbanists and activists. As an response to an ambitious Real Estate project that pretended to seize the waterfront of Recife's city center, a coalition of social movements used objective impediments to claim for more participation on the decisions about the future of a strategic terrain vague at José Estelita quay. This area, after the transference of the port activities to Suape became abandoned: the warehouses between the quay and the railway, now disaffected, became useless and inconvenient to the National Government, its owner. Sold in an auction in a process full of obscurities, the immense plot of land has been bought by a consortium composed by the main city's investors, responsible for the high-rise apartment buildings at Boa Viagem shore. Their proposal was to built a 'New Recife', composed by twelve high-rise luxury apartment blocks along the waterfront, replicating the Boa Viagem model over the limits of the historical city center. The so-called 'Twin towers' - 40 storys high luxury apartment blocks, built in the early 2000's in a process full of irregularities, not far from Estelita quay, was the predecessor of this skyscraper's invasion of the historical city. The inconvenient presence of these towers on the landscape has been highlighted by UNESCO, when denying the title of World Heritage to Recife's city center.

With the construction of this 'New Recife', the city's skyline, as depicted by the Dutch painter Franz Post, would become the background of a generic landscape, inspired of other kind of city such as Miami or Dubai, transforming the figure into background, to use the words of Luiz Amorim, professor at the Architecture Department of the Federal University of Pernambuco.



Fig. 5 – Occupy Estelita demonstration in 2015 (Diego Inglez de Souza)

The resistance, characteristic of Pernambuco's history, took this time the form of articulated contestation, based on juridical questioning of the presumption that the Real Estate could plan and built a large portion of the city following only its own logic. Even if this area was at the time almost desert of inhabitants, the emotional attachment of the middle-class, students, lawyers and urbanists gave place to an original and effective form of contestation. Aware of the modus operandi that characterizes the action of the Real Estate developers in Recife, immediately after the demolition works started, a massive contingent of people occupied the site in 2012, aiming to stop the unauthorized activities. The first action, inspired of the Occupy Wall Street movement, was to occupy physically the place and from this presence, new interactions, activities and discussions started to be organized. This mobilization helped to inscribe the discussion of Estelita's future among other public spheres and to delay the construction. Supported by democratic urbanistic regulations such as the City's Statute, Occupy Estelita quickly built a consistent and structured formal contestation of the New Recife's plans. Questioning the auction itself that managed to alienate an important asset to the city's future to a private group of investors, this unlikely coalition achieved to put some lights and oblige the judiciary to pay some attention to an obscure transaction. Raising some issues about material and symbolic heritage that was being jeopardized by the ambitious operation, mobilizing scholars and the National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN), Occupy Estelita activists managed to create an difficult situation for the municipal administration, openly supporter of the New Recife project.

After stopping the demolitions, a flagrant action to create an irreversible situation that shows the arrogance from the developers regarding formal procedures, Occupy Estelita transferred the struggle to the virtual space. Through the internet, using a platform named Direitos Urbanos (Urban Rights),[5] the activists got to envolve not only Recife's inhabitants but also other Brazilian scholars and urbanists. Estelita's struggle became a symbol for the urban social movements around the country, spreading a hope on questioning the explicit association between Real Estate and public administration and inspiring a wave of contestation of similar projects around Brazil. We can say that Occupy Estelita helped to awake citizens from the lethargic resignation regarding the destiny of its own cities. It represented an important contribution on the urban struggles not only to Recife. When visiting the site, the British geographer David Harvey stated: "*I write about the right to the city, and you do it. This is the most important thing*".

From different fields such as geography, architecture, urbanism, social sciences and law, many local scholars used Occupy Estelita as a case-study for contemporary participation experiences, helping to inscribe the movement claims and achievements on national and international debate on right to the city. Even if the

practical results are relative, the Estelita episode served to clarify the boundaries on citizen's participation under the articulation of political power with the Real Estate's logics, using objective obligations to foster attention on the decisions and restrictions of the production of city's spaces.

The participation of lawyers and jurists, using legal and formal objections to block the approval of the operation and obliging the developers to negotiate and include some restrictions to their ambitions, was an important tool that proved to be effective on holding the process. Some modifications regarding the public use of the ground and the heights of some of the apartment blocks were imposed by the mayorship and its technical services but, at the end, the project has been approved.

We can state that the main achievement of this mobilization is to raise awareness of the processes of the city's production beyond disciplinary barriers. In other words, urbanism became a subject discussed at the city's bars by non-specialists, widening the debate and including other points of view that differed or complemented the urbanists opinions. We can also say that this process was almost as important for this specific dispute as it was for the discipline itself. If the fertile cultural production that irradiated from Recife in the late XX century expressed the dilemmas and contradictions of the city, now a new generation of musicians, poets and specially filmmakers was taking part of the urban struggles, using their means of action as symbolic weapons.

The fiction film *Aquarius* (2017), by Kléber Mendonça Filho, may be the more explicit of the recent cinematographic local production that questions the production of the city but it is not the only one.[6] The film has been inspired by the real history of the Caiçara building, a picturesque low rise apartment block that was to be substituted by another skyscraper and had its demolition work stopped for years, leaving half of the building untouched as a testimony of the ongoing process. When *Aquarius* was filmed, the Caiçara building had been already demolished but it was not hard to find another building in the same situation, only a few meters away. The inhabitants and landlords of the Oceania building, named Aquarius in the Cannes nominated production, were being constantly harassed to exchange their apartments by larger luxury apartments in the high-rise block to be build in the plot even if some of them were happily living in the existing building. Through the particular and fictive history of one of this inhabitants, the film achieved to foster an fuse of hope among similar movements, during a period that Brazilian democratic institutions were suffering a severe attack that culminated on president Dilma Roussef impeachment in 2016.

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5   https://www.facebook.com/DireitosUrbanos ; https://twitter.com/ocupeestelita ; http://direitosurbanos. wordpress.com/ .

6   Such as Gabriel Mascaro's documentaries Um lugar ao sol / High-rise (2009) and Avenida Brasília Formosa / Defiant Brasilia (2010).

## Epilogue
## or the another chapter of the crabs with brains against Real Estate sharks quest

If the mobilizations were strong and articulated, the same can be said about the reaction: the association between the municipality and the Real Estate became more explicit. The mechanisms that allowed a significant interference of the investors agenda through donations for electoral campaigns are an established practice in Brazil that comes from the dictatorial period. If completed as planned, the urban project will extend the Dantas Barreto Avenue, connecting this new 'New Recife' to the old 'New Recife', partially built during the military regime. The coincidences goes beyond the suspect 'newness': both projects argues that the construction industry can be a lever to economical and urban development, believing and practicing an 'developmentism', only possible when democratic principles of participation, social justice and obedience to law are in risk. After 2018 election, when a apologist of authoritarian forms of rule came into power, the Ministry of Culture has been dismantled and the National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN) has been rigged to avoid restrictions to economical interests, the Estelita's warehouses were finally demolished. Shortly after that, the construction works of the first tower started and the sales of the yet unbuilt apartments began in a clear strategy to create an accomplished fact and engage the acquirers against the popular mobilization.

This particular episode reveals the limits of participation on the destiny of the city, even if marketed as an important step of the construction of the local urbanism plan by municipality. The articulation between Real Estate interests and mayorship actions proved to be, at least until now, stronger than the popular mobilization and the legal requirements, even in formally democratic periods of Brazilian political history. We can say that this struggle between Occupy Estelita served as a test to the mayorship ambitions to deregulate the dynamics of the production of the space in favor of Real Estate and generalize this modus operandi throughout the city. After years of discussion and strong critics by architects and urban planners, the new local urbanism plan has been quickly approved by the outgoing administration during the Corona Virus pandemic, with the participation doors closed, not only confirming its support to Real Estate but also abolishing important dispositive that protected the ZEIS and liberalizing the high-rise construction around protected perimeters. According to the statement of the local coordinator of United Nations Habitat agency Socorro Leite, Recife was the first city to established the ZEIS dispositive and may be the first one to abolish.[7]

The ambiguities and dualities that characterizes Recife's history, origin of intense conflicts followed by periods of unstable balances, can be read in our days

7    'Preocupação com o futuro das ZEIS' in Jornal do Commercio. Recife, 3/jan/2021.

through specific objects, episodes or disputes. In that sense, Estelita's situation tells one chapter of a yet unfinished story. These struggles are made of atavistic oppositions, clearly expressed on Pernambuco's urban landscapes, carrying contradictions explored by its artists, writers and poets. The modernist painter Cícero Dias captured its dynamics through words:

> A metamorphosis by the seaside was emerging. The angelic corals, with their thousands of lives, found themselves overnight transformed into pebbles, into pebbles, into a stone capable of fighting the impregnable force of an ocean, a wild, indomitable stone. Yes, the beautiful corals resisted in this struggle of life and death between Recife and the Ocean Sea. But it was these same waters that helped bring a city to life and how they sought to destroy it. Waves that were once indomitable and of pure innocent waves became violent capable of throwing a coconut tree on the floor. By that time pebbles had already turned into stones, but the struggle continued, the sand from the sea waves. (...) I saw the world ... it started in Recife. (Cícero Dias, 2001)

### Acknowledgments

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# 97    Petit projects

## Vague deviations as urban strategies

RITA NEGRÃO
Instituto Superior Técnico

HUGO REIS
ISCTE

### ABSTRACT

This paper aims to study how the use of artistic and architectural interventions in public spaces served as tools to generate new urban dynamics.

Focusing on the last decade, this paper intends to understand how these cultural instruments emerge as an answer to overcome the lack in public investment and the social unrest resulting over the 2008 economic recession.

Starting from the concept of *terrain vague (Sola-Morales, 1995)* — urban voids, spaces that are absent, ignored or fallen into disuse, alien or surviving to any structural systems of the territory — we propose to analyse a group of works integrated in *critical spatial practice (Rendell, 2003),* namely forms of practice between art and architecture, that are built in this type of urban setting in the last decade.

In this context, we look to understand the motivations that make this type of work possible and emerging, from the commission point of view to the author's perspective, and its impact in public space.

For that, this paper method is based on assaying few selected case-studies over their contexts and circumstances, identifying the main steps of the process. After that we propose to analyse the before and after of the places and identify the fragilities and benefits inherent to these practices.

In conclusion, we agree that small creative based projects are currently an alternative to fill the voids of various times and rhythms in the cities, a serious complement to the great dynamics of urban planning, in various political, social and cultural dimensions.

**Keywords:** Terrain Vague, Critical Spatial Practice, Urban Planning, Urban Strategies.

## 1. Introduction

The Modern Movement — which came to demand healthy and safe conditions in architecture — considered, according to the Athens Charter of 1933, that architectural activity was divided into four major areas: housing, leisure, work and transport. These differentiated competences in architecture were translated into diverse typological investigations and urban zoning according to each function and purpose (Sòla-Morales, 1991).

At the end of the 50s and 60s, with the appearance of city studies — headed by names like Henri Lefebvre, Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch and later Jan Gehl and Sharon Zukin — a new line of thoughts arises that reflects on the relationships and human interactions over the territory (Gehl, 2006) and which argues that the city should be thought and planned through the observation of urban dynamics that are systemic and interrelational and not zonified and distinct (Jacobs, 1961).

The concept of "Terrain Vague" arises in the mid-nineties with the architect and theorist Ignasi Solà-Morales, inspired by urban transformations after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992. This concept describes spaces that do not correspond to the traditional urban organization and that were left without function due to their inefficiency in the primary functions in systems of production, consumption, infrastructures and recreational uses. This new look on the city materializes in the heyday reaction to modern and postmodern ideals — at the end of the millennium — by bringing to the discussion the moments of urban indeterminacy that cities go through over time and according to evolution.

At the turn of the century it became crucial to realize that alternatives in the field of architecture and urbanism multiply, based on the informal approach to urbanism, the recovery of popular culture, the involvement of users and the radical criticism of the 60s (Montaner, 2015). This is why, at this time, the main architects, collectives and schools that are in charge of these alternative practices appear between art and architecture, it is the case of the most known Ai WeiWei, Olafur Eliasson, Alejandro Aravena and LAB.PRO.LAB (Montaner, 2015).

It is also at this time that Jane Rendell introduces a new term that describes the work that transgress the limits of art and architecture and that includes in itself the concepts of public and private, aesthetic and social. Critical Spatial Practice refers not only to practice but to space, indicating an interest in exploring specific spatial aspects of interdisciplinary processes and practices that operate between art and architecture (Rendell, 2006). This symbiosis between two concepts "in between", has been increasingly framed in studies and considerations on temporary urbanism as tools of space and time management (Madanipour, 2017), as in important stimuli of bottom-up strategies and social intervention in urbanism tactical approach (Lydon & Garcia, 2015).

It is in this context that the need to write this paper appeared, which will be dedicated to studying and analysing the role of the practice of more experimental and interventional architecture in the urban and spatial resolution, reflecting about how the critical spatial practice solves and occupies "terrain vagues", and its currently interpretations, even temporarily.

With that purpose, we look at a set of *petit projects* from the last decade with different motivations and objectives that allow us to frame the role of the "*in between*" actions in the changing of urban dynamics.

## 2. Theoretical framework

Over the past twenty years, and in particular in the last decade, we have witnessed an emergent occupation and reactivation of vacant spaces, as well as, the emergence of space interventions between art and architecture. These interventions occupy, rethink, redesign and bring new meaning to the expectant spatial layers of the city that are waiting for a return of use to the city and the citizens.

Based on the relation among interdisciplinary practices and urban expectant spaces, it is important for us to look and analyze a set of projects that fit into this context. We intend that with this observation we can expose, reinforce and value small intervention projects as an important tool for listening and acting in the territory in the exploration of new urban, social, cultural and political dynamics. However, before delving into the discussion of the central theme, it is important to clarify that despite the "petit projects" have had greater emphasis in the 21st century, the appropriation of the terrain vague, in an unplanned way, to generate new uses and impetus in contemporary cities, it is a common practice in today's urban regeneration.

If we go back to the 20th century, we can see that after moments of expansion or retraction of the cities (for example the migratory movements, wars or economic crises), a set of critical actions of rupture and restructuring of the city are generated. An example of this is the case of New York City in the post economic crisis of 1929, or of Berlin after the fall of the wall in 1989, where a set of undefined, unowned and expectant spaces led to the emergence of a set of interventions that influence, until today, relations in the public space (Oswalt, 2015) are still places of great opportunity for experimentation, reinvention and to search for new meanings, uses and functions of the city. These problematic spaces become opportunities for social, cultural and economic intervention and regeneration (Madanipour, 2017).

That said, this article aims to look at a set of "*petit projects*" that, framed in the concept of Rendell, see in the "*Terrain Vague*" a space for experimentation, valorization and resignification of the place. It is important to infer about these

practices as an increasingly consistent tool in the face of a changing scenario and an adaptation of a postmodern scale (Gehl, 2006).

### 3. Analysis

For the analysis we decided to categorize the different case studies, according to the type of strategies adopted and results obtained. Thus, and always focusing on small-scale urban interventions, the *petit projects*, we organize the cases in three categories — work, practice and events — which overlap and complete in different layers but according to the content of the proposed approach we present separately.In the "work" category, we looked for artistic and architectural interventions that had contributed in a timely manner to the change of urban dynamics, while, on the other hand, in the "practices" category, we sought to study architecture offices whose urban rehabilitation practice was a continuous practice in the city intervention. In the case of "events", we analysed cultural programming projects that have altered, even if temporarily, an abandoned place in the city of Lisbon.

For all case studies, it was decided to conduct the analysis through, not only the publicly available information and the review of these data, but above all through the eyes of the authors and stakeholders. Therefore, we invite these stakeholders to explain the outlines and strategies used in each of the case studies and it was from these conversations that we established and structured this article.

### 3.1 WORK

In "work" category, we chose two case studies in two different cities, designed and built at different times and with different intentions. However, so that we can have a point of comparison that allows us to draw more complete conclusions, both pieces were created by the same author and are endorsed to central railway stations in the respective cities.

The chosen case studies were *Metamorfose*, built in 2015 in the city of Porto (Portugal) next to the São Bento Railway Station and Nook, built in 2018 in the city of Taitung (Taiwan) at the old central railway station, which has since been deactivated.

The work *Metamorfose* appears as part of Locomotiva, a project that results from an application to the Program ON.2 — O Novo Norte, co-financed by European Funds. The municipality's intention was to *"create the bases for the creation and consolidation of future opportunities, driving dynamics that would gradually become autonomous through the transdisciplinary encounter between creativity, rehabilitation, tourism, employment and economy "*(Porto Lazer, 2014) in the space surrounding the São Bento train station.

*Metamorfose*, as an artistic piece integrated in the Locomotiva project, as place shaping strategy was intended to draw attention to vacant and abandoned places as spaces in transition and potential places for temporary exhibitions. In this way, São Bento train station area has a particular importance, once, since its construction (through the conversion of the Santa Maria convent into a railway station) that has totally changed the city's urban dynamics. It was a Grand Project at that time, and left many spaces without function in its surroundings.



Fig. 1 – Metamorfose. Source: (Filipa Frois Almeida, 2013)

Thus, *Metamorfose* work gave new shape and meanings to one of the most iconic ruins in the center of Porto, which had remained unoccupied for more than sixty years, adjacent to one of the main doors in the city.

We emphasize that, at the time of the construction of this work, the city of Porto was going through a moment of transition, in which the historical center became the spotlight of media and municipal attention for being an example of the desertification problem as a result of the population exodus to the peripheries of the city, enhancing the doughnut effect. It is also in this period that the main initiatives and actions of the City Municipality started to focus on this area that was beginning to have the first signs of an intensive arrival of tourism.

*Metamorfose* was built in this context and was expected to be assembled over a period of six months. However, social pressure (along with the railway station, the piece became a reference for the historical center) made it possible to keep the work up until 2016, when the old building turned to a private investor to make way for a housing complex.

During the period in which the work was built, the area of intervention changed. It became safer with the opening of several shops and cafes in the vicinity of the train station — especially on Rua das Flores and on Rua Mouzinho da Silveira which nowadays, are two of the main pedestrian circulation routes that connect Ribeira to Baixa do Porto. It became a place of permanence with new movements of tourists and locals and there was a bet on rehabilitation and construction, as is for example, the metro station in Rua do Loureiro headed on one side by the station and on the other by Metamorfose (during its lifetime) served also as an attractive spot for a series of happenings and performances within and with the work as scenic background.

Thus, we can say that the *Metamorfose* marks a turning point in the reality of that place, demarcated by the political, social and tourist framework of the time. In addition, we can also say that the piece played an important role for Porto's public art, by not presenting itself as a sculpture or graffiti, but as a critical spatial intervention that raised questions to the city, drawing attention to a forgotten place and that, above all, decoded traditional spaces and patterns of urban intervention in an unexpected way. This unknown turns out to match with a turning point in the creation of new dimensions in the same city.

*Nook* project, built in 2018, takes place following a tender for the revitalization of the Taitung train station that would have been disabled at the time. Taitung is a small city in Taiwan that, with the move of the train station to the outskirts of the city — as happened in other urban realities — left this central building to abandon.

It is in this context that the need arises to create a program to revitalize the old station through the allocation of creative projects in the building and temporary facilities in its surroundings.

Thus, the old station welcomed new uses and functions with the intention of returning the space to the city, making it a cultural hub for small creative companies, like an interpretive center, a museum, a tourist office, different exhibition spaces and Taitung Design Center as a design hub network.

*Nook* is a temporary installation outside the station that continues today (after three years) to host small outdoor events and receive different programs guided by the Taitung Design Center. However, because it translates one of the intentions of the designers, the intervention questions the spatial limits of *interior-exterior* and is designed in order to be free for the appropriation and occupation of all inhabitants.

Unlike *Metamorfose*, the *Nook* does not mark a turning point in the city, but on the other hand, it materializes the rehabilitation of a "*Terrain Vague*" in an urban center — its existence allowed new uses and stimulated relations between the local

community. Today it continues to represent itself as a reference for the city, also because it is an unexpected piece, not only due to its shape, that invites invasion, but also because it is an open-air room during the day and a light spot at night.



Fig. 2 – Nook. Source: (Chao Yu Chen, 2018)

It is a work that concretizes the critical spatial practice because it is sustained by the understanding of public space as a place of social, cultural and political intervention and because it allows spontaneity by eliciting uses not conditioned by the urbanistic tradition.

In these two projects, it is also interesting to emphasize another dimension of *petit projects*, the awakening of international circuits that promote transnational values on cultural processes and leverage critical relations in apparently distant places. Just as Grand Projects contribute to the iconography and cosmopolitan character of cities, *petit projects* have also felt this exchange of roles in the exploration of creativity as an engine for the creation of new urban strategies.

### 3.1 *Practice*

As a case study for the "practice" category, we chose the Artéria studio, which aims to conceive, develop and disseminate projects within the scope of urban rehabilitation. To this end, they established an intervention methodology that works from a diagnosis and that streamlines the production of urban intervention projects.

In 2011, alongside the neoliberal turn of the city of Lisbon (Mendes, 2017), the atelier Artéria was founded, which focuses on responding to the urgency of rehabilitation in the center of Lisbon following methodologies and strategies different from those used by the main municipal actors.

As in Porto, the center of the city of Lisboa, along with the financial crisis of 2008, undergoes several urban changes. Such of this changes were foreseen in the proposal to revitalize Baixa-Chiado (CML, 2006): (1) the restoration and rehabilitation of the building , (2) the development of a large qualified space on the riverside, (3) the affirmation of a new Terreiro do Paço, (4) the development of a cultural pole and creative activities, polarized by the Fine Arts, (5) the construction of a public space of excellence between other measures that were written to favoring the accesses and circulation of the various centers.

However, these changes were mainly focused on the rehabilitation of qualified areas and buildings, leaving the precarious neighborhoods, as in the case of Mouraria, outside the main focus of the intervention.

According to this reality, the studio Artéria saw an opportunity for the practice of a critical architecture, when working on urban rehabilitation very focused on community and social development of the neighborhoods, filling the voids and territorial tensions but also taking into account the other voids (cultura, demographic, among others) that are part of the urban equation.

The atelier creates intervention programs for these spaces where architects are needed and where they are not present, thus working not only on the vague urban territories but also the invisible layers of the city.

It is a practice that does not seek permanent solutions, but always a cyclical approach that follows the evolution of urban spaces and of all its stakeholders and it is supported by *bottom-up* strategies that question the insufficiency of the dogmas of urbanism in the 20th century that offer answers to urban problems through *top-down* planning.

One of the works of the atelier that materializes these theoretical strategies is the program "Agulha um Palheiro" (2011) whose guiding principle was to build a platform that brought together and mapped a group of buildings to be rehabilitated, in order to seek new owners to these abandoned and old buildings in the center of Lisbon.

The "Rede de Construtores de Lisboa"(2017) is also a digital platform, where the rehabilitation works taking place in the city center are gathered and mapped, with the aim of stimulating a thinking  platform on rehabilitation from various points of view — who invests, who designs and who executes.



Fig. 3 – Masterplan da Maia. Source: (Artéria, 2019)

Finally, one of the studio's most recent projects, which questions *traditional urbanism*, is the "Masterplan da Maia" (2019) which presents itself as an experience to think of a city as diverse as the life projects of its inhabitants, stimulating the change through which citizens engage, observe, inhabit and, by extension, shape their city.

Atelier Artéria, through a continuous practice in the universe of *petit projects*, brings a new look at the city that intersects and mixes with the concepts of the Right to the City of Lefebvre, Cedric Price's Non-Plan, and the Polycentric City by Saskia Sassen, putting words as participatory, collaborative and community in the lexicon of urban policies.

### 3.3 *Events*

Assuming an increasing role in the development of the symbolic character of the city of Lisbon (Campos, Sequeira, 2019) urban art has increasingly become a tool for cultural and symbolic recognition of the Portuguese capital. Based on the international recognition of many Portuguese artists, this street activity has gained special prominence in the *bottom-up* strategies for its communication capacity and immediate impact on society. New cultural promoters have given rise to the growth of urban art or street art that allows people to get closer to locals, often proposing a reconciliation with the public space or a new meaning for the place.

*Festival Imminente* is a small art festival based on the promotion of national

artists, which presents itself as a plural program that focuses on diversity and au-thenticity. The festival is born from Alexandre Farto's (Vhils) personal will to create an autonomous way of valuing urban artistic culture, seeking to generate oppor-tunities for new emerging artists and to stage new artistic practices in an urban setting. In addition, the festival is promoted with the aim of exploring urban art as a cultural movement and to transform the festival in an opportunity for urban intervention through the occupation of different spaces in the city.

When relocating to Lisbon, the third edition came to occupy a *terrain vague* with an architectural and symbolic value for the city, *Panorâmico de Monsanto*. This building, designed by the architect Chaves Costa, built by the Lisbon Municipality it was a work of great importance and projection not only for the park but for the rest of the city. However, during the first years of life, the place was only used by the Municipality for sporadic dinners and celebrations, most of the time being closed. In this way, with the support of the Municipality, the Iminente festival re-sults in a temporary occupation program, a Software Action (Brandão, P. 2008) promoting itself a process of adaptability and diversity of that place.



Fig. 4 – Festival Iminente. Source: Timeout LIsboa (Nash Does Work/Iminente, 2018)

With no commitment to reissue year after year, but in a pact to give up space on the part of the city, year after year, the Iminente team assumes that over the past three years, the Iminente ends up bringing a new meaning to Panorântico de Monsanto, , in reverse, the place itself has been defining the festival's identity. This relationship of identity encourages the belief that this strategy may work in other areas or spaces in transition in the city.

Despite the temporary nature, the festival also seeks to leave small marks edition after edition, proposing the permanence of some works. This strategy aims to ex-tend the exhibition time of the works, leading more people to visit the Panorâmico

de Monsanto through the works, as well as assuming a continuous presence and interpretation of the festival in the transformation of the place.

In the last decade, we have seen a growing interest in urban regeneration through private and public consortia (Carmona, 2019) that propose creative and tempo-rary urban planning strategies (Madanipour, 2017) with low economic risk although with cultural and social impact.

Often associated with bottom-up strategies, the temporary occupation of expect-ant spaces becomes an opportunity for cultural promotion, creative tourism and to a change of the city's identity and symbolism (Richards,Palmer, 2010).

Thus, there are some issues — explored in detail in the final considerations of this article —- that can support the continuity of this study.

### 4. Closing Remarks

In the last decade, in the midst of a neo-liberal shift, with the economic crisis affect-ing public investment, new strategies emerged and transcend Rendell's own con-cept of Critical Spatial Practice — once, they affect the governance process itself.

With the emergence of the concepts of temporary urbanism, tactical urbanism, placemaking and place shaping, the actors in the public space, seems to have complementary motivations in the development of a more plural and immediate urban space (Carmona, 2014).

Understanding urban voids as spaces *in-between*, and new critical practices as a result of interdisciplinary practices, we conclude that small strategies, which result in *petit projects*, are important drivers of urban transformation and design of public space in today's cities. They play an important role in the resignification of the place, community involvement, creation of new spaces for civic debate and the creation of spaces for well-being and feeling. Also, starting from being low-risk and far-reaching projects, they quickly become tools of and for action in contexts of retraction or expansion crisis.

Knowing that economic advances and setbacks cause a need for a more imme-diate response and capacity for change, in order to avoid discontent and feelings of insecurity in society (Madanipour, 2017), *petit projects* are an important tool the short time and a temporary alternative of the *Grand Projects*, which due to their size and complexity of implementation become models of great administrative and governance complexity.

Atelier Artéria, results ten years later, in a heterotopic studio with a theoret-ical-practical intervention process, which acts on spaces in transition and in

spaces of undefined or transition less explored with serious social and cultural weaknesses.

From another perspective, small-scale strategies emerge from a set of new studios that explore areas of fusion and that question the work processes associated with an artistic practice in confrontation with the public space.

In the works *Metamorfose* and *Nook,* by the FAHR 021.3 studio, the questioning of a problem in the city is evidenced through the use of new spaces for civic debate and through new ways that awaken a new perception of the same space. These critical spatial practices go further, contributing to the definition of the symbolic character and memory of the city.

The tendency for the emergence of small-scale critical spatial practices becomes concrete as an engine of intervention and immediate and temporary transformation, creating a feeling of greater openness and dialogue with the citizen and the community.

In addition, the impact of events and cultural programming on expectant places or areas has also become a *winning bet* of the main urban planning agents, as it allows the temporary occupation of undefined city spaces and their dissemination.

Finally, it is important to suggest a final reflection, taking into account the pandemic crisis that we face and whose impact is devastating in different layers of society, in which we question the capacity of these spaces and processes in between to respond to reinterpretations and uncertainties to which the public space is currently subject.

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# 108 Thinking with the unfinished

## The urban reality of an unbuilt megaproject: a walk

MATILDE IGUAL-CAPDEVILA
Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien

### ABSTRACT

*Terrain vagues* (Solà-Morales, 1994) pertain to the *unfinished*. These underdefined spaces reveal a lack, an expectant absence of productive use that allows for a rare openness. The condition of the unfinished has spawned much scholarship and given rise to theorizations, definitions, and terms that can be understood as complementary, and, at times, even contradictory. I turn here to the following notions of a "third landscape" (Clément, 2004), the "wastelands", the "urban void", the "vacant plot", and the "leftover space" for a walk through a concrete urban situation in Valencia: Sociópolis, an uncompleted grand project.

The first design for Sociópolis was presented to the public in 2003. This *Project for a city for the future*, a large social housing development in the southern periphery of València, was ambitious and utopian. Sociópolis' initiator posited that "in this project, the city can grow without destroying the structure of the agriculture (…) a mix of urban and rural" (Guallart, 2004). 18 years later, as Sociópolis remains largely unbuilt, the site presents an unfinished urban reality. The area remains an exclave of the city, cut off from the urban fabric by a series of heavy linear infrastructures, wearing the marks of decades of neglect. The issues the publicly subsidized grand project addressed have intensified.

As we stroll along the scattered unfinished in Sociópolis, a series of spaces are described, documented, and historicized. The underlying proposition is that unfinished spaces are carriers of traces of destruction and stories of resistance while their latency holds potential, thus constituting an outstanding vantage point from which to identify disturbances (Tsing, 2013), consider urban processes, and imagine other ways of inhabiting the land.

**Keywords:** Unfinished, architecture, disturbances, large urban development project, walking.

## 1. Introduction

Sociópolis is a large housing development project designed in the early 2000s that remains unfinished to this day. The project initially called *Sociópolis: Project for a City of the Future* was first presented at the 2nd Bienal de Valencia –2003– through a sizable Plexiglas model. Conceptualized as utopian and site-less, it was ambitious both in scale and in program. The projects' initiator –local architect Vicente Guallart– stated goal was to solve the issue of the edges of the city where the urban and the rural meet. The proposal was to implement mixed-use large iconic buildings, community gardens, vast sports and recreational areas, and widespread information technologies to create a *rurban* environment.

After receiving significant political backing, Sociópolis was reformulated as a special urban plan. The site, at the southern edge of València, adjacent to the district of La Torre[1] and five kilometers away from the city center, was devoted to productive agriculture and marked on the city's masterplan as protected croplands. The regional government expropriated the land, portraying it to the public as neglected wastelands. Sociópolis became the flagship social project of the local authorities as most of the 9.500 residential units planned were envisaged as rental public housing. The designs commissioned to 13 well-known architecture offices –MVRDV, Toyo Ito...– resulted in a series of complex and iconic projects. The development was showcased as a model for sustainable urbanism and was internationally very well received –notably it was the object of a monograph exhibition at the Architekturzentrum in Vienna.

However, in València, a significant number of experts, including architects and ecologists, opposed the project, questioning the choice of the site and the sustainability of the proposal. The critics argued that the ecological and agricultural value of the land was much higher than the public administration had declared. Furthermore, the decision of building social housing in an isolated and badly connected location was attributed to land speculation interests. Despite the protests, the first two buildings were erected in 2010.

Currently, just five of the eighteen planned buildings are completed and only one of them is devoted to social housing. Around 300 people live in Sociópolis. The development of the public spaces brought to a halt in 2012 due to lack of funding, resumed in 2017 by the City of Valencia. However, many of the promised public facilities –schools, healthcare center...– remain unbuilt.

There are no previous academic studies on Sociópolis as a built/unbuilt reality[2]. The case, nevertheless, has attracted the attention of the national and local press, which commonly describes it as a failure. It is repeatedly cited as an example of the consequences of the construction bubble and its subsequent burst as a result of the financial crisis that began in 2008.

Sociópolis is not the sole grand project of that period that presents nowadays an unfinished urban reality: the new Valencia FC stadium, the America's Cup "temporary" buildings, the F1 circuit, the underground line 10... The list of so-called grand projects that, in some way, are present in the memories of the citizens as "projects that went wrong" is long.

Along a walk across Sociópolis and its immediate surroundings, a series of encounters with the unfinished guide the paper presenting an inventory of spaces and the constructions and beings that inhabit them. Thinking with the concrete spaces in the field allows us to theorize their unfinished condition and prompts further inquiries by suggesting new directions for empirical research. The attentive observation of the site as it is today and as it evolves and the focus on the disturbances that have altered the landscapes of Sociópolis constitutes a productive approach towards a better understanding of grand projects as urban processes that impact the territory. The unfinished urban reality of present-day Sociópolis is both the outcome of a grand project and the tales of progress that accompanied it and the manifestation of a world that lives among ruins. What happens when planners and architects leave the scene? When inhabitants are left alone with the leftovers of grand illusions, the dismantled landscape, and the ruins?

## 2. Theorizing the unfinished

### 2.1 Thinking with the Unfinished.

The notion of *terrain vague* (Solà-Morales, 1994) refers to empty spaces within the urban fabric or at its edges that appear to be left out of the capitalist logic and thus become spaces of freedom. Wastelands, urban voids, third landscapes (Clément, 2004) are some among a myriad of terms employed in framing these easily identifiable, yet undefined spaces.[3] I decided to think with the term unfinished as a way of addressing spaces that share qualities of expectancy, absence, openness, and neglect while expanding beyond the reach of *terrain vague* by including other kinds of spaces –such as enclosed ones.

Unfinished remains an ambiguous open term. When applied to an urban context

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1  La Torre is a 4.000 inhabitants' settlement belonging to the city of València for historical reasons that, due to the distance that separates it from the city, operates largely as an independent village.

2  A monograph, that acted as a catalog for the exhibition at the AzW exists, compiling the designs and edited by Vicente Guallart; and a detailed analysis of Sociópolis as a megaproject is to be found in Tarazona Vento's unpublished dissertation. Both cover the period that preceded the construction of the project.

3  Sergio López-Pineiro in *Glossary of Urban Voids* reflects thoroughly on how to name these spaces.

it inevitably prompts the question: Is the city ever finished? After all, urban structures are constantly updated and their spaces redefined through the everyday practices of their inhabitants. Despite attempting rigor, the use of the term unfinished in this paper will be generous. Oscillating in between the positive framing of the *terrain vague* and the defeatism of failure, "unfinished" presents the advantage of implying a process, the negation of a final stage.

### 2.2 Walking across a territory and its disturbances

Strolling guides a mode of observation that is attentive to and in dialog with the landscape. Thinking in terms of disturbances while walking along the scattered ruins, voids, neglected spaces, and uncompleted constructions deepens our understanding of the complex historical layers that intervene in actually-existing Sociópolis and its immediate surroundings. This practice fuels subsequent archival research.

A disturbance (Anna Tsing, 2015) "is a change in environmental conditions that causes a pronounced change in an ecosystem. Floods and fires are forms of disturbance; humans and other living things can also cause disturbance" (2015, p.160). Through mobilizing this term to address the unfinished, we are bringing in "landscape dynamics", the processes that shape livelihood on the territory, into play.

### 2.3 The fascinating unfinished

The spaces we deem unfinished attract artists for their strong aesthetics as well as scholars who see in them the embodiment of otherwise abstract politico-economical processes.[4] As uncompleted construction sites and adjacent vacant spaces came to symbolize the 2008 crisis and the subsequent bust of the construction bubble and austerity measures, the attention on them grew over the past decade.[5]

Field research helps in acknowledging the attraction of the unfinished and its symbolic dimension while rejecting generalizations and fetishism by focusing on the particular. The inventory that follows faces the fascination for each of the spaces to then, offer a dense description of the conditions of production of each of the locations, thus critically acknowledging the complex processes lurking behind.

## 3. Walking along & thinking with the Unfinished

For orientation, a cartography of the unfinished in the area is provided, the spaces are portrayed through photographs as documented on-site, and then studied

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4  Two interesting cases are the studies on Irish "ghost estates" and the work of the artist collective Alterazioni Video around the "Incompiuto Siciliano".
5  "Unfinished" was also the title of the exhibition representing Spain at the 2016 Architecture Biennale in Venice that tried "to take an optimistic view towards the ruin".

through archival materials –aerial photographs, cadastral maps, official documents, and local newspapers– and other sources such as informal conversations and the memoirs of a resident. A series of significant cases are presented through an itinerary starting at the edges of the site, across unfinished spaces, and onto the completed buildings. Each example introduces a different typology.
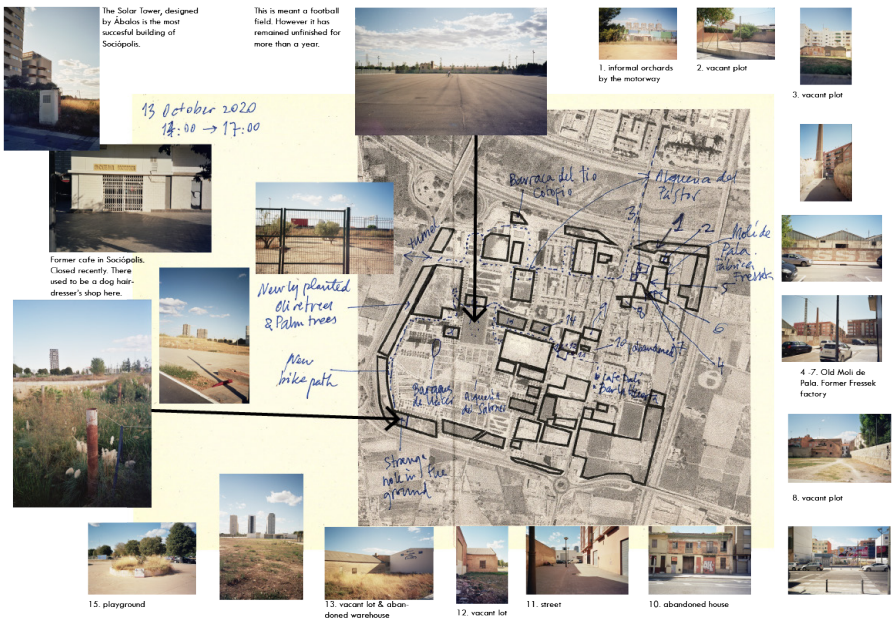


Fig.1 – Mapping the unfinished in Sociópolis. Documentation gathered while walking. Own creation
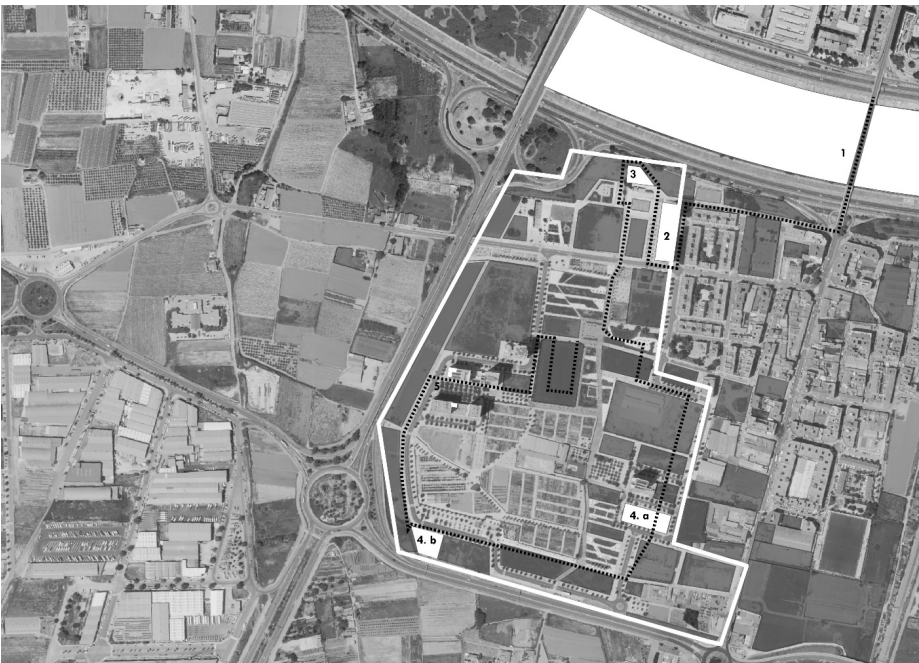


Fig. 2 – A selection of unfinished spaces: from the top (North) – (1) Turia River, (2) Barraca del Cotofio, (3) housing block R-03, (4) vacant lots, (5) commercial premises. Own creation.

**3.1 Infrastructure as terrain vague.**

When approaching Sociópolis from the city center, the last stage before reaching the site is the crossing of a narrow bridge over the Turia River. The new riverbed, as it is known in Valencia, is, due to the Mediterranean rainfall patterns and the water-intensive agriculture practiced in the region, completely dry during most of the year. It, however, needs to be broad, as sudden extreme rainfalls are not rare, particularly in autumn.

The new riverbed was built in the aftermath of the dramatic flood of 1957. The flood and its consequences –material and personal losses, hundreds of homeless families– as well as the solution imposed by General Franco's regime to prevent future flooding constitute a shifting point in Valencia's urban history. The project implied a partial re-routing of the river, bypassing the city, circling it, until reaching the sea. This major infrastructure work swallowed 280 Ha of productive agricultural land. 836 households and historical buildings were demolished in the process. Furthermore, the new channeling segregated the territory spatially and psychologically, altering the perception of distances, marking effectively a border. The coupling of natural disaster and the infrastructural works deeply transformed the landscape and the lives of those inhabiting it.[6]

The new riverbed developed into a remote world: growing vegetation, trash, leftovers, informal paths populate the confined area… An unreachable stretch of land only visible for most Valencians as they speedily cross over bridges by car or by train. Surrounded by highways, the riverbanks are dangerous to access. Still, ostensibly some do reach the river: countless love declarations have been painted for decades over the concrete that forms the edges of the riverbed.

The Turia river, a major identity symbol for the city, acts as a border that isolates areas in the South of Valencia, like the Sociópolis site and La Torre, and constitutes for most of the year a vast terrain vague, a sort of linear uncharted territory.[7]



Fig. 3 – The Turia River, autumn 2020. Own creation

**3.2 Uncompleted: an icon of the burst of the bubble**

As we stand on the bridge looking southward, the skyline of Sociópolis appears imposing in the distance, a set of towers, fivefold taller than their surroundings. The closest one offers a surprising view: it is unfinished, a concrete skeleton letting the sunrays filter through. Tags and graffiti pieces are discernible up to the 20th floor.

The project of the Valencia-based architecture office MCBAD included 184 housing units and their design repeats the standardized volume of other built residential constructions on the area: two high-rise towers –14 and 20 floors respectively– united through a lower block. The structure of reinforced concrete was erected in 2011. That year construction works halted: merely 35% of the project was executed. The building was the only one owned and developed directly by the regional government through the Valencian Institute of housing (IVVSA) a publicly owned company –also in charge of developing Sociópolis' public spaces. In 2012, the IVVSA disappeared through a massive restructuring process due to the austerity measures implemented after the crisis and amidst corruption scandals. The building was auctioned several times in order to raise funds to develop Socióplis' public spaces, to no avail.[8] It proved unlikely that the building would be completed through private investment. The main difficulties being, according to the public administration, that the structure had aged and might present "hidden vices", and

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6  Even though at the time the plans for the new river found little opposition, a renewed interest in the area is raising a critique of the river's rerouting, see: Iván Portugués' 2017 dissertation in Geography and the work of artist Anaïs Florin.

7  In 2019 a rewilding plan for the riverbed was announced.

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8  The offers issued by private investors participating in the auctions, 4 in 2015, never reached the minimum threshold –which was lowered, from 6.9M to 4.24M.

that the intellectual property rights of the building lay with the architects responsible for its blueprints.

In 2018, after a series of fires, neighbors' complained and the structure was fenced off to prevent youngsters and graffiti writers from climbing and homeless people from finding shelter.[9] Last November, the Housing Office announced the building's completion by 2024 entirely through public funding.[10]

The concrete structure is considered an icon of mismanagement and the burst of the construction bubble and its long-lasting effects on the landscape. The hardships surrounding its completion are a symptom of the limitations of public administration's actions under neoliberalism, but also of the role of architecture and authorship. It is the flagship, visible from the highway and the train, of the failure of Sociópolis. The contemporary ruin points at the 2008 crisis and the policies that resulted from it as disturbance.



Fig. 4 – The terrain vague, the barraca, and the concrete skeleton. Own creation

### 3.3 Heritage in ruins: the rural became urban void

As we leave the concrete skeleton behind and walk along a broad street built over the historical pathway Camino del Alba, we come upon a *barraca,* a traditional

9   In 2016, the press reported that several persons were inhabiting the building. In April 2017 there was a fire in one of the towers.

10  Torres, B. (2020, August 25). Vivienda reactiva la torre de Sociópolis. *Valencia plaza*. https://valenciaplaza.com/vivienda-un-milln-sociopolis-2021

form of housing of the Valencian farmers. The small building stands among weeds partially burnt, with holes in its walls, no door. A quick glimpse into its interior, covered in graffiti, indicates that it is inhabited.

The *barraca del Cotofio*, according to the memoirs of José Gonzalbo Rodríguez, a neighbor of La Torre, used to be surrounded by other such small dwellings. The last of its inhabitants was Luis El Cotofio, born at the beginning of the XXth century in one of them. Luis tried to contact the city council several times to ensure the preservation of the building but never received any answer. Soon after his death, the barraca was intentionally burnt. Declared in a state of ruin in 2007, funding for restoration was made available through the Statewide Plan E in 2010. It is the only barraca owned by the city council.[11]

The barraca del Cotofio tells multilayered and complex stories of past rural livelihoods, destruction, re-building, decay, and hope. It is a trace of an erased past, the last standing proof that this territory used to be inhabited. That once, not long ago, the now barren terrain vague was covered by a fertile layer of soil; and orchards grew the produce and provided the means to sustain the family who labored the earth and lived in the barraca. The ruin signals a disturbance: the present terrain vague came into being through destruction. Voids do not happen in nature.

### 3.4 Vacant plots

Walking around Sociópolis, voids abound. Vacant lots appear ready for construction works. Neatly framed by paved streets and brand new public amenities, while some are fenced off, in others, the walker finds no obstacles: with one stride we step onto a different land, populated by wild nature and scattered human detritus, hills of rubble: leftover materials from the construction industry.

These lots remain in the limbo estate of the terrain vague. No longer agricultural land, not yet building site. Their intimate relation to the building industry and property markets is rendered visible through billboards announcing construction works. One of the plots displayed, over the last three years, three different advertisements of the kind, it remains vacant: for sale.

Another one, on the southern edge, is heavily fenced, the land has been excavated and rusted tubes protrude from its bottom. The abundant flora appears diverse: invasive species known as pampas grass luxuriate, different types of palm shrubs, small flowers, and weeds occupy the entirety of this concrete-clad cavity not letting the observer estimate its depth. This left-behind void was in April 2010 a construction site by the real estate group Edival –liquidated in 2016. The special plan of La Torre envisages 96 publicly protected housing units on this lot.

11 In November 2020, the city council announced plans for further restoration budgeted at 82.000 euros and its subsequent use as a community center.

For the time being, it constitutes an example of what Gilles Clément called third landscape, an unattended area that is left by humans to develop by its own means, thus accidentally allowing for a greater diversity of life to grow. Yet, the terrain vague is also a by-product of progress and its shortcomings, and a reservoir for stories of resistance to remembering "lost" and "erased" urban histories and land rights struggles. It is a reminder of the violence that urbanization-as-disturbance entails: the land cities are built onto had a past and "voids" are built through demolition, dismantling, dispossession and displacement. The unfinished is a site of destruction and production.


Fig. 5 –A billboard on a *terrain vague*: "Here urban lot for sale. 1407 sqm. Buildable area: 9616 sqm". Own creation.


Fig. 6 – Third landscape offerings to the unfinished. Own creation

## 3.5 Unfinished commercial spaces: real-estate in crisis

As we approach the denser area of Sociópolis, where three large-scale residential volumes are built and inhabited, the walker notices a lack. Although there is a certain movement, with residents exiting and entering the doors, the ground floor level of the completed buildings of Sociópolis presents an unfinished condition.

Ground floor levels are meant to accommodate commercial activities and offices. In contrast to the housing units upstairs, delivered thoroughly finished to the client, a common procedure among developers is to leave the ground level premises unfinished. Their walls bare bricks, no flooring, oftentimes not even the basic infrastructure is implemented –running water, electricity. This allows for a variety of dispositions as bare surfaces can potentially host any program. The cost of the construction works in order to "finish" the space is taken on by the tenant. Consequently, the investment in terms of capital to open a small business is considerable and many of these spaces are not only "unused" or "empty", but they also remain unfinished.

During the past five years only four business have opened their doors to then, close again:

- A small convenience store, open even on Sundays.

- A pet grooming salon. In the same premises, a bar called "Sociópolis" opened, then closed as well.

- A cafeteria that doubled as a bakery.

These once-occupied ground floors remain abandoned, waiting to be rented or sold, but the limited access to credit after the 2008 crisis proves an insurmountable obstacle for most small business owners.

Unfinished spaces offer openness; they can potentially be adapted to our needs and desires. However, in this case, the lack of nearby resources hinders the everyday life of the neighbors who complain about the inadequate access to services. The nearest food store is currently, a supermarket located almost 1Km away from the three main housing buildings of Sociópolis. In the old village of La Torre, one can find cafes, bars, a newspaper agent, a supermarket, fruit shops, a tobacco store, a bank as well as the public library, the social center, and the bus stop. Nevertheless, the pedestrian path that reaches Sociópolis is unkempt and a detour is needed almost invariably if one carries weight or simply does not want to get its shoes dirty.
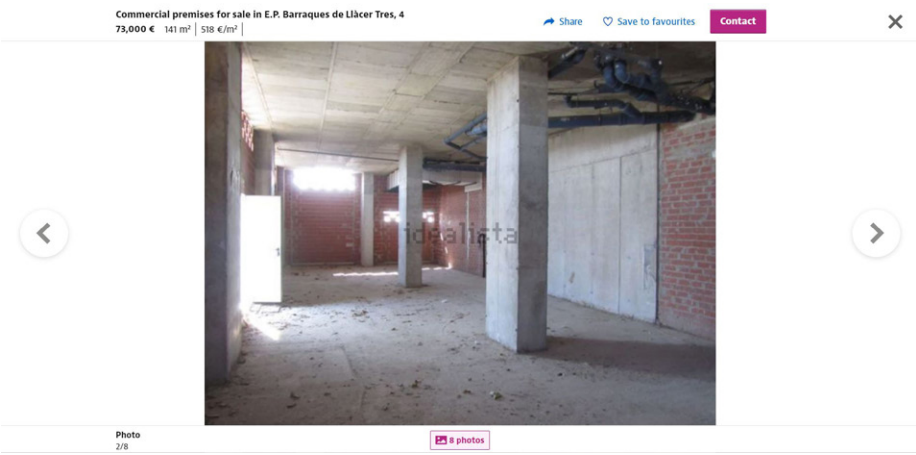
Fig. 7–Commercial premises for sale in Sociópolis. Retrieved from the real estate website idealista.com.



Fig. 8 –Ground floor premises to lease in Sociópolis. Own creation.

## 4. Conclusions

The research stemming from direct observation points towards further research on Sociópolis. Through the understanding of urbanization as a process that evolves through disturbances a tentative periodization of the unfinished in Sociópolis emerges, that will inform subsequent stages of the historical-materialist analysis of the project. The flooding and rerouting of the river, the expropriation and transformation of agricultural land into urban lots, and the 2008 crisis and its consequences deeply altered the landscape. These conditions affect the lived experience of the walker and the everyday life of the local communities. Through

the notion of disturbance, the unfinished concrete spaces are linked to their rural pasts through the memories inscribed in the territory and the earth, as well as to actually-existing neoliberalism and its effects on urban processes, to predatory urbanization, to the financialization of housing and its consequences in terms of housing provision.

The unfinished city for the future holds potential yet lacks the essential facilities for it to thrive. The desirable and feasible approaches for Sociópolis are yet to be explored. It is only through persistent and careful observation of the spaces as they are and as they change that imaginations for the future of this territory can arise.

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# 113 On the unpredictability of space

## The National Coach Museum of Lisbon

NUNO TAVARES DA COSTA
ISCTE-IUL, DINÂMIA'CET

### ABSTRACT

At the end of his text, Ignasi de Solà-Morales questions "how can architecture act in the *terrain vague* without becoming an aggressive instrument of power and abstract reason?" He believes that the answer to this question lies in a strategy of continuity, rather than disruption. Not a formal continuity, but a continuity that attends to the "flows, the energies, the rhythms established by the passing of time and the loss of limits."

At the beginning of the XXI century, in Belém, a historical west riverside parish of Lisbon, monumentally organized with the 1940 Portuguese World Exhibition, a terrain remained expectant since its acquisition by the State Secretary of Culture (SEC) in the 1990s. The destiny of the existing military facilities (meanwhile occupied as a deposit by the SEC) remained uncertain until it was determined that there would be installed the new National Coach Museum.

The project was part of an ambitious urban regeneration strategy, an icon of a "Grand Plan" carried by the Portuguese State to the river waterfront. Although the project implicated the integral demolition of the existing facilities, the place kept an "evocative power," previously hidden beyond the military walls, internal to the city structure and external to its daily life. The absence of limits that characterize the museum's ground floor seems to propose a different kind of *terrain vague*: strangely familiar, purposely uncertain, uncompromised, free of use, as part of the city flows. It is difficult to name this public place, as it is neither a plaza, an internal garden, or a block courtyard. On the other hand, the monumental formal expression proposed by the new museum buildings is close to the idea of an "instrument of power and abstract reason".

Can this exterior space, designed to accommodate the unpredictability of life, be read as a strategy of continuity towards the city and its history? If so, why does it still stand so strangely to many?

**Keywords:** Museu Nacional dos Coches, Paulo Mendes da Rocha, *Terrain vague*, Strangeness.

## 1. Introduction

When one arrives from Lisbon, by the marginal, towards west, side by side with the train, immediately before entering Belém, there was once a walled plot – the former General Workshops of Engineering Material of the Army (OGME). By the end of this wall the gardens of Afonso de Albuquerque plaza, viceroy of India, suddenly appeared. Here begins the entire area of Belém that we call Monumental. It is the place from where the Portuguese departed to their epic adventures by the sea (among other remarkable episodes of Portugal's history there occurred). Some of these episodes remain inscribed in the existing urban structure, in the toponomy, in the constructions and memories of that place. Others are hidden by the layers of time.

The 1940 Portuguese World Exhibition started to reverse the industrialized and abandoned place that Belém was turned into, after the port modernization works by the end of the XIX century. The monumental area was thus organized by the exhibition plan, and Belém regained its historical representative power. In other words, its urban dignity was recovered, more in accordance with its symbolic and geographic importance, as one of the nucleus of the polynucleated city. In the 1980s, this importance was reinforced with the construction of the Cultural Center (CCB) by Gregotti and Salgado (1988), closing the west side of the site, in opposition to the still expectant OGME plot on the east side. Between the two plots stands the monumental gardens, celebrating the colonial empire. At the same time, the Portuguese architects initiated, with the civil society, a debate on the future of the city riverfront,[1] and the urgency to engage acting on these valuable territories, rescuing them from their exclusive economic activity, and giving them back to the city life. Shortly after this debate was started, the Portuguese entities applied for the EXPO'98 World Exhibition, an event with a huge impact on the city's post-industrial oriental area, transforming it towards a brand new speculated and ambitioned neighbourhood. The success of the operation, in the eyes of the Portuguese entities, contributed to power up the need of designing a National Ocean Strategy, where the recovery and reconfiguration of the country's waterfronts (sea and river) played a central role. In Lisbon, these Grand Plans were implemented by the Council of Ministers Resolution 78/2008, entitled "Documento Estratégico – Frente Tejo" (Portugal, 2008). The document determined two main areas of intervention: Baixa Pombalina and Ajuda-Belém.[2] If in Baixa Pombalina the intervention focused on the area of Praça do Comércio (Soares, 2009), Ribeira das Naus (Proap and Global AP, 2009) and Campo das Cebolas (Graça, 2012), in Ajuda-Belém it was generated around the construction of a new anchor equipment: the National Coach Museum.

The OGME plot, where the museum was to be built, was a walled territory, hidden, internal to the city structure but external to its daily life. The plot was defined between the gardens, the marginal and railroad, Rua da Junqueira, and the arrival of Ajuda's hillside, connecting to Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, whose extension (Santos, 2011) was also included in the Ajuda-Belém's scope of works. The plot situation was not much different (in its urban characteristics) from the one of CCB. In fact, by facing the monumental gardens, all plots reinforce the concentric characteristics of the place, with a well-defined centre on the riverfront (the imperial gardens, in front of the world) and a set of monuments and public buildings surrounding it. Despite the planner's intentions, both CCB and Museum reveal the difficulty of activating their interior urban life. Although their ground floors were projected as part of the city, they seem unable to suggest the visitor's stay, invite the city to come inside. The urban condition of these territories resembles more an enclave than a place of crossing and continuity. The city behind these buildings, behind their façades, it's less attractive to the visitor. A road to somewhere. A territory that one must cross to arrive at the Monumental. That is, perhaps, also the reason why the Portuguese Directorate-General for Cultural Heritage (DGPC) reclaimed for the museum project to assume a more institutional entrance facing this centrality. It is the same reason why the architects insisted on placing it inside the plot and, by doing so, emphasize the option of not considering a prevalence side over the others. A front and a back. That would be a contradiction with one of the project's main prepositions, as we will see further on.

The project for the new Coach Museum was a commission of the Portuguese State to the Brazilian architect Paulo Mendes da Rocha.[3] The invitation came in 2007, through Parque EXPO, the public company founded in 1993 to implement EXPO'98, redevelop the intervention area and, after the closing, orient its mission to regional and urban sustainable planning.[4] The choice of a Pritzker Prize award winner (2006) to develop the project is a consequence of the political strategy, with the 2010 Portuguese Republic Centenary celebrations in perspective. Certainly, with the museum idea close to that of an "instrument of power" (Solà-Morales, 1995, p. 123). Or as a demonstration of success and interest by the political regime to empower tourism. Nevertheless, it was, without a doubt, an opportunity to finally reply to the urgency of properly accommodate one of the world's most important coach collections, installed for more than 100 years in the adapted Royal Riding School building. But also, an opportunity to intervein in the *terrain vague* chosen to receive the new facilities, and in the city structure. As so, the project dealt with two kinds of questions: one related to museography (how to preserve, protect and exhibit the collection) and the other with urbanism (how to address the city).

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1  *Cf.* Associação dos Arquitectos Portugueses (1988). *Lisboa, a cidade e o rio: concurso de ideias para a renovação da zona ribeirinha de Lisboa.* Lisboa: Associação dos Arquitectos Portugueses.

2  Pedrouços was a third area of intervention, putted aside due to municipal political negotiation failure.

3  Paulo Mendes da Rocha teamed up with the Brazilian group MMBB, Ricardo Bak Gordon studio as the local architect and AFA Consult to coordinate all the engineering and consultancy. Nuno Sampaio was the Portuguese partner in charge of the exhibition design.

4  Parque EXPO was, in fact, the entity that developed all the studies for the riverside intervention established by the "Frente Tejo" strategic document.
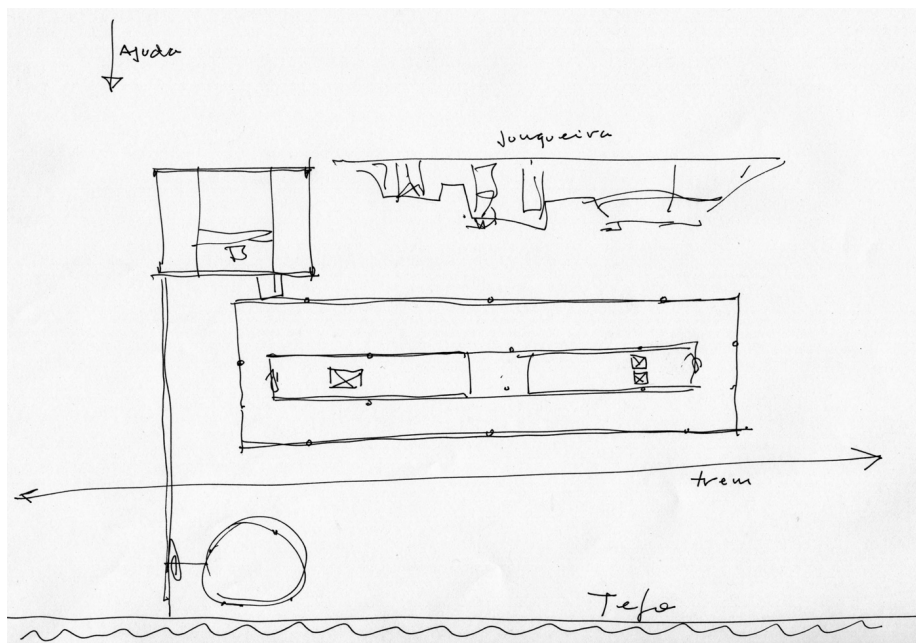
Fig. 1. Sketch of the new National Coach Museum
Source: Rocha, Paulo Mendes da, 2008. Paulo Mendes da Rocha's archive

The original proposal of Mendes da Rocha was configured in four geometric elements: a white "*treasure chest*" to protect and exhibit the collection; an annexe building to receive the support spaces (auditorium, administration offices, library and restaurant), a cylindrical parking garage (suppressed from the project due to municipality opposition) and an aerial straight-line walkway to connect the city to the riverside promenade, crossing over the railroad. A fifth existing element was also part of the composition – the buildings to be kept in Junqueira, now unveiled. The elements layout is organized according to the orthogonality defined by two main axes identified on-site: East-West crossing Belém's monumental grounds, centred in the statue of Afonso de Albuquerque; and South-North, perpendicular to the river, representing the presidential power and projecting Ajuda's steepest street. The articulation of the proposed elements – which are to be read as part of a whole – helps categorize the museum programmatic spaces and their inherent circulations; but also facilitates an uncertain, uncompromised, undetermined relation with the place and its memories. This last aspect is particularly evident in the museum ground floor territory. It is here that we will focus our attention henceforward.

The museum ground floor is a proposed empty place, with open access and no limits, although occupied with some constructions strategically positioned. Here, some of the museum spaces first appear to the visitor (ticket office, shop, museum storage and workshop), with the particularity that he has still not entered the exhibition itself. The collection is *supremely suspended* one level above, permitting to reveal and amplify the place's urban virtues. Existing and new ones. This empty open *terrain* proposes to receive not only the museum visitor's but also the

*vagrant roving* passerby. It is simultaneously a museum space and an intermodal space, opening itself to the city's surrounding fluxes. This once-forgotten place, privatized behind a wall, is now publicly revealed by the museum, becoming, in fact, its *main entrance hall*; and, more important, *museum* of a place understood as Monumental. Forwarding the premise that an architectural project is not simply an isolated object, but part of a bigger structure – the city. With this a discourse is made evident, recentring the question of architecture in the urban broader context.
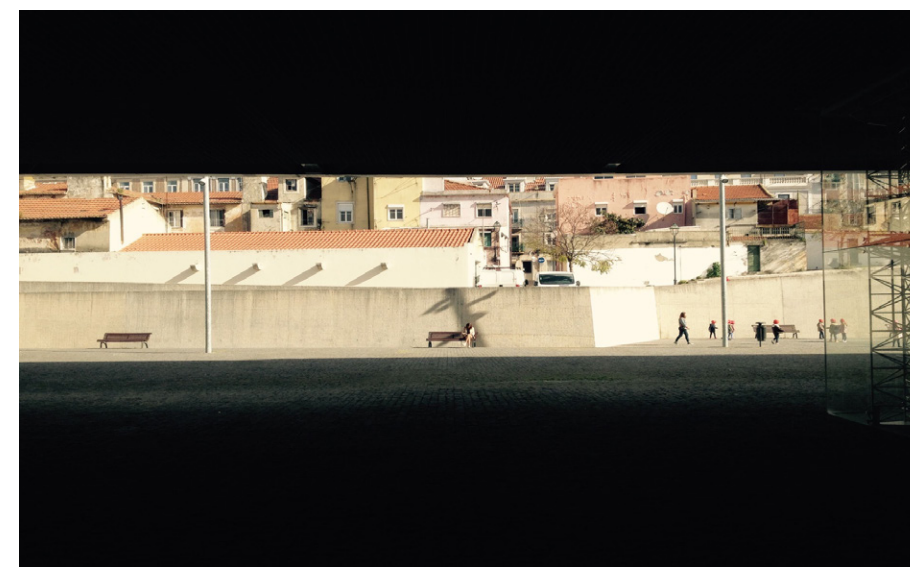


Fig. 2. "Terrain vague" under the shadow of the new Museum
Source: Costa, Nuno Tavares da, 2019. Bak Gordon Arquitecto's archive

From this assumption, the ground floor plan was imagined and designed considering the ambivalence between private and public, museum and city. It is by this reasoning that some of the project's constructive options can also be understood. For instance, the black stone cube pavement, long time used in roads before asphalt, is here extensively applied, outside and inside the public rooms. An option that can be interpreted as an evocation of the pavement over which coaches circulated in the past. Of course, if extensively used as in the current case, filling all surface with the same pattern, with no variations, no matter if for pedestrians or vehicles, also serves the proposition of a space classified as indiscriminate. It is, indeed, difficult to name this space correctly. Is it an interior square, like mostly one refers to? Is it a yard? A block interior? Or a *Piazzetta*[5] as usually Mendes da Rocha refers to?!

5  From the Italian, meaning a small square.

Fig. 3. "Piazzetta" of the new Museum
Source: Costa, Nuno Tavares da, 2012. Bak Gordon Arquitectos archive

The mechanism of referencing to urban elements can also be observed in other examples. For instance, in the chosen façade colours – the pink from the Presidential Palace and the rusty red from 25 de Abril bridge. Or even inside the auditorium, by reinterpreting the traditional wood garden benches into auditorium seats. Somehow, this reveals a commitment to the idea of fading exterior and interior spaces. Connecting (and truly dilute) the public and private realms. And, by this, ambitioning to the radical transformation of Men and his intimacy. This encounter of architecture and urbanism into the same thing is not surprising. It is a typical proposition of the São Paulo school, that gathers independence in the 1960s, around the figure of Vilanova Artigas; and part of a set of solutions that its most representative heir, Paulo Mendes da Rocha, recurrently and historically uses in his projects (others would be the elevation of the buildings, the construction until the limits, the presence of an annexe, etc.) There is deliberately an intention for questioning the plot's limits. If the programme doesn't fit or is inadequate to the plot characteristics, or even if it is not suitable for the intended purpose, there is no constrain in purposing an expansion beyond its limits. This understanding is most of the times facilitated on the conviction that the limits result from land property politics, established centuries ago, that no longer serve the contemporary city.

Mendes da Rocha always looks to his projects in a universal perspective, above its particularities (usually more related to the private interests). This, perhaps, is also the reason why the garage building was purposed to be installed on the other side of the railroad, near Belém's boarding pier, integrated into the riverside promenade structure. For him, it was desirable to do so. This was the best suitable position, both for the museum and the city, as it kept the undesired automobile

traffic away from the tourist pedestrian fluxes. At the same time, it could serve a broader urban area, desperate in the need for greater parking offer and with the advantage of articulating with the boat and train transport.

Mendes da Rocha is also aware that the absence of limits contributes, in a certain way, to the *democratization* of space, because this absence "precisely contains the expectations of mobility, vagrant roving, free time, liberty" (*idem*, 1995, p. 120), like in a *terrain vague*. As so, one can ask if the proposed idea for this *Piazzetta* can be read in a strategy of continuity with the city and its history? A place that is imagined free of use, expectant, available, designed to accommodate the unpredictability of life?

But what does unpredictability mean? And how can space be designed to be unpredictable, or sustain unpredictability? Besides the quality of what cannot be predicted and most likely to happen, the unpredictability of space is related to emptiness, to void, absence, something that stands there available, vacant, vague, blurred, without any particular use or destiny, besides not having none. This means that there is not only negativeness in the space qualifications – like suggested by the prefix of the previously mentioned (un)certain, (un)determined, (un)compromised –, but also some kind of positiveness, as it creates an expectation for transformation, through constant use and change, through (e)motion, as noted and analysed by Solà-Morales (*ibidem*), and confirmed in Mendes da Rocha words:

> What architecture is all about is helping unpredictability in life. That's really an amusing place, so much that we´re imagining that these little houses with their backs onto here, will gradually turn into bookshops, restaurants, etc. This will make the place be put in use" (Rocha, 2013, p. 54)

This sort of expectation, placed on the performance of architecture, is different from the Portuguese and European culture. That is why Mendes da Rocha's proposal for the museum was classified by Ricardo Gordon (among others) as an absolute novelty.[6] To our classic culture, architecture has been always related to the "imposing of limits, order and form" (Solà-Morales, 1995, p. 122), to predict and determine what and how it is to happen. The narrative constructed by the Europeans for their cities and societies is long-established and was spread and imposed over their former imperial colonies, overlapping and denying the existing cultures. For some authors like Fernando Lara (2018), the planning of the American cities (existing and new ones), since the XVI century, aimed to be consolidated as spaces of exclusion, not recognizing the right to liberty. This narrative implicates an attitude of protection, first against nature's phenomena and the wild, second against the foreign enemies, and finally protection from ourselves. What is interesting to note

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6  Gordon, Ricardo Bak (2015). *O Museu dos Coches é uma novidade em Portugal*. Interviewd by Paulo Jorge Pereira. In: Diário Económico. Lisboa: 5 Jun. 2015.

is that this narrative was constructed on the premises of modernization, revealing its dark side: the superimposition of one culture over others. This is, most likely, the central aspect of colonization and, as so, we tend to agree with Solà-Morales (*ibidem*) statement of colonization always been architecture's destiny.

At this point, we could recover the discussion on the museum entrance, between DGPC and the architects. We wrote that it was defended by the first that the project proposal for the museum entrance location, pushed back inside the plot, potentially lead to the subordination of the museum. For an American architect like Mendes da Rocha, conscious of the importance of the moment of "the discovery of America" to the American native cultures, this interpretation made no sense. We must remember that the project did not understand the museum has inscribed inside a limited defined territory but has part of a broader public place that included other monuments. All the territory is the experience of going to the museum and should be meant to be seen. That is also why we cannot recognize in it any sort of prevalence of one side over the others. There is no front and no back. Consequently, the suggestion used by DGPC of an eventual subordination could only be understood in terms of cultural differences, or even colonial prejudices.

We have questioned if this public place could be read in a strategy of continuity with the city and its history, and suggested that, in its previous expectant *vague* condition, kept an evocative power. If our suggestion is valid, what did this space evoke? To what part of history does it address to follow a strategy of continuity? What aspects does the project call to appear? One that seems particularly evident is the once presence of the river in its soils and the subsequent XVIII-XIX century landfill. The proposed empty levelled terrain is cleared of obstacles and left as fluid as possible for one to cross it. The museum volumes appear like posing (or floating) on it. The only truly relevant obstacle present to urban fruition is a continuous concrete quay type wall, that retrieves and redraws the ancient Rua do Cais da Alfândega Velha (customs street). Even there, a set of stairs and ramps, integrated into it, guarantees the transition towards Rua da Junqueira – once a path by the beach, where the wild *Juncus* spread across the landscape lowland –, slightly located above the museum ground floor level. The second aspect of this evocation is the water presence on top of the auditorium. It is there symbolically placed, to remember us of the once-forgotten river presence and the lands there reclaimed, as a memory of something that is not known, but that is being made known. Here, the memory of the past seems to prevail over the present.



Fig. 4. Lake over the auditorium roof in the Annex building
Source: Costa, Nuno Tavares da, 2015. Bak Gordon Arquitectos's archive

All these particularities (together with others like the scale and dimension of the building, its opaqueness, or even some constructive aspects) have contributed to a sense of strangeness in the museum presence. At the same time, this presence is strangely familiar to us Portuguese, like something long known. Ana Vaz Milheiro (2015, p. 62) identifies some aspects of the project that are close to our culture: "...a contained formality, a pragmatism shown in functional terms, a dominated construction technology..." But Milheiro also noticed that this "contained formality", close to Geoge Kubler's idea of a *plain architecture*,[7] is, in fact, a "prodigious and demiurgic gesture", that reveals a conviction on the relationship between the building expression and its monumental scale and the existing fragmented urban structure (*ibidem*, p. 64). The pragmatism of the elementary volumes is motivated by the programme simplicity – a container for coaches and carriages. "Only its constructive domain is exuberant," says Milheiro, and uncommon among us, we should append. Nevertheless, the museum, and particularly this *Piazzetta*, awakens strange sensations, as it keeps and demonstrates a peculiar uncozy character. This strangeness is definitely and directly dependent on the museum heritage and cultural context.

"Having arrived in Lisbon, Mendes da Rocha acted like a foreigner" (*ibidem*, p. 68). He consciously risks a sort of estrangement effect by planning on a different sedimented community, provoking (and promoting) the conflict of the new with what we could classify as a more archaic culture. If we consider this on a hypothetic level, then the museum strangeness experience could also be read through the 1919's well-known Freud's analysis of the "Uncanny": "It may be true that the

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7  Kubler, George (1972). *Portuguese plain architecture: between spices and diamonds, 1521-1706*. Middletown: Westerley University Press, 1972.

uncanny is nothing else than a hidden, familiar thing that has undergone repression and then emerged from it, and that everything that is uncanny fulfils this condition" (Freud, 1919, p. 15). Although Freud concludes that not all that meets this assumption is uncanny, in the museum project there is indeed a kind of a redemption effect. Something that wants to overpass the colonization experience of its traumatic past (shared with the Portuguese) and uses it to suggest a superior moral alternative.

Escape from history to the overburdening sense of the past was a preoccupation of the modernist avant-gardes, formed at the beginning of the last century. Their main concerns were the construction of a new society, a new way of living, social and collectively founded, where architecture was intended to be useful, like a tool. Like a machine as Le Corbusier proclaimed. The estrangement mechanism and the uncanny, as Anthony Vidler (1992) puts in his essays, was an instrument of disturbance used to recall the individual and the collective to a state of consciousness. Yet, if tradition was to be ripped off from its haunted memories and references, then architecture (particularly the house), become an instrument of "generalized nostalgia" (Vidler, 1992, p. 64), an object of a collective memory "for a never-experienced-space". But if the uncanny has encountered its aesthetic place after the two post-Great Wars, the concept dangerously degenerated into new kinds of obscurity and obliviousness, pushing again society to the same alien condition. Architecture (and the other arts) couldn't continue investigating the modern propositions, as they been suddenly interrupted by totalitarian events and the national and international conflicts of the first half of the XX century. The time after-WW2 brought, however, a renewed sentiment on the importance of memory. A sentiment on which history grows integrated with the creative process, aware of the university of human knowledge.

Mendes da Rocha formation is founded and developed in those times, particularly by the presence of Vilanova Artigas. Yet history, for him, is not to be read in the dogmatic plan, untouchable and unquestioned. Neither on an individual perspective, but rather to be politically criticized towards the progress of civilization. Culture is not built upon copy and repetition but on transformation and criticism. For him, the estrangement condition is indispensable to all kinds of art, including architecture. It is in its essence, yet it doesn't rise from the architecture itself, but lies on the conflict of one's subjectiveness and occurs in the moment of perception. This civilization, the Western civilization, dealing, in a political sense, with its dangerous forms of populism as a side effect of the increasing multiculturalism – where the relation with colonialism is forever present in the migrants –, is the civilization where the individual is in a permanent conflict with himself: "despairing at the speed at which the whole world is transformed yet aware of the need to live with others, with the other" (Solà-Morales, 1995, p. 122), of that which is radically strange. Architecture is nowadays captured on this idea of being public but by the interest of its individuality.

In this world, memory is a right at loss. And if the images of this memory are part of our conscious, together with our feelings, forming what we commonly know as subjectivity, then remembering better is. The museum *Piazzetta* confront us with our classic cultural education and our insecurity, because it is not dominated by architecture (left to be used freely), despite resting in the shade of its overwhelming presence. It stands as a different kind of *terrain vague*, unlike the ones resulting from demolition or abandonment, a construction of memories committed to designing the city, in its unpredictability, resisting the mechanical and unconscious way of seeing, seeking beyond it. As Solà-Morales (1995, p. 123) concluded, on the continuity of the "passing of time and the loss of limits".

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# 114 The ocean as a "terrain vague" of the twenty-first century

## The Azorean sea case

INÊS VIEIRA RODRIGUES
CEAU-FAUP
Center for Studies in Architecture and Urbanism, Faculty of
Architecture of the University of Porto

### ABSTRACT

Philip Steinberg (2001) argued that the sea, like nation-states, has been built over time, that is, physically and symbolically appropriated. Steinberg warned of the convention, deeply rooted in social theories, that the limits of "societies" coincide with those defined by nation-states. This conjecture reduces territories like the ocean to a second level, in which "society" is not formed. In this sense, supporting the reasoning on Solà-Morales theory, a relevant *terrain vague* of the twenty-first century could be the ocean. It is argued in this paper that the conception of the State as neutral and as mainly composed by *land* contributes to the dissemination of the *idea* that the ocean – as defended here, perceived as a *terrain vague* – is external to its formation. In other words, the generalized lack of identification or the absence of the *sense of self* when related to the ocean (in particular to the high seas), contributes to a propagated project within which the conquest of the seas is globally unquestioned. Nowadays, geographical approaches signal a continuing tension on sea governance, namely the one that exists between strategies that seek to build new practices for the sea as a common territory, those that seek the exploitation of its resources, and other focused on its geopolitical implications. However, as Becky Mansfield (2007) defends, there is a paradox: at the center of these new political economy of the oceans it's the concern about "the commons". Furthermore, it should be noted that, at a time when Portugal is awaiting the result of the submission of its request for the extension of the Portuguese Continental Shelf, the analysis of tensions and debates on governance in the Autonomous Region of the Azores is of clear importance for the very redefinition of sovereignty, either as a process or as a concept. The creation of a new world map is happening and within this context, with new boundaries, architects and urban planners are convoked to the discussion.

Keywords: Ocean, State, Property, Design.

### 1. The ocean as a *meaningless space*

As Solà-Morales (1995) affirms, *terrain vague* is a French expression which is not possible to translate into English using a single word. Supporting his theory on etymological research around the term *vague*, the Spanish architect points out three connotations: by underlining the original meaning of Latin words, *vague* is first stressed out as a space of the possible, of the encounter, filled with a sense of expectance and promise. Still within this first assumption, the author accentuates the existence of an evocative power of the *terrain vague*, within the city *milieu*. The second meaning for *vague* is related with indetermination and uncertainty. The author relates this inaccuracy with a *boundless* perception, an *almost oceanic feeling* associated with the idea of mobility and freedom. The third meaning takes its roots in the word *vague* as *vacant* to address places which have been apparently forgotten, external places understood as foreign to the productive structures.

Throughout his theory, Solà-Morales (1995) defines the *terrain vague* as strange, as inhabitable. This *strangeness* and almost *emptiness of sense* is considered relevant to characterize the ocean as a contemporary *terrain vague* – not so much in terms of its *function* or its *usefulness*, but in terms of its meaning and its signification.
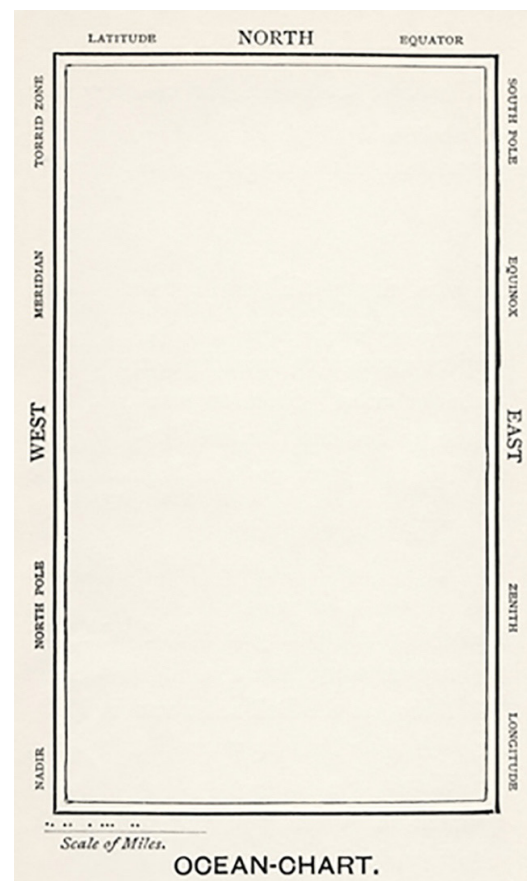


Fig. 1 – Illustration by Henry Holiday (1876) for The Hunting of the Snark by Lewis Carroll.
Source: Wikimedia Commons.

It is essential to inscribe the theory proposed in this paper within a European perspective, otherwise it could risk being an irrelevant contribute by emphasizing a too generalized perspective. In this sense, it is necessary to refer to the theory of John Mack (2018) to sustain the concept that Braudel's view of the Mediterranean was somewhat static as a space for exchange. Given this, thinking about the Mediterranean in order to represent the seas as delimited spaces is part of a European legacy. Furthermore, when the Atlantic Ocean is considered, the frequently unconscious, but largely shared reference of the cabotage as a way to navigate through water, simple vanishes (see fig.1). This occurs because, as Mack (2018) points out, the debates on navigation are essentially formulated in terms of land characteristics, rather than those of the sea, the sun, or the stars.

Indeed, imagining the Azorean archipelago, it's often to think about a group of islands located in the immense Ocean Sea. Towards a feeling of sea *vastness* and *continuity* of the water, the European reading of the phenomena loses its reference. The abysses and multiple depths around the islands often associate with an overwhelming feeling. However, when one thinks about the Pacific islands, as Mack (2018) claims, that sense of emptiness was not common among sailors and the inhabitants of the islands.[1] For the Polynesians, the sea was *filled* with sense and meaning and according to Mack's theory, it was understood as inhabited by spiritual entities, which minimizes any dimension of loneliness and isolation that may be associated with it. Nevertheless, the arrival of precision cartography has irrevocably transformed the relationship of sailors with the sea (Mack, 2018, p.111). Thus, in the Pacific, cartography was a revolution in the *experience* of the sea and a tool to turn it into an *empty space*. Followed by the use of the compass, and later the employment of iron in the construction of ships, the final effect was to make all the seas the same (Mack, 2018). These tools made obsolete the inherited and instinctive body of knowledge of Polynesian sailors, which contributed to the construction of the perception of the sea as a *vacuum*, a *meaningless space*.[2]

Alain Corbin (1990) wrote about a fascination for the seaside in a European context, whose first evidence the author locates in the middle of the 18th century. In accordance with Mack (2018), Corbin sustains that the ambiguity of the ideas of classical antiquity regarding the polluting and purifying qualities of the seas reappear in the positions of Europeans at the beginning of the modern era. However, it is worth to mention that Corbin places the very beginning of the shift related to the *idea* of the ocean between 1660 and 1675, with the appearance and development of oceanography in England.[3] Therefore, even if the knowledge and science

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1  In order to better exemplify it, here is a translation by the author: Cabotage navigation, the characteristic method of European sailors, both along the Atlantic coast and in the northern Mediterranean in the pre-modern period, is not of great relevance in a sea studded with islands, many out of sight even between itself (Mack, 2018, p.104).

2  For a better understanding, see Mack (2018, pp.111-112).

3  For more information, read Corbin (1990, p.26). It is important to emphasize that this affirmation refers to the European context.

about the ocean started to emerge and to expand, the ocean continued to be a symbol of *emptiness*, *vastness* and *availability*. Even though the seashores started to accommodate leisure and contemplative activities – in particular, with the creation of ports – the evocative power of the wave and the misleading temporal and spatial infinitude persisted in the arts and literature.

In addition to that perspective, referring to the French case, Alain Corbin (1990) affirms that the abolition of the admiralty in 1791 and the declaration of the fish as *res nullius* originated a legal *vacuum*. As a consequence, it has generated a demand to re-establish the implementation of previous regulations. Corbin (1990) continues his reasoning, defending that the abolition of property in the ocean contributes to a notion of it as an empty territory, since it recovers its original availability and turns into a symbol of a legitimate harvest.

## 2. The common property conflict

In order to understand the recent shifts related to ocean governance, the works of Becky Mansfield and Philip Steinberg are here considered of utmost importance. As Mansfield (2007) affirms, the 1950s mark the beginning of the process of extension of political economic jurisdiction by individual states. In a seemingly divergent way in relation to a regime of primarily open access and quoting Mansfield's work, "this form of limited access seems to directly contradict neoliberal approaches to markets and states, in that political enclosure represents an expansion, rather than a limitation, of state control and governance" (2007, p.66). Consequently, a new form of property right is generated, since the extension of jurisdiction encloses what once was understood as *commons* into state territory. In this sense, there is a contemporary premise that states can continue to contain and to incorporate the oceans by means of privatization strategies. As a result, as emphasized by Mansfield (2007, p.66), "by enclosing oceans as national territory, extended jurisdiction is the first step toward further devolving property rights to individuals".

Philip Steinberg (2001) argued that the sea, like nation-states, has been built over time, that is, physically and symbolically appropriated. Steinberg warned of the convention, deeply rooted in social theories, that the limits of "societies" coincide with those defined by nation-states. This assumption reduces territories like the ocean to a second level, in which "society" is not formed. Hence, within the reasoning developed in this paper, it is considered that the illusory absence of "societies" in sea environments contributes to its reading as a *terrain vague*. Besides that, the assumption that the ocean – in particular, the Atlantic Ocean – is a *terrain vague* of the XXI century is profoundly rooted with Peter Sloterdijk's theory (2008), according to whom there is still a profound *terrain-conservative*

perspective.[4] Moreover, this paper defends that the maritime experience of the Mediterranean still prevails in the current politics, in particular those related to the Portuguese case. The land continues to be a reference, simultaneously as a point for navigation and as a concept.

The French word "terrain", as Solà-Morales (1995) argues, is related with an extension of "land" and its expectant condition – although, the Spanish architect safeguards that the word in French ("terrain") has a more urban connotation than the English primary translation ("land"). In the light of some legal documents, the sea is often considered as a territory (Treves, 2011; Bacelar Gouveia, 2016; Garcia Perez et al., 2017). The constant allusion to an earthly term, maybe could be understood as an evidence of a heritage anchored on a Mediterranean culture and study. Therefore, the use of the term "terrain" to refer to an environment which is, in its essence, profoundly *liquid* (see fig.2), seems to have an instituted legal basis – besides the cultural one, previously briefly mentioned.



Fig. 2 – Atlantic Ocean. Photography by the author.

When the term "vague" is transposed into this reasoning, it should be particularly understood as "meaningless", as it is believed that this *emptiness of meaning* has a political purpose and an *agenda* behind it. In this line of thought, the ocean is understood as a domain, ready to be conquered and filled with *sense*. However, this doesn't mean that it is empty of function – not at all. The sea *already functions* and similar to the terrestrial environment, the surface and *space* of the

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4  In the sense of an *earthly, land-oriented* perspective.

ocean continue to be instrumented in radical ways – such as a means of transport, as sewage, as a battlefield, as extraction of resources, as a space for the territorialization of nation-states, among others. From this perspective, a prevalent contemporary purpose concerning the sea – and, to a further extend, also a globalized one – is a colonial one: to conquer it and to dominate it.

Nowadays, geographical perspectives signal a continuing tension on sea governance, namely the one that exists between strategies that seek to build new practices for the sea as a common territory, those that seek the exploitation of its resources, and those focused on its geopolitical implications. The nation-states use those instruments capable of legitimizing national claims in terms of territoriality.[5]

However, it is necessary to return to Mansfield's (2007) theory, in particular to the paradox identified at the center of these new political economy of the oceans, where lies the concern about "the commons". Mansfield claims that there has been a radical repositioning concerning the freedom of the seas, taking into account that "oceans were long treated as a common property", "within the Euro-American tradition that has shaped international law of the sea". Recently, however, there is a clear "a pronounced shift away from freedom of the seas" (p.63). Therefore, and in a very contradictory turn of the current narratives, the attention on the commons is at the center of neoliberal privatization of the oceans. The geographer argues that States have been fundamental to the neoliberal displacement in ocean governance and also highlights that "the emphasis on commons is at the heart of neoliberal privatization of the oceans" (Mansfield, 2007, p.64). Thus, this ambiguity claimed by Becky Mansfield is essential to understand the perceptiveness of the ocean as a *terrain vague*. Despite its apparent unlimited extension, its noticeable *communal terrain*, the ocean is nowadays disputed and enclosed through legal strategies.

Definitely, the sea governance question is extraordinarily important, in particular in the European context. For instance, one of the Brexit's most disputed question is precisely the sea domain and its related fisheries.[6] Furthermore, it should be noted that, at a time when Portugal is awaiting the result of the submission of its request for the extension of the Portuguese Continental Shelf, the analysis of tensions and debates on governance in the Autonomous Region of the Azores is of clear importance for the very redefinition of sovereignty and jurisdiction, either as a process or as a concept.

As John Mack (2018) affirms, new constellations of common interests are emerging and being dissolved as new alliances are formed, as well as these organizations affect the entire formation process of the State itself. In addition, the scale and extent of these new coalitions are distant from any terrestrial conception

of territoriality. Thereby, the attentiveness dedicated to the seas defies concepts that are usually reifying of nations and continents.

### 3. *Terrain vague* as a State product

**3.1 Reification of the State as a *land-oriented* perspective**

Consequently, it is argued that the concept of *terrain vague* applied to the ocean – the Atlantic Ocean, in this case – is inextricable from a critical perspective regarding the *idea* of the State. In this sense, it is intended to highlight the need to go beyond the territorial concept whose center is the State and its terrestrial territorial limits, for a model that reveals connections, flows and networks. As Neil Brenner describes, "an alternative meta-geography", instead of "mosaics of the States" (2014, p. 439).

Pierre Bourdieu (1993) defines the reified social space as a physically *realized* or objectified space, in which different types of goods and services are perceived as physically located, as well as individual agents and groups.

Until now, it is argued in this paper, the archipelagic territories and in particular the Azores have been approached based on a logic of reification that sends social actors to a specific social and physical space.[7] When the reflection on the continent/archipelago dichotomy, continental/island "society" takes place, it faces a thought of great social opposition objectified in the physical space, a reification that, using Bourdieu's reasoning (1993), tends to be reproduced in spirits and in language in the form of oppositions, constituting a principle of vision and of division, that is, as categories of perception and appreciation, or of mental structures. In this sense, language reproduces social oppositions that in turn translate into commonly shared territorial inscriptions. Therefore, language is understood as a tool in the process of the reification of the States.

The *idea* of sovereignty and the ability to dominate space, namely in its appropriation (material or symbolic) depends on the capital owned and is the possession of capital that ensures "quasi-ubiquity". Conversely, the lack of capital intensifies the experience of finitude when referring to a place, as defended by Bourdieu (1993).

**3.2 Laws as territorial production**

Considering Bourdieu's (1997) basic concept, the State is a fiction of jurists who contribute to the production of the State by producing a theory of the State, a performative discourse on the public thing. The political philosophy they produce is not descriptive, but productive and predictive of its object. Continuing to draw

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5  For a better understanding, see Mack (2018, p.39).
6  To know more, see: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/.

7  One of the recurrent examples is the characterization of the Azores as an "ultraperipheral region".

upon the same reasoning, Bourdieu (1997) argues that lawyers progressively build *what* we call the State, by establishing what should be of the social world as a whole, enunciating the official and pronouncing the words that are, in fact, orders. The French sociologist affirms that jurists impose their vision of the State through their writings, in particular the idea of "public utility", whose invention is authored by the aforementioned jurists and which consists of a strategy to recognize their presence in the affirmation of the existence of the "public service". Thus, the constitution of a State logic is accompanied by the construction of the State in the sense of a population within its borders, that is, the set of organizational resources, both material and symbolic, that are accompanied by an idea of a unified population, who speak the same language. Then, "State" and "nation", in their most absolute terms, seem to coincide symbolically and materially. The nation-state and its territorial inscription are successful in their most operative purpose when they are not distinguished among themselves.

From this point of view, it is argued here that it is important to recognize the fundamental role of the legislative body and its effects in territorial production. For example, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS, 1982), which still governs International Public Maritime Law after almost four decades has been deemed partially obsolete (Treves, 2011; Bacelar Gouveia, 2016; Garcia Perez et al., 2017). If new ways of conceiving the ocean are emerging, it is defended here that architecture and urbanism are uniquely positioned to offer important insights towards new conceptions of maritime territoriality.

### 4. The creation of a new world map

#### 4.1 Technocratic discourse and cartographic dilemmas

It is argued in this paper that this conception of the State as neutral and as mainly composed by *land* contributes to the dissemination of the *idea* that the ocean – as defended, largely perceived as a *terrain vague* – is external to its formation. In other words, the generalized lack of identification or the absence of the *sense of self* when related to the ocean (in particular to the high seas), contributes to a disseminated project within which the conquest of the seas is globally unquestioned. Moreover, in contemporary studies, the concept of "territory" is often conceived as an area, intrinsically associated with representations defined by an aspect that could be described as static, stagnant or immovable.

The issue spins around the current changes that mark the approach to the administration of the territory within an international context. As a consequence, besides political terms, there is a fundamental question of whether the "lines" established in the ocean unite or separate. This cartographic frame should convoke the attention of architects and urban planners, nonetheless, it is judged here that the necessary awareness afforded by professionals within this field of studies is still very scarce.

Thus, crossing this argument with Solà-Morales theory, it's worth to emphasize an elemental question formulated in his text: how can architecture act on the *terrain vague* without converting itself into an aggressive instrument of power and abstract reasons? (1995, p.192). The Spanish architect answers it, arguing that it is through attentiveness to *continuity*, more precisely through an awareness to fluxes, to energy, to rhythms. The author adds that these are the necessary tools in order to face the anguished aggression of the technological reason of telematic universalism, of cybernetic totalitarianism of egalitarian and homogenizing terror (Solà-Morales, 1995, p.192). Even if these considerations formulated by Solà-Morales where apparently often oriented towards the *city*, it is alleged here that this preoccupation could be extended towards the "liquid environment". Thus, this concern expressed by the architect during the 90s is understood as contemporary, since the new sea economy is deeply grounded in technocratic discourses. In that sense, it is assumed in this paper that one of the roles assigned to architects and urban planners should be to gather the attention to these new forms of cartography, which means to convoke the attention to planning, to policies and to governance.

#### 4.2 The Azorean case

The recent disputes between the Portuguese State and the Regional Government of the Azores are symptomatic of the ocean governance's conflicts and tensions. In this perspective, it seems that the property model regime was in the center of the argument, as Bacelar Gouveia (2016) explains. It was only recently, more precisely on January 11th, 2021, that the revision of the *Law for Planning and Exploration of the Maritime Space* was published, according to which the Azores will have the substantial power to decide on the use of the sea beyond the 200 nautical miles surrounding the archipelago.[8]

Indeed, what is currently happening in Portugal is one small part of the massive enclosing strategy of the oceans, which is being conducted by the United Nations. The political economy of the oceans gravitates around property rights and it is going through an enormous change determined by "neoliberal, market-base socio-environmental policies that enclose for a few what was once the property of all" (Mansfield, 2007, p.72). Among recent news concerning the new sea economy, there is a prevalent technocratic discourse that starts to integrate our imaginaries: common concepts such as "profit", "stakeholders", "resources" and "value" are part of a bigger narrative which intends to legitimize the exploitation of the sea environment.

The misleading impression of the vast and liquid *terrain vague* as unprofitable and non-performing is revealed through these territorial disputes. On one hand,

8  Available here: https://data.dre.pt/eli/lei/1/2021/01/11/p/dre.

the Atlantic Ocean has been commonly a source of inspiration, on the other, the regular sense of disconnection with that *milieu* deviates important critical analysis, namely regarding government policies and planning. Therefore, it is argued that the appropriation of this contemporary *terrain vague* is a mega-project and, alongside that, its understanding and analysis is one of the challenges of the twenty-first century.

The delusive perceptiveness of the ocean as a "void" is also uncovered by vestiges of urban phenomena, such as the passage of the first submarine cables in the 19th century. The authors of *Planetary Urbanization* (2014), Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid, influenced by Lefebvre's thinking, have proposed a new theory of urbanization, alerting to the inertia of dominant urban ideologies and their respective views. This is what Lefebvre (1970) wrote, arguing that the urban problem was imposed on a planetary scale, announcing the "urban era" as a new and unknown field.
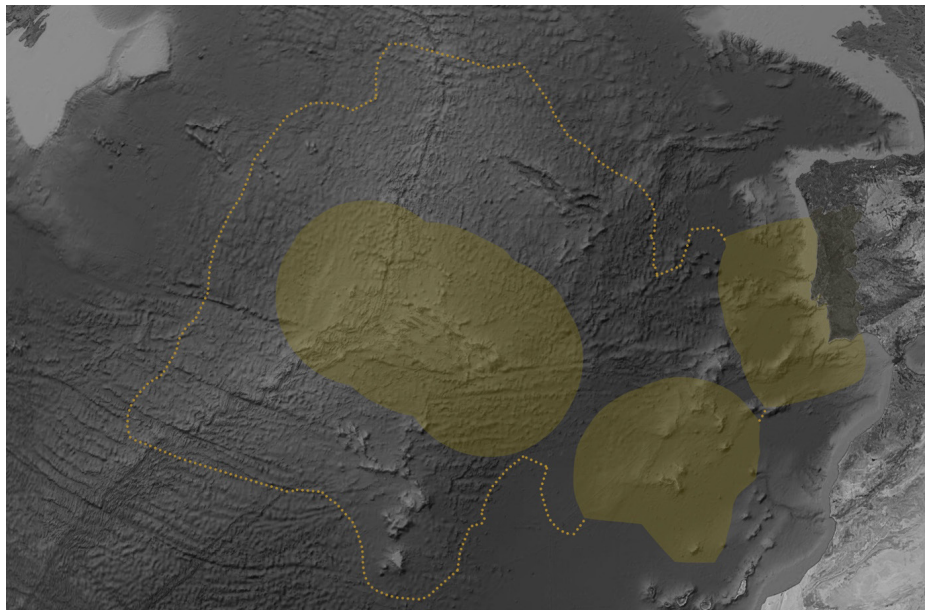


Fig. 3 – Proposal for the Extension of the Portuguese Continental Shelf (with dotted yellow line; the homogeneous yellow stains represent the EEZs of mainland Portugal, Azores and Madeira). Own creation based on EMEPC (www.emepc.pt) and Google Earth.

### 3.3 Calling for a critical perspective of the new boundaries

"Architecture" underlines, in its etymological epicenter, the Greek term "árkhō", which designates the "principle", the "rule", being therefore the royal epistemological field for thinking about the (de)construction of spatiality and its order. In the light of the eventual extension of the Portuguese Continental Shelf (see fig.3), there is an undeniable question of global governance, then, unavoidably, there is also a question of planning. Therefore, why are architects and urban planners not

part of the process? After all, this is a matter of territorial planning, not so distant from what happens within *land limits*.

Subsequent to this position, it is argued that suddenly the concept of *territorial cohesion* calls for a new lens, namely through design and mapping, alongside with new (or not so conventional) agents, that is, architects and urban planners. To produce a map, to design it, is to force a representation, which is essential for a critical approach. Regardless of being impossible for a map to "capture" totality, mapping is a representational tool par excellence. In order to come to a conclusion, reclaiming for a new perspective is, in this sense, apprehended as redirecting design efforts towards the contemporary challenges of the ocean.

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# 117 Walking in-between

## Urban interstices on the Lisbon hillside

**LORENZO STEFANO IANNIZZOTTO**
Faculty of Architecture, University of Florence

**RAFAEL SOUSA SANTOS**
Faculty of Architecture, University of Porto

**JOÃO VENTURA TRINDADE**
Department of Architecture, ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon

**FABIO LUCCHESI**
Faculty of Architecture, University of Florence

### ABSTRACT

With this paper it is intended to present the results of a research focused on urban interstices on the Lisbon hillside, taking as a case study the São Bento valley. It was sought with this research: first, to recognize the nature of these spaces and the circumstances in which they were generated; second, to characterize their current condition; and third, to consider their potential and the possibilities of intervention. Methodologically, the research followed a qualitative single case study, following two complementary readings: i) the historical and the vertical reading, considering both urban and geomorphological configuration; and ii) the horizontal reading, considering the direct observation *in situ*.

**Keywords:** urban interstices, urban voids, territory as palimpsest, São Bento valley.

### 1. Introduction

The contemporary city is subjected to profound processes of transformation that are radically changing its structure, generating within itself and at the borders new types of spaces that are difficult to interpret and define (Sieverts, 2003). Among these spaces there are the urban interstices, undeveloped spaces within urban areas, at different scales, where emptiness prevails over fullness and naturalness prevails over built, characterized by the relationship with the surrounding spaces, from which they are divided by unclear boundaries or thresholds.

With this paper it is intended to present the results of a research focused on urban interstices on the Lisbon hillside, taking as a case study the São Bento valley. The research was conducted according to three main objectives: first, to recognize the nature of these spaces and the circumstances that have generated them; second, to characterize the current condition of these spaces according to their limits, surfaces and relations; and third, to consider their potential in the local urban environment and the possibilities of integration into the Lisbon urban system. Methodologically, the research followed a qualitative single case study. The study object – i.e., the urban interstices – was approached through two complementary readings: i) the historical and the vertical reading, considering both urban and geomorphological configuration; and ii) the horizontal reading, considering the direct observation *in situ*.

### 2. Background

#### 2.1 The nature of the urban interstices

> *The border of the city, the architectural mass of the city, is cracked*
> (Pier Paolo Pasolini, La forma della città, 1974)

The contemporary urban settlements are subject to profound transformation processes that are radically and rapidly changing their physical structure and all their immaterial and symbolic relationships (Sieverts, 2003). The city of today is a complex and constantly changing organism, so complex that it is difficult to define it through the old concepts and tools (Mazza, 1995). Many authors have attempted a definition for this new urban form, such as *zwischenstadt* or intermediate city (Sieverts, 2003), *città diffusa* (Secchi, 2005), or generic city (Koolhaas & Mau, 1995).

Some of the common points of all these definitions are: the urban and rural dimension interpenetrate, overlap and hybridize, creating blurred and indeterminate boundaries (Secchi, 2005; Sieverts, 2003); contemporary cities are the place where material and virtual relationships meet (Ascher, 1996), where local actions and regional, national, global decisions compete, according to globalized flows and local demands; the city presents within itself and within its limits unedited spaces or urban voids (Careri 2004, Sieverts 2003, Solà Morales, 1995).

It is precisely these urban voids that seem to be the protagonists of most studies and interventions in the contemporary city (Solá-Morales, 1995). They have been defined in many ways, such as *terrain vague* (Solà Morales, 1995), *territori attuali* (Careri, 2004), *spazi interclusi* (Rossi & Zetti, 2018), *nuove terre* (Marini, 2010), spaces in-between (Spirito, 2015) or third landscape (Clément, 2005). Considering the character of the spaces under study, the definition of urban interstices (Brighenti, 2013), seems to be the most appropriate. It is possible to summarize the main features of urban interstices as: unbuilt spaces within urban areas, at different scales, where emptiness prevails over fullness and naturalness prevails over built (Careri, 2004); waiting, abandoned, marginal, underused, ambiguous spaces (Solá-Morales, 1995); spaces in-between, characterized by the relationship with the surrounding areas, from which they are divided by unclear boundaries or thresholds; lack of planning that causes a lack of identity, of precise functions, of aesthetic and visual value; absence of integration between them and between them and the city (Rossi & Zetti, 2018).

Artists seem to have been the first to perceive these spaces, to register and to use them as work material (Marini, 2010). Among others, the work "Reality Properties: Fake Estates" developed by Gordon Matta-Clark in 1973 is a paradigmatic example. In this, the author brings together a set of unused and unusable interstitial spaces, "waste derived from the subdivision of land, too small to do anything with it, yet real and registered as such", spaces that are real but "without any value, use or exchange, non-places, non-goods, non-commodities" (in Marini, 2010, 141-142).



Fig. 1 – Urban interstice in Lisbon, 2020. Source: Image of the authors.

## 2.2 The origin of the urban interstices

There may be a tendency to think that urban interstices have been randomly generated. However, the marks left in the territory to which these spaces belong show that their origin is not random at all (Clément, 2005; Corboz, 1985). If explored carefully, urban interstices "often allow the reading of the different times and the different components of their territorial palimpsest", highlighting the structure of "the historical and geomorphological persistences of the territory, inspiring, as visible witnesses of an implicit project, the rules for their redesign" (Rossi & Zetti, 2017, 10-11).

Two main causes for the generation of urban interstices can be identified: the geographical and the anthropic cause. According to the theory of Saverio Muratori and his followers (Ravagnati, 2016), the original structures of the settlements are strongly affected by the presence of ancient connecting paths, which in turn were built considering geomorphological elements – that is, topographic, hydrographic and geographic elements.

Lisbon is a clear example of this. The rough topography of the territory has strongly influenced the current shape of the city, which has developed along the ancient paths of the ridge and valley. In fact, as referred by Carrilho da Graça and Sequeira (2019, 14), the study of historical cartography and the current urban morphology allows to clarify: on the one hand, "the enormous geographical and landscape strength of the city"; on the other hand, "that the structuring lines of the urban form coincide with the structuring lines of its topography".



Fig. 2 – Paths of ridge and valley in Lisbon, 2020. Source: Image of the authors.

Contemporary urban design is also one of the causes of urban interstices (Secchi, 2005). It is possible to observe a strange phenomenon: the more the design of the city intensifies, producing a copious number of plans, documents, and laws that seek to impose order through control, the more unused empty spaces are created. They are expectant areas withoutdestination, the result of suspended interventions or the result of the myriad of micro-additions by private initiative, taking advantage of the fragility of the urban regulation instruments (Rossi & Zetti, 2018).

Returning to the work "Reality Properties: Fake Estates", Sara Marini (2010, 55) mentions that Gordon Matta Clark, "by proposing cadastral documents, maps and photographs of a territory as works of art [...] makes explicit the relationship between the different levels of planning and perception of reality", in such a way that "these experiences on waste mark how the order process that governs the territories can be the main architect of marginalized or useless areas".

## 2.3 The potential of the urban interstices

Despite representing a residual and problematic part of the contemporary city, the urban interstices are simultaneously precious spaces with great potential. As referred by Solà Morales (1995, 75), the "emptiness, therefore, as an absence but also as a promise, as a contrast, as a place of possible and hopeful waiting". This presents a new design challenge, since the intervention in the existing city, "in its most interstitial parts, can no longer be either easy or effective, as instead postulated the efficiency model of the enlightenment tradition of the modern movement" (Solá-Morales, 1995, 78).

It seems necessary to develop a new approach to these spaces: no longer an approach based on land consumption, mono functionalism of spaces and zoning, but a more flexible, dynamic and reversible approach focused on urban relations systems (Rossi & Zetti, 2018; Solá-Morales, 1995). A new way of designing based on diversity, which represents the greatest resource of these spaces: social diversity, functional diversity and biological diversity (Clément, 2005).

It seems possible to find solutions in these spaces for the unresolved problems of the contemporary city. Since these spaces suggest new design perspectives (Sieverts, 2003), they can be the site of new experiments in the field of urban design, through participatory planning or self-construction, but also of new innovative business and recreational experiences (Rossi & Zetti, 2018). Moreover, it is important to emphasize the importance of these spaces in the ecological dimension of the city. Most urban interstices have a permeable surface, in many cases with vegetation, thus playing already a role in the ecological system. These spaces can be left uncultivated (Lynch, 1992), in order to continue to support biodiversity, or they can be converted into small gardens or farms within the city (Clement, 2005).

### 3. Methodology

The research that produced the results presented in this paper was developed according to a qualitative single-case study design, focusing on the São Bento valley on the Lisbon hillside. The rationale that determined the choice of the case was the representativeness factor, that is, the significant presence of interstitial spaces in this area. In view of a holistic approach to the case study and its context and considering the particular complexity of this type of space, the process of data collection and analysis implied multimethods and multi sources of evidence (Creswell, 1994). Thus, as argued by Brighenti (2013), the recognition of urban interstices in the São Bento neighbourhood required two different readings.

First, the historical and the vertical reading were combined, in order to reconstruct the territorial palimpsest (Brighenti, 2013). On the one hand, with the historical reading, it was intended to clarify the phenomena involved in the production of the urban interstices. On the other hand, with the vertical reading (in Rossi & Zetti, 2018), that is, the traditional survey "from above", the urban and geomorphological configuration of the case study were considered. Second, with the horizontal reading (in Rossi & Zetti, 2018) it was intended to approach the case study through direct exposure to the impulses and contingencies of the site (Careri, 2004). The practice of walking, as an "itinerant method over the ground, with a notepad and a camera" (in Rossi & Zetti, 2018, 76), proved to be a fundamental complement to the interpretation of the particular characteristics and values of the urban environment in the case study (Braz Afonso & Sousa Santos, 2019).

### 4. Results and discussion

#### 4.1 Recognition

Two elements could symbolically represent the São Bento valley: water and stone. Over the years, the development of this area was based on the coexistence of functions related to the presence of water, such as agriculture and the aqueduct, and the presence of monumental masonry buildings, such as churches, convents and palaces. This area was one of the first expansions of the city outside the ancient walls, and while the valley retained its agricultural and rural character, the hills began to be occupied by houses, such as the Bairro Alto, built around the mid-seventeenth century with an orthogonal grid. São Bento also started to be occupied by convents.

The presence of convents was decisive in the urban character of the São Bento valley, due to the large and important buildings and the walls that limited the large areas of land for agricultural purposes. Thus, the large areas occupied by the convents determined the development of this area: with the continuous expansion of the city, the construction of new buildings and residential neighbourhoods extended to the São Bento valley, consolidated territory, but leaving the areas of the convents untouched. In 1834 it was decided to extinguish the religious orders and expropriate all assets, including buildings and land.

Reading the historical cartographies, it is possible to recognize that, in most cases, the new neighbourhoods filled the old properties surrounded by the walls of the convents, while the large buildings of the convents assimilated important public functions. During the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, alongside the large country palaces and convents, residential districts, industrial settlements.

For the geomorphological reading of the case study area, it is necessary to start with some extended considerations. Carrilho da Graça and Marta Sequeira (2015), based on the comparison between ancient cartography and the current urban morphology, argues that Lisbon was born and developed from ancient routes based on the geographical context of the ridge and valley. This influence is so strong that most of the ancient routes persist as contemporary city streets.

Lisbon, unlike many other cities, had a linear development along the ridge and valley. This particularity emphasizes the absolute harmony between the growth of the city and its topography. In line with Muratori's theory, Carrilho da Graça and Sequeira (2019) refer two conditions for the first occupation of the territory determined by topography: "in the highlands, narrow and more arid lands, the first settlements and urban life originated; in the bottom of the valleys, wider and more fertile lands, agriculture and rural life took place".

The current São Bento Street coincides perfectly with the old path of the valley, which was situated on or near the riverbed. The valley is located between the hill where Bairro Alto rises and, to the west, the hill where the Estrela Basilica stands. These two hills were part of the ancient ridge paths of the city, a conformation that generates significant differences in elevation between the valley floor and the peak of the hills. To the two fundamental conditions of ridge and valley, an intermediate condition was added: the hillside condition. It is possible to verify that the hillside line, drawn with a graphic method, occupies the intermediate areas between the ridge and the valley. In these areas, since the slope is steep and therefore difficult to build, it is likely that mostly empty spaces will be found, divided by high earth retaining walls.

Fig. 3 – Urban morphology and spaces for collective use of São Bento, 2020. Source: Image of the authors.

## 4.2 Characterization

The urban interstices characterization was based on six different parameters: 1. the causes that generated these spaces; 2. the type of surface, whether it is permeable or impermeable; 3. the presence of trees; 4. their limits, whether buildings, property walls, retaining walls or break lines; 5. the presence of public buildings; 6. the potential for connection and integration in the network of spaces for collective use.

An important aspect that became evident in the process of characterizing urban interstices is that these spaces are not flat. In fact, within the limits of these spaces it is possible to identify marked changes in elevation, which is a direct consequence of the complex topography of Lisbon.  Most of these spaces are located in the hillside condition or in an intermediate geographic condition between the valley and the hill. This particularity makes it difficult to build in these spaces or to convert them into spaces for collective use. Another similarity between these spaces is the abundance greenery: most of them have large areas of permeable surface, a valuable feature in this part of the city, and also a considerable presence of trees and vegetation.

It is possible to identify a correspondence between the cause that originated these urban interstices and some of their characteristics, such as the size and the presence or not of public buildings, important elements to consider in an urban regeneration perspective. In fact, it was recognized that spaces c and h – spaces

located in the hillside condition, which originated from the limits of the old conventual fences or *cercas conventuais* – are significantly larger. These spaces extend over the large area between the valley and the hill, and contain within their limits large public buildings and important cultural functions. All the other interstices – i.e., spaces a, b, d, e, f, g, i, j and l – appear as block or *quarteirão* voids, closed-shape building sets with a large open courtyard in the centre. These spaces are important for the presence of greenery and because they offer light and area to the surrounding buildings.



Fig. 4 – Urban interstices characterization, 2020. Source: Image of the authors.



Fig. 5 – Urban interstices a and b, 20201. Source: Image of the authors.

## 4.3 Consideration

It is possible to recognize a great value of urban interstices in the context of a historic or consolidated city. The value of the urban interstices comes precisely from their rarity: in the historic or consolidated urban centres, as in the São Bento valley, there is a shortage of empty spaces, and particularly a shortage of permeable surfaces (Magalhães, 1993). However, as referred by Nuno Portas (2012, 136), it is necessary to understand how interventions in these spaces, whether by the simple continuity of their presence or by the introduction of new functions, "can still feed access to new forms of life".

Firstly, preserving these urban interstices as such represents an opportunity to enhance the urban environment (Brighenti, 2013): even if there are no interventions in the near future, it is necessary that these expectant spaces do not disappear. Secondly, considering the transformation of urban interstices through the introduction of new uses and functions, the measures to be implemented must be carefully studied, supported by an in-depth knowledge of each case and its particularities (Braz Afonso & Sousa Santos, 2019).

Most of these spaces are private in nature and, therefore, the change to a collective nature is a delicate operation and requires careful consideration. It is essential that the intervention does not create conflicts with the already established forms of life. It is possible to recognize in the Chiado recovery project of Álvaro Siza Vieira the potential of opening the interiors of the block, integrating them in the network of spaces for collective use. However, as Siza Vieira (in Costa Lobo, 2014) also underlines, this is a delicate decision that cannot be taken uncritically.

Thirdly, referring to the potential of urban interstices. In terms of improving the quality of life, there are advantages in terms of healthiness and restoration of building facades. The opening and cleaning of these spaces would allow: firstly, better exposure and ventilation of the buildings; secondly, the backs of the buildings would become a new facade with public character, being an opportunity to be repaired and requalified. In this way, a load of promiscuity, abusive uses and occupations would be removed from these spaces, ceasing to be a hidden and obscure space, but integrated into the network of spaces for collective use.

In addition, there is the possibility of introducing new uses, either by recovering or creating new paths and crossings. It is also possible to introduce new functions, either in the buildings – once the buildings have gained a new facade, they can receive a new program on the ground floor – or on the surface of urban interstices. The surface of these spaces can be used as recreational and leisure areas, preferably keeping the soil permeable with trees and vegetation – in line with the idea of Ecological Structure proposed by Magalhães (1993).

More directly, a generalized intervention in this area would contribute to the lessening of the flood problem in Lisbon. In some cases, when the area and conditions are favorable, the introduction of urban farms can also be considered, as encouraged by the municipality. In parallel, these measures would have a role in strengthening neighbourhood relations and local values, as spaces for socialization, meeting, sharing, building new bonds between residents – thus seeking to harmonize local and global demands.



Fig. 6 – Álvaro Siza Vieira, Chiado public space, 2021. Source: Image of the authors.

## 5. Conclusions

During this paper it was intended to approach the urban interstices on the Lisbon hillside, seeking to recognize their nature and origin, their current condition and their potential in the local urban environment. These spaces, even if abandoned, marginal, underused, ambiguous, are urban elements with great resources and with great potential for the city of the future, for the ecological and social function that they already perform or could perform. If in most cases these spaces are generated by urban sprawl and by the absence of a detailed urban plan, in Lisbon they have been generated also for geographical reasons, evidencing the profound relationship that exists between city development and its geography.

It seems that the main contribution of this research was to highlight a type of space that would otherwise remain invisible. The identification of the particularities and values of the urban interstices in the context of the consolidated city is an essential step for the recognition of its role and the possibilities for intervention. As stated in this paper, it is not possible to generalize a solution for these spaces, and therefore it is necessary an in-depth knowledge of each case to support the development of each solution.

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# 133 Terrain vague, property, free space: the ideal of a common space

## O Esteiro do Montijo – *a case study in the centre of the Lisbon lagoon-area 2020*

(Versao alargada deste estudo encontra-se em "Café com Europa: Brasília 60", Brasília: Universidade de Brasília, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, 2020)

RUI MENDES
ISCTE DINAMIA-CET

**ABSTRACT**

This Paper intends to present and discuss the most relevant data from the ongoing project for the reconfiguration and preservation of Esteiro do Montijo. From the intensive observation with multidisciplinary, institutional and informal contributions, we cross the cartographic data with the characterization of the successive occupations, for a specific and permanent attention on its environmental, historical and type-morphological components.

This work phase builds a large map which fits all scales openly and with overlaps. To observe and operate in this way enables the inclusion of manifestations with a spectre as ample as it is diverse: a planned action that can accommodate the unpredictable and the ruin, old industries with new typologies- new uses, open systems between the natural and the artificial.

Thus, we will be closer to presenting more specific and complex manners of action upon the place and to invoking the best references of the cities' culture as a critical and theoretical support.

The relationship between environmental reserve, public urban land and the informality generated in the collective space's strongholds, are the public matter whose characterization will be one of the objects of this study.

The space of the common has no limits, as Nuno Portas has taught us: "From the viewpoint of urban architecture, there can be no building that does not make the city, that is, there is no typology that is not, by structure, penetrated by an urban morphology."(PORTAS 1969)

We believe in this discovery of the existing matter: a garden, a building, a path, a root, a memory that can be cherished and included in the effort for reframing a place made of everyday impulses.

How to include the relevant data of sociability found in these "spaces of impunity" (Ábalos, Herreros 2002)? : A contribution from architecture to a new ecology of places.

**Keywords:** Urban Studies, Urban Project, territorial planning, Plan and Architecture.

## 1. Introduction

*"Montijo, Cidade-Parque"- uma cidade para viver no estuário do Tejo*

There have always been wastelands. History condemns them as a loss of man's power over nature, but are they not the blank pages we need? (Clement 2007, p.85)



[1] The Great Lisbon. The estuary of Montijo with the airport in the center of Tejo. (source:Rui Mendes/RM ARQUITECTURA)

The research data presented is part of a work in progress that aims to point out criteria to support, concepts and modes of action in the Urban area of Montijo. This Urban Study gained relevance and urgency, with the expectation of a renewed use of the military airport as a civilian terminal. It intensifies the need for research and identification with new cartographic information, drawings and models, for an understanding of this Place.

It is important to look at this system again, placing Montijo at the epicenter of the Estuary, to fix key pieces in urban development and growth: systems, areas, roads, units, streets, ports, neighborhoods and complexes, which allow framing consolidated projects and actions in course or to promote. [1]

The Municipal instruments of Planning and Territorial Management available, need major updating and above all a degree of architectural qualification. As a Basis for the Urban Study, we seek to expand the registration elements with the identification of existing resources, matrix and urban systems, in synthesis drawings that can better reveal and substantiate the operations to be carried out.

[2] Lisbon: Tagus estuary and Montijo Estuary. The airport center is the first large border between the large Tagus estuary and the interior portion of the estuary that makes up the city of Montijo. Source: Rui Mendes/RM ARQUITECTURA

The major airport transformation in the Tagus basin, with Montijo as the epicenter of the urban system of Lisbon, revealed the new image of the great city with the two banks finally experiencing today the destination that the geographical sense kept as a latent attribute and established the first premises for the observation of this lagoon place.

O Esteiro do Montijo, in Tagus Bay, concentrates the most relevant material as a framework for thinking about the Urban settlement of Aldeia Galega do Ribatejo, now Montijo.[2]

**AS THE BIG QUESTION MOTIJO:**
OBJECT
MATERIALS
PUBLIC LAND
**TO FRAME
A METHOD
A PROCESS
AND REFERENCES
TO A PROJECT**

The banks, as a large wet, floodable space, manipulated both by the maritime condition and by human action over time, are the most complex space and the richest in biophysical systems and are the magical and permanent feature of this

place. The reconfiguration and preservation of this place is particularly relevant to induce, based on the qualities of its banks, an urban design based on the permeability system of the Estuaries that constitute the great (forgotten) urban front of the city.



[3] "Montijo Park City" Conceptual scheme, permeability paths, through the estuaries up to dry land. Source: Rui Mendes/RM ARQUITECTURA



[4] "Montijo Park City" Conceptual scheme, permeability paths, through the estuaries up to dry land. Source:Rui Mendes/RM ARQUITECTURA
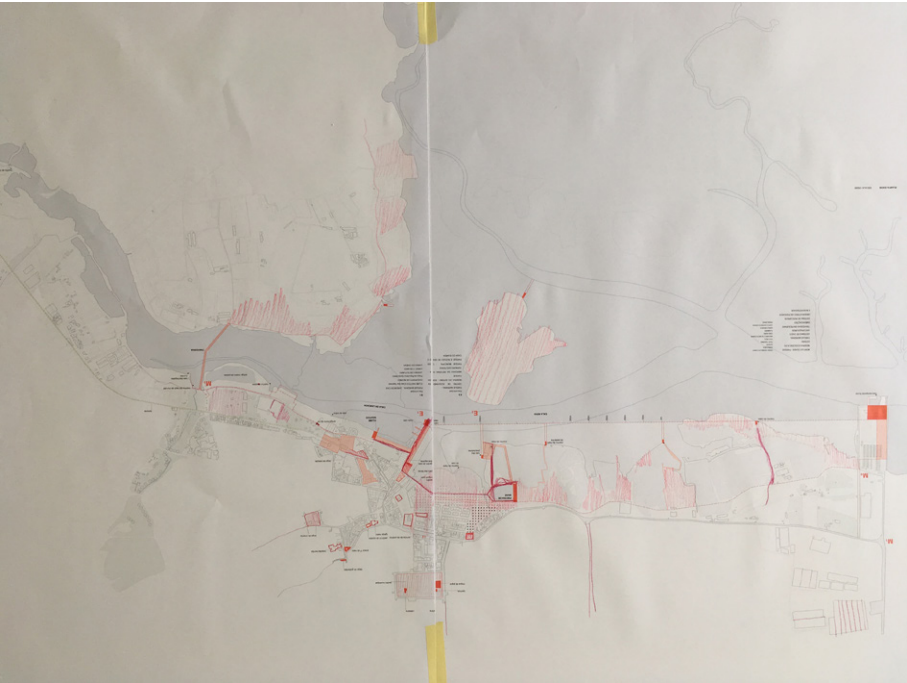


[5] Montijo Estuary: New map of Public wet landscape. The lagoon holds an ecological wealth whose preservation is essential – one more reason for reflecting upon its potential. Source: Rui Mendes/RM ARQUITECTURA

## Montijo, City-Park

### Metodology

The historic dimension of the use of the estuary has had great relevance since its original settlement at the edge of Montijo, which today belongs to airbase no. 6. All activities related to fishing, berths and ships,mechanic shops, and homes for fishers and workers of the milling industry and salt production [6] had their prime between the 17th and 19th centuries.[7]

In the 20th century, it is the turn of large cork factories and, essentially, the large livestock industry, the latter establishing itself at the margins of the Estuary and using it for disposing of waste from the transformation of meats. With all the technical evolution and somewhat abandonment of such industries, today it is possible to measure the use and, above all, the preservation of this ecosystem, which, very resiliently, remains, and which must acquire the greatest relevance in the strategic study of the region. This is the condition that gives this territory a unique characteristic, and that attests to the fact that it will establish itself, in the near future, as the great epicentre of city life.[8] This condition was verified through coexistence with and visits guided by local experts: fishers, salespeople, boatmen, bird lovers, industry workers.
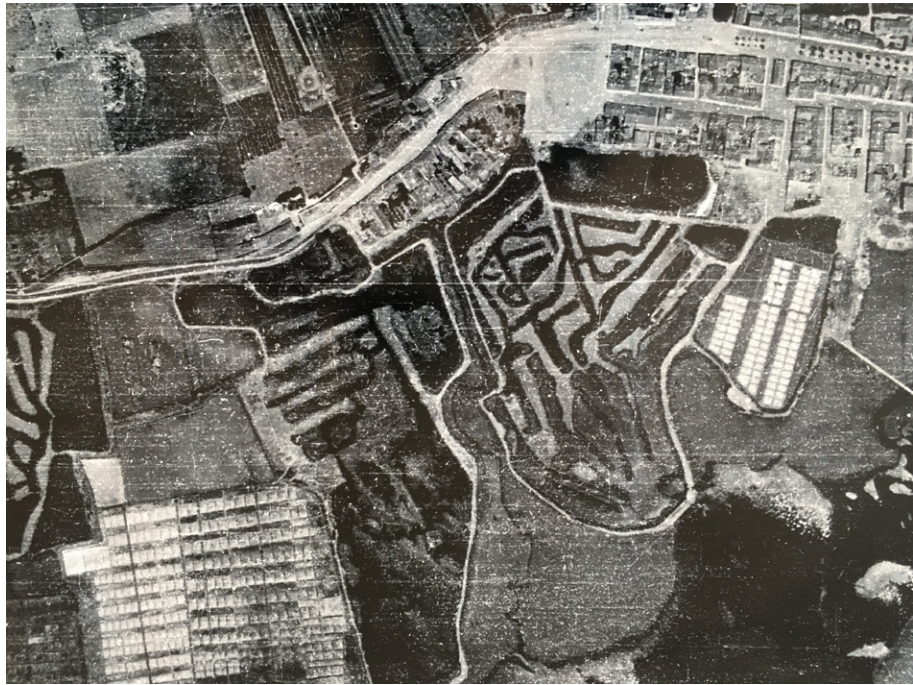
[6] Montijo. milling industry and salt production had their prime between the 17th-19th cent.
Source: CMMontijo town hall



[7] Montijo Estuary. fishing, berths and ships. Source: CMMontijo town hall
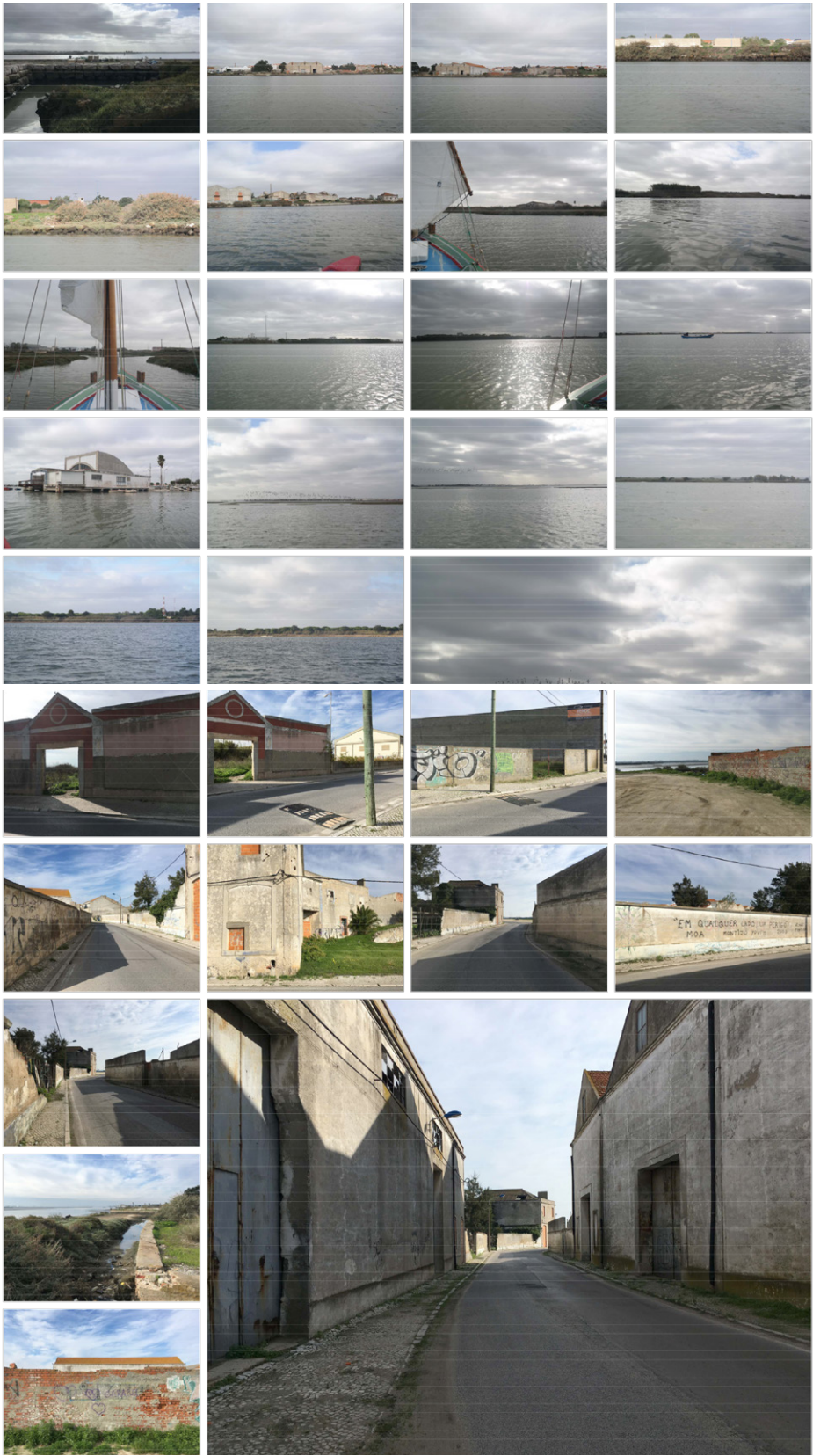


[8] Montijo Estuary and closed industries. The magic site for the new. Source: Rui Mendes/RM ARQUITECTURA

## STRATEGY

Who ever says "strategy" says the hierarchy of "variables" to be taken into account, with some of the strategic capacity and others remaining at the tactical level - but also says strength capable of carrying out this strategy on the ground (Lefebvre, 1968, p.114)

The observation methodology initiated has sought to find an open cadence, in circuit:

A. **OBSERVATIO**N. collection of elements (direct observation, collection of testimonies, archives);

B. **PROCESS AND REFERENCES.** processing by design and various mappings (new cartographies, urban surveys and synthesis texts);

C. **ESSAYS AND PROJECTS**. Testing (scenarios for an urban study with preliminary programs).

### OBSERVATION

With the methodology based on OBSERVATION / PROCESSING / TESTING, we activated the condition of being able to do it in a circuit, that is, resume observation and registration after any phase of Testing / Construction, with multidisciplinary teams and articulating the most relevant aspects for each urban life cycle

This method takes as a main reference the landscape studies produced by the French landscape architect Michel Desvigne for the city of Bordeaux since 2005. "Using Processs rather than an overall site Plan" is the experimentation method in the construction of the landscape that Desvigne proposes: with a series of case studies, several areas are analyzed, highlighted by their spatial components, limits, typologies, topography, soil and free space. A first empirical approach with plantations is to test space from a functional, aesthetic and ecological point of view.

In the same way, the observation, processing and testing circuit places design scenarios and proposes to study, test and build other criteria for understanding urban design today. With dynamic and adaptive processes the fundamental idea is to activate transformations from small works. Also a teaching around the theories of "Small is beautiful" written in 1973 by Ernst Schumacher. A seminal book to understand the value of scale in urban operation. "Economics as If People Mattered".

The autonomous character must prevail and make the image of a network of arteries emerging from the marginal plane.[5]
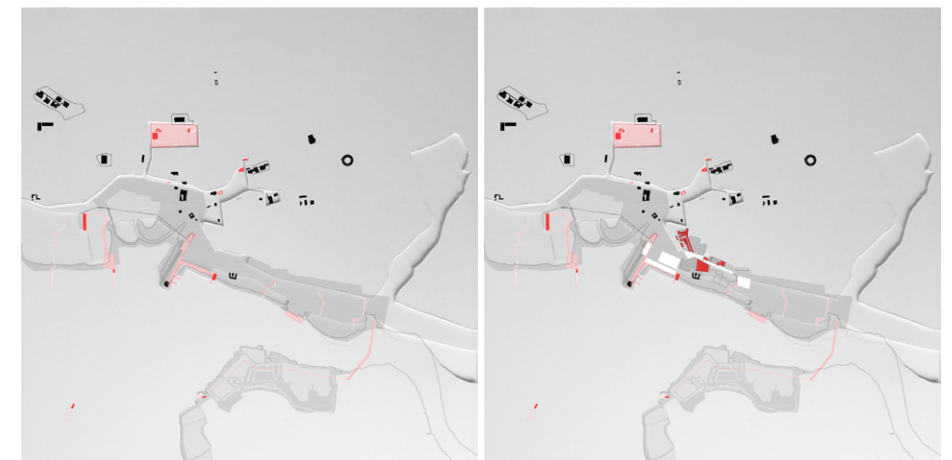




[9] "Montijo Park City" strategy. A body of loose parts that construct a new meaning and semantics. of different natures, they prepare a hypothesis of inclusive, rhizomatic axes and modes for their progression. Source: Rui Mendes/RM ARQUITECTURA

### PROCESS AND REFERENCES

We bring from Lefebvre this conceptual basis: transduction. This "intellectual operation"||he elaborates and constructs a theoretical object, a possible object and does it based on information that affects reality, and from a problem established by that same reality. Transduction presupposes incessant feedback between the conceptual framework used and the empirical observations. Its Theory (methodology) gives shape to certain spontaneous mental operations of the urbanist, the architect, the sociologist, the politician and the philosopher. It introduces rigor in invention and knowledge in utopia " (Lefebvre 1968,Pag.111)

This cyclical attribute that we want to attribute to Urban Study is virtually unstoppable. It seems at least apt to be manipulated and appropriated by the various players in the Urban project and cherished by the population.

From "Constribrutions to a fragmentary utopia", A + PS reflects on the work themes that will guide their action in urban works, which will produce, in particular, reasoning about big London, in the 1960-1970s. "Poetry of movement for the sense of connectivity", "Density, interval and measure", introduce parameters for an action: "Our concern is for the poetry of the movement, for the sense of connectivity. Our concern is for the workplace to fel like a workplace, for the city of the machine to be enjoyed with the same directness and deeply felt contentment we can still fel in the market place, the fishing harbor, ... | "P.100 The proposals, the drawings and the operations, appear linked to a network of diagrammatic reading that weaves a hierarchy of the "variables" that matter to an "tactic" of action. We follow these teachings for a permanent attention to the detail of a schematic idea - to produce the minimum for the maximum of perception and enjoyment of the qualities of this territory.

The experience of "Architecture as city-saemangeum Island city", published in 2010, rehearsed by Florian Beigel and Philip Christou, installs an approach to the water universe as a project theme, which we use here as Project reasoning. Produced in the project research unit, "Island City Experience" is a matter for reflection in particular, given the characteristics of the programs designed in favor of the presence of water: Channels, aquatic gardens and circulation modes. This concrete and poetic way faces the scenario of the increasing rise in water levels, from lagoon contexts of reference such as Stochkolm, Cadiz, Venice. Unit capacity and interdependencies are a strong conceptual basis for the research we do in the lagoon space of Esteiro do Montijo.

These are the main references taken for the design tests that close the proposed research and action cycle. The restart of the cycle will reactivate these and other references, which will make new questions and the necessary details more visible.[9]
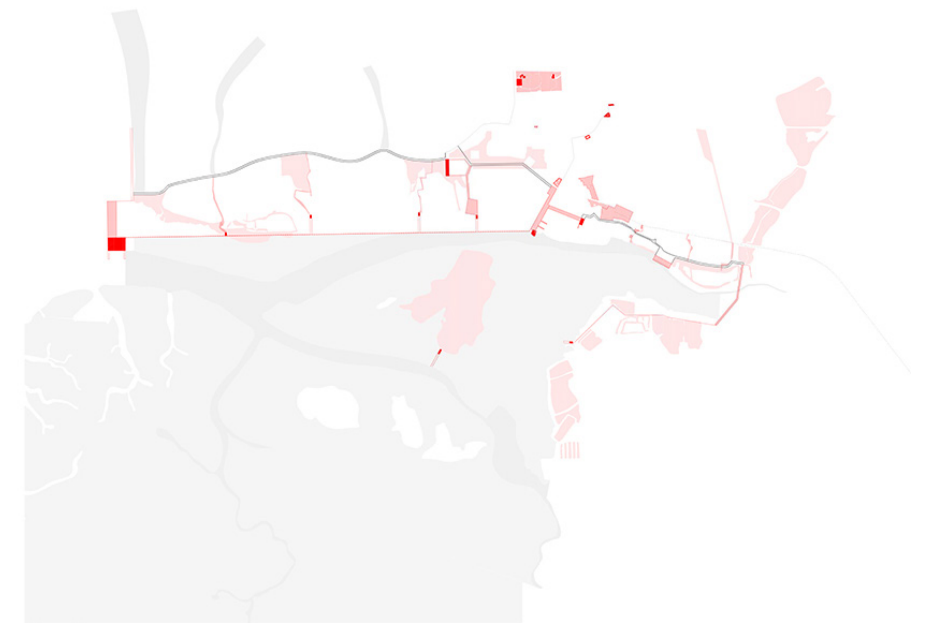


[10] "Montijo Park City" Conceptual scheme bringing together existing spaces, renovated buildings, and new constructions, a revision of the lagoon structure stemming from the identification of the estuaries and the associated quays. Source: Rui Mendes/RM ARQUITECTURA

## ESSAYS AND PROJECTS

As construction, taking as reference the essay "Los Angeles: the architecture of four ecologies, any ecological system raised by and for each territory. If, in Los Angeles, the four ecologies are the great infrastructures, such as the topography, the hills, the downtown-beaches, and the highways, in Lisbon-Montijo the central theme is found in the water, from which the systems are recognised in permeability paths, through the estuaries up to dry land. [8]

Permeability is another essential data for this system. Its expression can be even more notorious if the tendency to fill the land of the margin is inverted.

The estuary system touches an important concept to be developed: infiltration. The extension of permeability systems ensures a new map with axes of new plantations and productive uses under the open sky and in greenhouses (food and flowers. One of the actual most relevant cultivation).

We tested a method of observation and investigation to experiment with urban project rationales that established a network of develop- ments in all scales. Thus, we constructed an idea for the city that in- cludes all scales of relationship with the territory. All spatial qualities must also appear articulated: ruins, unused spaces, margins, and enclosures of impunity (ÁBALOS and HERREROS, 2002). The new

spaces are small portions of the whole, they are not constructed in continuous segments; they interpose distance, spaces, and times. [10]

Sociability, the fruition of free space with spaces for travel and stay, complement each other with the quality of dwellings and workspaces in their relation with the Tagus, constructing our vision of the city for everyone, that is: revealing pre-existing elements which reflect the collective memory of a recent past through the construction of a collective and open process, based on the recognition of a collective landscape (estuaries) considered as the new infrastructure capable of activating long developments and reuniting different agents and participants.

### Urban Study Montijo Cidade-Parque.

**Estuary Ecological Reserve - Marginal Park. Landscape unit 1**
**An experimental method * (utopia must be considered experimentally ...)**

The segments of work in progress point to the elements chosen for the first stage.[7] They are like a first sample of the Montijo-Parque universe. The great element of conceptual connection is the construction of the Esteiro Ecological Reserve from the installation of a Marginal Park. With this reference and from the water, we map the inland branches and the connection axes in the structure of the consolidated city. Parque Marginal is an area made up of sections of landscape units. We propose to activate and make others emerge so that the relationship is established across the board. They are anchorages, the pier walk, the fishermen's wharf, the land reform market, the windmills, public programs, which operate, simultaneously, the purpose of renaturalization by the voids that constitute the system.

The Montijo city-park plan is a strategy with several lines of work. These axes constitute the first critical reflection on the city's matrix and the ability to organize each project as part of a continuity in space and time. The method proposes to organize a path in which each single piece fits into the rhizomatic process, which is constantly being updated due to the occurrence of new projects to be included. All projects are referenced to a conceptual matrix: permeability and collective use. The notion of sequence exists and prevails, but it cannot be absolutely predictable. The inclusion of each parcel in the network is the result of critical recognition and particular attention to the existing built. It is longterm attentive work that pursues and finds the right narratives for its evolution and coherence.

Under a strategy of infiltration and permeability, the installation of new Places-Form is an essay on the quality of construction around free space, spaces for a new ecology of places. A way of belonging qualities of space existing in a renewed chain of typologies of space, where unpredictable and ruin can fit, open systems between the natural and the artificial, in rhizomatic progression: an open and supported system of inclusive progression. The treatment of the permeable space /

floor is one of the essential components of this work strategy, with artistic design and integrated drawing by the sculptor Fernanda Fragateiro.[12]

This first phase of work, between 2019 and 2020, already points out some criteria for project actions in the public space. Elements will be recognized or arranged in the work axes, in order to guarantee the affirmation of a networked urbanity. The idea of a network is the main reasoning to be fixed, with the following principles: Design the spaces for preservation as spaces for enjoyment. Create a structure of voids that intercept the existing structure to consentrate new spaces for collective use based on the biophysical preservation. [11]



[11] collective use based on the biophysical preservation. Source: Rui Mendes/RM ARQUITECTURA



[12] Panoramic photograph with the materials of the first public presentation of the ongoing "Montijo Park City" work. The figures under study by artist Fernanda Fragateiro for the design of limestone pathways. Small groups experiment their conjugation with different spaces in the city. Atelier Fernanda Fragateiro. Source: Rui Mendes/RM ARQUITECTURA

## EPILOGO FASE 1

We believe in this journey of discovery of the existing matter: a garden, a building, a path, a root, a memory that can be cherished and included in the effort for re-framing a place made of everyday impulses.

The invention of a system is a modern lesson that allows us to go back to considering the idea of a plan to conceive the existing city: how to reclaim planning today and again understand its relevance as systemic thinking?

The idea of the Park City is to make, out of a place, the vision of a large, shapeless area, without model, without time, where consist- ency is obtained through the clairvoyance of each piece of the set, independent, reclaimed from the existing mass or reinserted into it. It is the narrative we rehearse, from the delicate lagoon geography, to make it grow and bear fruit.

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# 136 Railway territories

## Structuring, disruption and reconnection

ORLANDO GONÇALVES FAYA JUNIOR
University of São Paulo

### ABSTRACT

The present research has as its initial purpose to present the existing tension in the relationship between city and railroad, in order to explain the role and the function that the railway infrastructures in urban territories have performed since its implantation in the national territory.

When examining this tensioning over time, it is possible to observe how the railway infrastructure served at first as a structuring of its urban insertion territories. In a second step, the railway infrastructures were responsible for the disruption and the splitting of the urban fabric, which, initially, they had helped to structure. Thus, their mere presence came to represent a barrier, an obstacle to urban fruition, generating a consequent disqualification of their urban insertion environments.

Currently, railway infrastructures can be seen as powerful territories capable of harboring the future, by stimulating the requalification of their insertion sites, exploring their role as an agent capable of promoting the reconnection of urban territories, which had once been broken.

Therefore, this research comprises the characterization of the main object of study, the railway territory; the evolution of its influence and function, so that it is possible to outline the three main roles played by these infrastructures over time: their structuring, their disruption and their reconnection, as well as the values linked to each one of them.

In conclusion, this study aims at presenting the relevance of the theme in discussions about the role, function and potential that railway territories have as potent spaces in promoting the rehabilitation of urban environments. In this way, this research develops from the observation and analysis of case studies that exemplify and illustrate their capacity, diversity of approaches and solutions that seek to achieve a desired reconnection of urban territories, starting from railway territories

**Keywords:** Infrastructure, Railway, Territory, Urban Reconnection

## 1. Introduction

This work is the compilation's result of the of the dissertation **Entretrilhos: Railway Territories, disruptions and reconnections**, presented in August 2020, to the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo, to obtain the Master's Degree, by its author, Orlando Gonçalves Faya Junior.

The research starts from the tension existing in the city-railroad relationship, and from the role that railway axes have as an urban barrier; dividing element of the urban fabric of its insertion sites.

The central objectives of this study are the identification and analysis of the conditions in which the railway territories can reverse their role as dividing elements and serving as elements of reconnection between the railway axis - implanted infrastructure - and the urban territories that contain them.

Initially, this research proposes to understand the term **railway territory** as the articulation between three elements: **the railway domain area, the railway fringe, and the railway influence area**. Its characteristics and its articulation demonstrate the roles and the influence exerted by the railroads on the dynamics established in their insertion sites, allowing the analysis of the railway territory according to three roles: **structuring, disruptions, and reconnection**.

The characterization of these profiles allows the analysis of behavior and the relationship established between the railway infrastructure and its sites' insertion, what demonstrates its different functions and values assumed within the urban territories they cross.

The methodology proposed for the elaboration of this study was an exploratory research, based on studies cases.

This paper presents the case of a railroad (approximately 10 km), in the city of Santos, on the southern coast of the State of São Paulo, Brazil. Originally, in the 19th century, it belonged to the Southern San Paulo Railway (SSPR), having gone through several processes of a merge, split and expropriation, being incorporated, at the beginning of the 20th century, by the Estrada de Ferro Sorocabana (EFS); in the 1970s, by FEPASA - Ferrovia Paulista S / A., and in the late 1990s - the period before the privatization of the Brazilian rail network, incorporated into the Rede Ferroviária Federal S / A (RFFSA).

The urban environment, directly influenced by the tracks that cross the city of Santos, undergoes an accelerated process of profile change (uses, morphology, and urban dynamics) from the implementation of the Baixada Santista's Light Rail Vehicle (LRT), in a similar traced of the original railway axis



Fig. 1 – Localization of Santos, in São Paulo State, Brazil. Source: Own creation based on (CDC, 2019; RStudio, 2019; Santos Prefecture, 2019)



The map of the E.F. Santos a Jundiaí railroad and some of the other railroads linked to it, like the E.F. Perus a Pirapora and E.F. Bragantina. This map was originally published in the book *Traçado de Ferrovias* (Railroad Building), by Jerônimo Monteiro Filho, edited in 1955. Used with the kind permission of Antonio Augusto Gorni, São Vicente, São Paulo, Brazil.
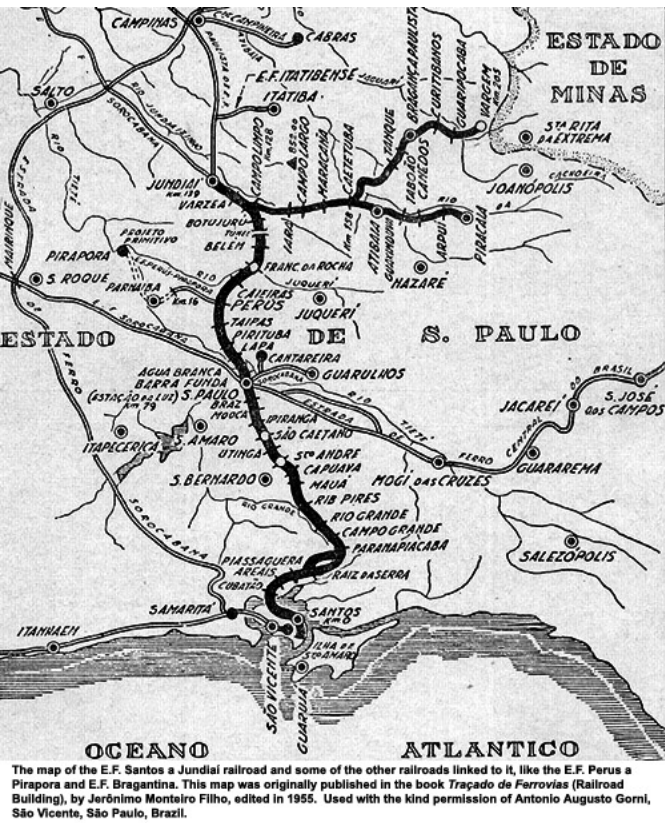
Fig. 2 – Railways reaching Santos: EFS (Sorocabana Railway) and EFSJ (Santos - Jundiaí Railway), originally São Paulo Railway Company (SPR). Source: (Monteiro Filho,1955)

## 2. Railway Territory

Here we postulate that railway territories can be dimensioned from the degree of coverage that the railway presence exercises / establishes over its urban insertion territory. Its composition goes beyond the physical presence of the railway - roads, stations, railway installations and territories within its domain. The portions of the surrounding territory directly affected by its presence are also included: the railroad fringes, their influence areas, determined by specific and diverse analysis parameters (factors linked to accessibility, mobility, environmental assessment, historical heritage, among others).

This study proposes that the articulation between three elements compose the **railway territory**: **the railway domain area, the railway fringe, and the railway influence area**. The railway influence area has a direct and an indirect spectrum, and the last one is dimensioned as the result of the influence that the presence of infrastructure railway companies exercise over and within their urban sites insertion environments.
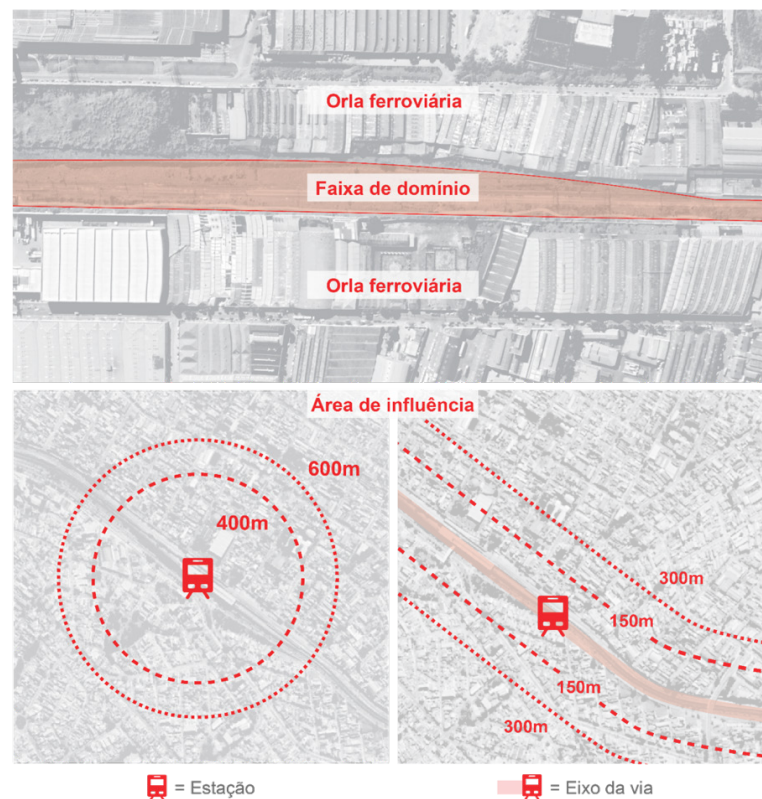


Fig. 3 – Representation and articulation of elements: the railway domain area (faixa ferroviária), the railway fringe (orla ferroviária), and the railway influence area (área de influência ferroviária), above, for the composition of the railway territories. Source: (Faya Jr.,2020)

## 2.1 Structuring, disruption and reconnection

### 2.1.1 *Structuring*

Historically, there is a direct relationship between the existence of transport infrastructure and the development of cities. The structuring of transport systems is responsible for the promotion and transformation of urban spaces, as well as the generation of different territorial divisions. This relationship has always generated direct and indirect effects in various sectors of the economy (Faya Jr; Miyasaki, 2017).

Since the insertion of the railways, the possibility of outflow of agricultural products, as well as the establishment of industrial activity along railway axes, has evidenced the strong link established between these economic activities and the reasons for existence - implantation and extension - of the axes national territory.

From the village-station to the suburb-station (Langenbuch, 1968), the establishment of industrial axes along the railway axes and their consequent impact on the determination and differentiation of intra-urban and regional scales (Villaça, 1998), the widening of the influence of railway presence can be observed beyond the punctual condition, initially represented by the establishment of the station.

If we consider that its role played as an infrastructure responsible for the flow of productions ratified the reasons for its presence, passenger transportation arose as a consequence. The binomial also established the impact of the railway in determining the existing urban dynamics, creating and enhancing stimuli for urban development, or even establishing conditions for these to take place.

Therefore, both the presence and the activities developed from it that made the railway also determined the dynamics established between the physical presence of its infrastructure, and the daily life of the population sharing the urban territory, its insertion sites.

### 2.1.2 *Disruption*

In "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" (early 60's), Jacobs (2011) sees the real reason for the devaluation and deterioration of the areas bordering the railways linked to a lesser extent to its activity - the discomfort caused by environmental pollution and noise caused by the train – and, to a greater extent, its physical and functional influence on the immediate urban neighborhood.

As neighbors, borders may represent barriers by generating a lack of interest in the occupation of their neighboring streets and the consequent emptying of these places. Subsequently, the areas adjacent tend to undergo the same emptying

process (areas with a low number of users), "the borders thus tend to form gaps in use in their surroundings" (Jacobs 2011: 287).

Mostly, railway axes divide and confine regions and neighborhoods, obstructing mobility and accessibility, as physical barriers, contributing to the disqualification of their surroundings and their consequent desertion and emptying.

Railway axes are a classic example of how borderlines (Jacobs, 2011) came to mean social boundaries. In the "between sides" division, in which one may have a preponderance over the other, the disadvantage lies with the spaces closest physically to the railway, on either side. Following deindustrialization, metropolitan territories started experiencing abandon in areas related to secondary activities with an industrial past (Leite & Awad, 2012).

The consequent abandonment and deterioration of railroads illustrates the emergence of vacant, void lots. Therefore, as the railway plays its role as a disconnector for the reinforced urban fabric, the railway border, adjacent to it, has its negative characteristics enhanced. A consequence of this process is the development of residual areas in the traditional urban fabric.

In-between spaces - urban territorial interstices - generated from the overlapping of layers, programs and urban uses to the consolidated metropolitan territory are decisive for the construction of disconnected urban networks, which do not create links with their inhabitants, making them foreigners in their own cities.

These urban fractures remove from the population the possibility of understanding the urban territory as a whole (Leite & Awad, 2012).

The low level of commitment to the surrounding urban environment results in extremely degraded environments. Stretches between stations are devoid of interest and attractiveness, compromising the landscape of the railway surroundings, evidenced by lot bottoms facing the railway, sewage and garbage accumulated beside the walls, or by irregular occupations in areas remaining from public interventions (Faya Jr; Miyasaki, 2017: 2).

One of the responses to this confinement is the violation of the railway track is the creation of informal and illicit passages, exposing the local population and users of the railway to situations of risk, insecurity and interruption in the operation of transport services. The need to transpose or live with the concrete barrier, so that daily dynamics can be carried out, gives way to the appearance of contact surfaces and activations, an evidence of the need to establish a dialogue between the urban and railway territories. Because they may be characterized as invasion situations, often inadequately and functionally insecure, revealing the need for interpenetration, dispute for space between territories,

these episodes can be characterized as infiltrations, between the urban and rail territories.

### 2.1.2 *Reconnection*

When the "barrier" is broken, the opportunity arises for reintegration between territories. The elimination of physical-spatial segregation between railroad and city, even if momentarily, can be observed from the appearance of contact surfaces.

These activations are the consequences of the present ruptures, expressed through the walls of the railway tracks, in which openings and slits are often created so that crossing the railway track becomes possible. These infiltrations, observed from the existence of contact surfaces, demonstrate a constant tension between the territories and, in some way, are indications of the need for better management of the relationship between the urban and rail territories. The railway borders, in some approaches (Meyer and Grostein, 2010; Leite and Awad, 2012) are presented as potential territories of opportunities, capable of reversing the disconnecting role acquired by the railway, by promoting the possibility of reconnection between the implanted railway axis and the urban environment. The characterization of the three roles played by railway territories within urban territories (structuring, disruption, and reconnection) allows the observation of the relationship established between each of these configurations and the values attributed to the territory in each of these situations.

## 3. Terrain Vague

In his definition of Terrain Vague, Solà-Morales (1995) exposes the role and significance of these spaces ("strange places outside the city's affective circuits and productive structures") within urban territories containing them. Although the negative characteristics linked to these "voids" gain prominence, approaches that recognize their role and importance as territories of possibility can be observed. The power, the meaning and the memory contained in these spaces are reaffirmed when Smithson (2003) describes a walk through Passaic, singular North American suburban city, highlighting its voids ("holes") as contemporary monuments ("monumental vacancies").

Romeiro (2012) highlights the recognition Smithson brought up regarding the impact of the suburb and how it contained its own monuments that "still hold the collective memory and marks of the time that has passed" (Romeiro 2012: 69). "Vacant terrains" carry ambivalence, as noted by Meyer and Grostein (2010) regarding the presence of railway borders in the municipality of São Paulo "The old "barrier" today transformed into a railway fringe created an interesting contradiction, because, in the same way, that it generated a discontinuous urban fabric, interrupting the urban fabric, its presence today offers the possibility of rapid

displacement through the extensive metropolitan territory from east to west" (Meyer & Grostein 2010: 79).

Railway territories, in these approaches, are presented as potential territories of opportunities, capable of reversing the sectional role acquired by the railway, by promoting the possibility of reconnection between the implanted railway axis and the urban environment.

## 4. City of Santos as a case study

The first phase of this research took place in the late 1990s, along with the privatization process of the railway network in the State of São Paulo, which, until that time, was under the management of FEPASA (Ferrovia Paulista S.A.). At that moment, the presence of the railway axis within the urban fabric in both Santos and neighboring São Vicente had created many residual spaces - urban voids - generated from their use, as well as the urban morphologies resulting from the relationship established between city and railroad.



Fig 4 - Passage of railway composition and resulting urban morphology. Source: (Faya Jr., 1997)

A second observation occurred in 2011, when the original railway service was already deactivated, empowering and reinforcing the railway role as an element of the urban fabric disruption. Nowadays, a new project is the agent of an accelerated change of profile process, due to the implantation of the Baixada Santista's Light Rail Vehicle (LRT), managed by EMTU - Metropolitan Urban Transport Company of São Paulo, in a similar traced of the original railway axis.

The opportunity is open to a new observation, comparing characteristics identified in past moments to the proposals contained in this initiative.The use and requalification of spaces related to railway infrastructure open new possibilities for the cities that contain them. New ways of reconnecting railway axes to their insertion sites are enhanced and the possibilities they have in supporting the creation of new spaces for collective use, changing from an element of disruption to an element of reconnection of urban space.

The need for daily contact with the railway infrastructures causes the population to create their repertoire, which seeks to coordinate the railway dynamics and

presence with their daily activities. When creating crossings, informal paths between margins, interruptions in walls, occupations of stretches or simply walking alongside, along their bordering sidewalks, relationships and ways of activating the spaces adjacent to the railroad tracks are established, establishing contact surfaces between the population and the railroad.



Fig. 5 - Human scale x machine scale, activations, and uses. Source: (Faya Jr., 1997)

The episodes observed show illegal and dangerous situations, as the invasion of the railway track, or at risk, from the construction of informal, unmarked, and not very accessible crossings. Therefore, the examples represent the situation given, the solutions (informal) practiced, and the need for them to become the object of attention, study, and propositions, which solve or give appropriate guidance to such questions, the needs of use and sharing of these spaces by the populations.

Three issues proved to be preponderant and extremely important for the understanding of the dynamics that were being established. The first concerns the presence of the railway axis within the municipalities of Santos and São Vicente. The cities are divided into two blocks, non-uniform and with different socioeconomic characteristics: the neighborhood block before the rail axe and the neighborhood block after the it, representing a second borderline - with negative characteristics - for the cities. (Faya Jr, 2012)

The second question can be considered a consequence of the first one. From the need for access by the population residing in the neighborhood block after the "Machine Line" (*Linha da Máquina*) to services and activities available in greater quantity before it. The breaches in the walls provided the creation of informal crossings, which cut across the axis of the Machine Line, making possible the connection between local roads and high flow avenues, from the moment the informal local routes were established. "Although not very safe due to the lack of adequate signs and construction, the creation of these informal local routes responds to the concrete barrier and the isolation that the walls sought to create." (Faya Jr, 2012).

Fig. 6 – Breaches and crossing. Source: (Faya Jr., 1997)

The third question concerns the use of its remaining areas. Among the initiatives of appropriation of these spaces by the population, we can highlight the initiatives identified in previous investigations as Spontaneous Squares. Of recognized vitality and relevance to their insertion sites, these "squares" housed "living spaces" and pointed out the lack of that type of equipment that the communities - authors and users - faced.
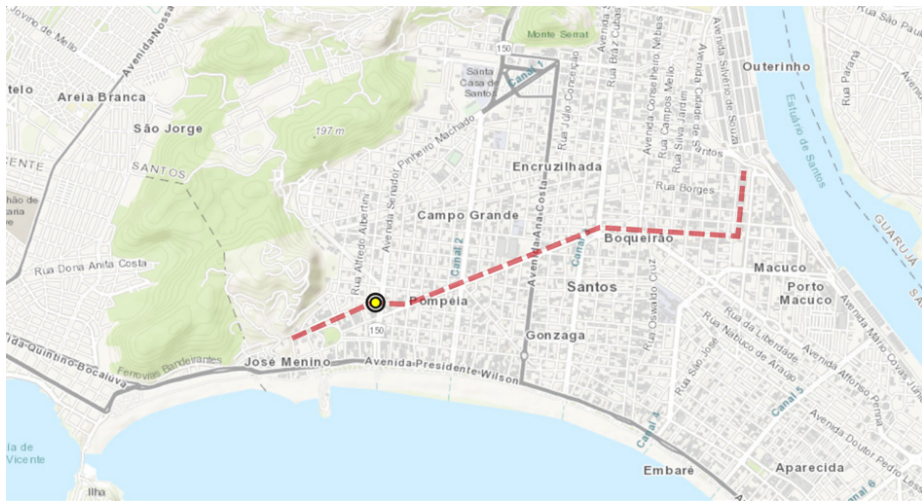


Fig 7 – Originally trace of the railway axe (Linha da Máquina) and pointed the Spontaneous Square original, nowadays occupied by Pinheiro Machado Station, of Baixada Santista LRT Line. Souce: Own creation based on (EGOV, 2018)

Mostly very precarious, built from scrap and elements that at one time were part of the mountains of rubble that occupied these lands; [...] Its curious and readable customization, with the creation of furniture sometimes used for children (toys, swings), other times for adult use (tables for board games and benches), demonstrates the bond created between these spaces and its everyday users, since they aimed to meet the specific needs of the populations living in the determined stretches. (Faya Jr, 2012)

There is the strong feeling of belonging and identity that is established between

the population and these spaces. About the spontaneous squares "[...] It also draws attention, the paradoxical feeling of appropriation that they generated in the local population, clearly expressed on signs with the inscriptions" Forbidden to throw garbage ", in places that had the rubble as their raw material original". (Faya Jr, 2012)





Fig. 8 – Spontaneous square: furniture and sign. Source: (Faya Jr., 1997)

Santos (2000) exposes the need to create a link between space and man in search of creating a sense of territory, dominance, and belonging, to build their history. From indistinct spaces to their configuration as spontaneous squares, these cuts in the territory

had the appropriations of the populations, based on their repertoires, desires, and their own cultural identities, the basis for their "promotion" to the place category.



Fig. 9 – Spontaneous square crossing. Source: (Faya Jr., 1997)

Relph (1976) identifies the physical space, the activities developed in it, and the meaning it acquires, as three components responsible for transforming the (generic) space into place. Meaning, according to Relph (1976) and Cresswell (2004), is the most difficult element to be achieved. Places need strong and planned urban connections, they need to become part of urban daily life, they need to have qualities that people appreciate and then develop a special connection with these areas, squares, corners, whatever the size they are. (Tavares, 2014).

Spontaneous squares seem to demonstrate the strength and power that activations have as elements that foster the desired reconnection (railroad/city). According to Meyer (2008) "[...] To achieve success in these actions, nothing better than building 'places' (placemaking) and avoiding non-places (placelessness), since it is human nature to take care of spaces when we somehow care about them." (Meyer apud Tavares, 2014)



Fig. 10 – Spontaneous square. Source: (Faya Jr., 1997)

In 2016, the implantation of the Baixada Santista tramway brought a new profile to the urban section analyzed in the first study. Based on an analogous layout, the project for the implementation of the tramway system led to several issues noted in the previous observations. It can be said that the implemented project considered several of the activations and uses that characterized the dynamics identified.



Fig. 11 – Baixada Santista LRT operational net (Faya Jr., 2020)

By eliminating walls, qualifying crossings, implementing the bike paths, restructuring the road layout, promoting a signaling systems integrated with that of other modes of transport with which it shares the territory; there are a more integrated urban environment and the elimination of the clear division between two blocks of different neighborhoods. However, one fact calls attention; spontaneous squares are no longer there (!)

Figure 12 - Place that previously housed a spontaneous square, at the bottom Pinheiro Machado station of the Baixada Santista VLT. Source:(Faya Jr., 2018)



Figura 13 – The place that previously housed a spontaneous square, new crossings, and new forms of "activation". Source: (Faya Jr., 2018)

If today, the real estate market and the local business community "open up-fronts" to what were previously "backs" seeking to take advantage of the qualification of the environment and its attributes as a more accessible and safe space, people (human scales) relate to the place of the old Machine Line, only as

a place of passage and no longer permanence.

At this point, the question is perhaps: the desired improvement in the quality of the urban environment and the achievement of the desired reconnection, necessarily reflects the end of the activations that the spontaneous squares represented?

We can only wait for initiatives from municipal administrations and even from the entrepreneurs themselves, who have in the physical qualities of the environmental reasons for promoting and valuing their ventures, which somehow reestablish the possibility of rescuing permanent, relational, identity and cultural space rich that the spontaneous squares contained, recovering this dimension that the Machine Line (*Linha da Máquina*) had and that must still exist, somewhere over there.

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# 156 From drawing to space

## The void of the places imagined by Álvaro Siza for Malagueira

FRANCISCO BRITO[1]
CHAIA – Universidade de Évora

PEDRO GUILHERME[2]
CHAIA / IIFA – Universidade de Évora

SOFIA SALEMA[3]
CHAIA / Dep. Arq – Universidade de Évora

### ABSTRACT

Emptiness is as an intrinsic part of the city, as it is a path of continuous evolution or its reverse and stagnation. Because of the process, expectant spaces arise, between the opportunity and the discomfort of failed processes.
Alvaro Siza's Quinta da Malagueira estate in Évora is an example of a large urban area designed with a mixed plan that provided for housing, services, and commerce, that offer radical lessons in architecture and time.
Yet, most of the public buildings - including a parish centre, a restaurant, a motel, a medical centre and the main central structure at the central public square - were left to be built and the site that would accommodate it is now an expectant urban space. The desire to complete the plan is opposed to the sense of emptiness and incompletion, which conditions its perception of its quality, as well as the desired fulfilment of genuine expansion of the city.
The contradiction between the lack that these spaces make to the population and the consolidation of the urban space that remain to be realized urges discussion. These empty spaces are simultaneously a mixture of anguish and disorder that give rise to spontaneous and disorganized uses. These are nobody's spaces, not because of the absence of a cadastral owner, but because of the absence of an ordered possession. According to Ignasi de Solà-Morales definitions, these spaces are still "terrain vague".

We investigate these empty spaces or "voids" as we (re)discover what would give them the condition of "places" for which they desire. We will present these voids, the drawings that defined them, the commitments initially foreseen by Álvaro Siza in contrast with the unexpected occupations in a continuous succession of will and desire, of expectation and collapse, of (re)use and perversion.

This is an anachronic record of a city enclosed in folders, drawn in ink on leaves, an imaginary of spaces that may never be lived. And of a research that fosters the idea, the project, and the materialization of Álvaro Siza's Malagueira urban space.

**Keywords:** Malagueira, Álvaro Siza, sketches, void.

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## 1. Introduction

Emptiness belongs to the city and is part of its morphology. But empty spaces, or voids, have different natures and relevancies. At Malagueira, designed by Álvaro Siza, some voids were designed in the plan, to understand scale and topography. Today it is not easy to comprehend this expansion of Évora due to the lack of completion of the relevant urban elements that gave meaning to this place. The lack of purpose permitted some spaces to be appropriated differently and made the plan almost impossible to be read.

We intend to present some voids and empty spaces of Malagueira distinguishing where design incorporated meaning and was defined in an architectural or urban project, from the undesigned which is the absence of idealization and the absence of definition. We understand that emptiness is organically inscribed in the Álvaro Siza's Malagueira plan as a deliberate action.

The research is based on the analysis of Álvaro Siza's drawings and sketches (more than 5000), archived at Drawing Matter, the administrative archive at the Municipality and our visits and observations of the site. The core of the research is the unbuilt, left vacant urban spaces that undermine the reading of the plan. In this research we will focus on some unbuilt public buildings like the parish centre, restaurant, motel, medical centre and the main central structure (Cupola) at the central public square. These buildings contributed to the perception of the territory's character and to give meaning to the sense of a city.

Today we observe that some of these unbuilt public buildings constitute empty areas, urban voids, occupied by different uses contrasting with the planned ones. The words that Álvaro Siza and his sketchbooks (A4 notebooks) keep track of the conceptual research for the whole and allow us to provide meaning to these unbuilt designed voids.

## 2. The walkway City - Neighborhood



Fig. 1 - Plan with aerophoto map of voids in Malagueira   01. Largo de Alconchel  02. Windmills of Malagueira  03. Unbuilt headquarters of Cooperativa de Habitação Económica Boa Vontade site  04. Unbuilt Dome site  05. Unbuilt restaurant site  06. Triangular void near dike  07. Ribeira da Turgela  08. infrastructure pipeline sculptural kneecap.

In the post-revolution period, a remarkable moment of the urban evolution of the city of Évora, illegal neighborhoods proliferated at the outskirts of Évora. The City Council, newly elected at the time, put in place several strategies to contain this arbitrary development and invited Álvaro Siza to develop a Detailed Plan for an area of 27Ha West of the ancient city[4].

In March 1977 Álvaro Siza walks by himself from the town hall main square along the path that connected the walled city center to the already expropriated agricultural land that, in its emptiness, anticipated to be redesigned. The plan incorporated right from the start a critical position about its relation to the existing urban areas, the city center to the East and the new and illegal neighborhoods to the West, by creating a continuous axe that linked both, refusing the idea of becoming a dormitory. In the words of Álvaro Siza *"the relationship between the old city and its expansion constitutes the fundamental and most delicate problem of the Plan"*.[5]

There are four distinct moments in the plan, still unbuilt, with different terrain morphology and urban relevancies, that reveal the tension between the undesigned

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4  Refers to the historic city of Évora contained by a walled perimeter and classified as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1986.

5  "(…) *a relação entre a cidade antiga e a sua expansão constitui o problema fundamental e o mais delicado do Plano*", Siza Vieira, Álvaro (1977) Descriptive memory of the Detail Plan of a 27ha Area integrated into the West Expansion Plan of Évora.Process 223. Consulted at the Archive of Municipaly of Évora.

used of space over the designed plan. The first being the Alconchel square where Malagueira's plan begins to unfold, followed by the area of the windmills where an entrance to the estate would was devised with the aparthotel and the sede da Cooperativa da Boa Vontade, thru the main public square, to the opposite end, a hill where a belvedere restaurant was planned.

Documentation show that Álvaro Siza intended the plan to start at Largo de Alconchel, next to one of the entrances of the walled city. From there a promenade to this new housing district was envisioned.

> "The convergence of the Évora-Montemor road and the east-west axis of the sector over the entrance of Alconchel will be visually enhanced by the affor-estation to be foreseen, and the arrangement of Alconchel Square should be completed as an urban element of transition, properly related to those routes and the city entrance and the Largo das Alterações of Évora."[6]
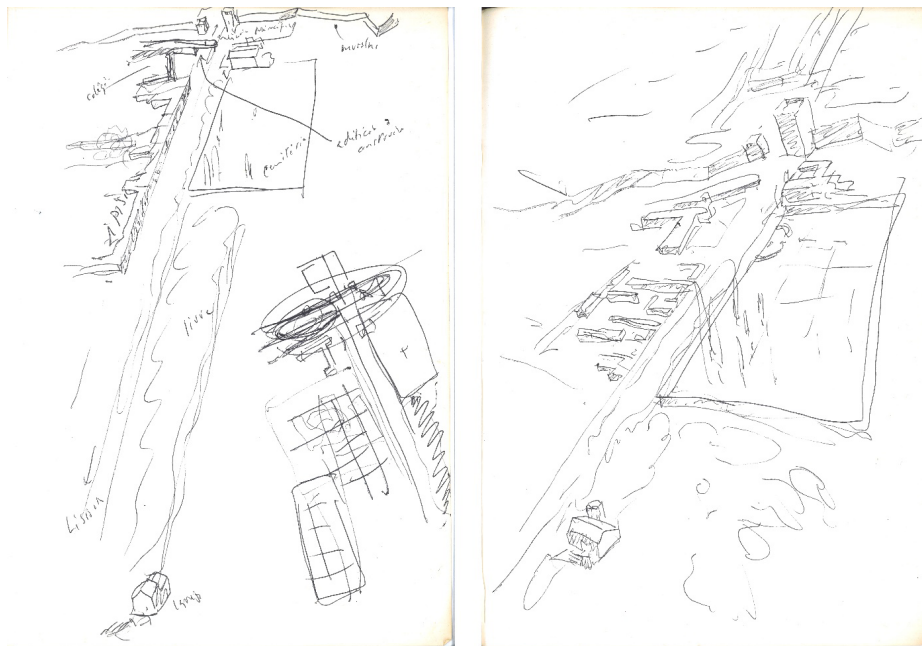


Fig. 2 - First drawings of Álvaro Siza on his first notebook show us the ideia of building proposed to Largo de Alconchel (Álvaro Siza, 1977)

Initially, there was a proposal for one building construction, but it quickly evolved towards a proposal for a change in direction thru a diagonal line, with simple land-scape design, that linked and intertwined both geometries, the first resulting from the descending street coming from the Praça do Giraldo to Largo das Alterações, and the axe from Avenida dos Salesianos towards Quinta da Malagueira, creating

an opportunity to consolidating the center and the periphery.

At notebook 34 (April 1979) Álvaro Siza draws the excavated squared fountain with a water channel[7] bordered by tall slender trees that defined the diagonal line that initiated the promenade, guiding both the movement and the vision of those who move towards Malagueira. The proximity of this fountain to the Salesians Church induces a possible biblical reading of the rebirth of man devoid of original sin, as if architecture itself was renewing and prospecting a new Man abreast of his new liberated condition.
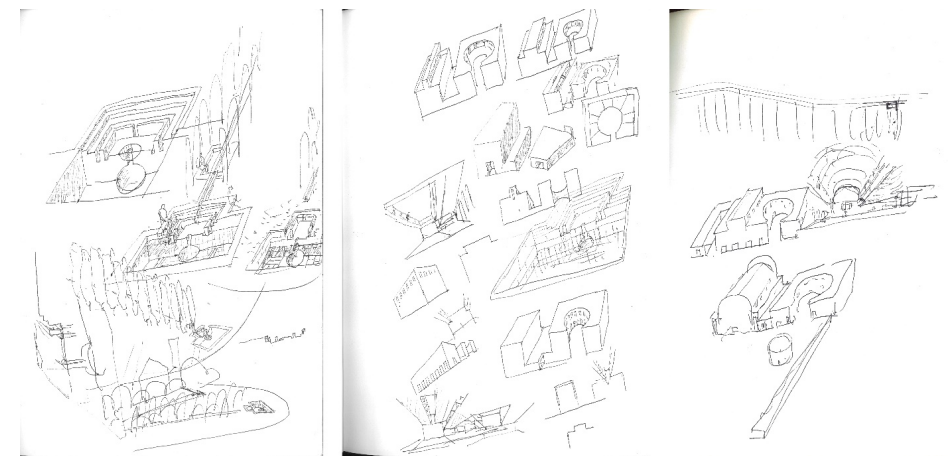


Fig. 3 - Sketches of fountain to Largo de Alconchel and Headquarters of Cooperativa de Habitação Económica Boa Vontade, notebook 34 (Álvaro Siza, April 1979)

This promenade along Avenida dos Salesianos crosses the illegal urban sprawl of Nossa Senhora da Glória that remained to this day as an uncharacterized space. In some drawings it is suggested the possibility that this connection was to be configured through "*a pedestrian urban* canopy *along the east-west axis, allow-ing a fast and sheltered roof from the sun and rain, and extend practically to the beginning of Salesianos street, by afforestation of this street* ".[8] This urban green canopy would later become the conduit, a remarkable and characteristic element of Malagueira.

In the same notebook 34 Álvaro Siza also draws a similar form for the Sede da Cooperativa Boa Vontade, in which the building develops in a "U" shape under a central void, inscribed in a square. This building would emerge in the transition of the existing sprawl of Nossa Senhora da Glória to the new neighborhood. The central circular space appears later drawn next to one of the existing windmills, becoming its negative, as if a subtraction model. The existing windmills at the

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6  "*A convergência da estrada Évora-Montemor e do eixo este-oeste do sector sobre a entrada de Alconchel será visualmente reforçada pela arborização a prever, devendo o arranjo da Praça de Alconchel ser concluído, como elemento urbano de transição, adequadamente relacionado com aqueles percursos e com a porta da cidade e o Largo das Alterações de Évora.*" Ibidem

7  Álvaro Siza visited similar gardens, in his youth, such as the Alhambra Palace in Granada.

8  "*um coberto de peões ao longo do eixo este-oeste, permitindo um percurso rápido e abrigado do sol e da chuva, e prolongar praticamente até ao início da Rua dos Salesianos, por arborização desta rua*" Siza Vieira, Álvaro (1977) Descriptive memory of the Detail Plan of a 27ha Area integrated into the West Expansion Plan of Évora.Process 223. Consulted at the Archive of Municipaly of Évora.

start of the empty site were preexisting elements that were used to anchor the motel and the Sede da Cooperativa Boa Vontade to make a transition between the existing neighborhood and the new contemporary design of the housings to the West.

As we arrive today from the same street, we observe the white set of housing buildings that emerges through the green landscape. In-between us and the trees, we have an opening void that is dispersed beyond the sidewalks of irregular granite. We feel the arbitrariness that absorbs the space: the ground stepped by cars that park informally summon doubt about its urban sense. The way houses of the neighborhood of Nossa Senhora da Glória end abruptly, without a sense of finishing, with a multiplicity of pavement denounce the interrupted intention to build a street.

### 3. "The silent presence of the abandoned mills"[9]

The east-west axe, which assert the relationship with the Historic Center of Évora, contains the most relevant unbuild designed voids of the Malagueira Plan, revealing the lack of financial support for the construction of the planned public buildings. The urban park to the west and north of this axe, a joint project by Álvaro Siza and landscape architect João Gomes da Silva, constitutes a natural qualified open area.



Fig. 5 - Abandoned windmills of Malagueira (Francisco Brito, January 2021)

The emptiness marked by the unconsolidated urban space enunciates the "(...) terrain is, an extension of the precisely limited ground fit for construction, for the

9   COLLOVÁ, R. (1983). "Action Building. Álvaro Siza" in Lotus International. No 37, 1983-I, pp. 74-77.

city" (1995, p.119) referenced in the text "Terrain Vague" written by Ignasi de Solà-Morales as he explains it to be "(...) void, absence, yet also promise, the space of the possible, of expectation." (1995, p. 120)

Between the logistical entrance of a supermarket and the cars, that occupy informally, aggressively, and anarchically the permeable soil, we observe the old windmills[10], which without performing their function, persist in resisting over time in isolation.

The silent presence of the abandoned windmills in this first perception contemporaneity of Álvaro Siza's architectural proposal that is seen west gives testimony to the preexisting vernacular character encased in the site's pre-industrial past. Now sealed, empty and partially forgotten, they are a glimpse of the suspension of Álvaro Siza plan.

In the design of Álvaro Siza's plan there was an intention to incorporate them into the aparthotel (or Motel): rehabilitating one of them as a one-bedroom housing unit and the other into a *pub*. The main building proposed by the architect incorporating the old into the new nd was *"responsible for mediation with the streets to the North and the East, and the rest of the rectangle perimeter, defined by a wall that accompanies the undulating terrain with 2/ 3m high."*[11] It is possible to see in the first drawings for the Sede para a Cooperativa da Boa Vontade this profile in the design of the outer, transversal elevation, of the multipurpose room. Later the design appears in the exterior composition of the apartments of the Aparthotel.[12]

The consolidation of this space would have been fundamental for the relationship of the Malagueira Plan with the disordered periphery to the east. The transition between the existing houses and the public buildings proposed was established by the street. In contrast, it is the absence of vegetation cover caused by the wear and tear enhanced by the vehicles undesigned aggression that constitute the character of this unbuilt designed void that after the windmills lead us to Ribeira da Turgela and to the granite-faced dam into the main housing layout and its central square.

10 During the first two decades of construction of the neighborhood one of them housed the Malagueira Office, an on-site atelier that allowed to maintain a permanent accompaniment to the work.

11 "*responsável pela mediação com os arruamentos a Norte e a Nascente, sendo o restante perímetro de retângulo, definido por um muro que acompanha o ondulado do terreno com 2/ 3m de altura.*" SIZA VIEIRA, Álvaro (1993) Descriptive Memory of Hotel-Apartment. Process 11599. Consulted at the Archive of Municipality of Évora

12 Siza Vieira, Álvaro (1979) Caderno 128.

### 4. A Center for Malagueira



Fig. 6 - Aerial view of central square of Malagueira (Francisco Brito, March 2020)

Álvaro Siza researched profoundly on the positioning of Malagueira's central element that would be built at a new public square near the housing plots. This ichnographically center was finally defined as a geometric and geographical central square of triangular shape, that is still a large void.

Initial sketches show his quest for the design of a singular architectural moment, of monumental design, that opposed the horizontal development of the neighborhood and by its height and scale would constitute the social center of Malagueira (Guilherme & Salema, 2020). He designed a half-dome (or cupola) to represent this centrality that would serve as a shaded public open space for gathering and to host events. Its centrality was reinforced by the presence of commerce in the limits of the square and a market and an auditorium at the half-dome's south axe.

This central empty space that we observe today, limited to the south by the existing conduit, designed as an urban technical aqueduct, with adjacent shops to the South and West and marginalized by the main road (East-West axe) to the North, has a different character from the two previous voids: Alconchel square underwent an intervention that does approach the proposed design geometry; the windmills space is still expectant and raw. This space, in turn, is largely incomplete and lacks its most relevant element: the half-dome.

In the absence of implementation of the project disruptive elements appeared - a bubble-like covered coffee shop, some urban-designed containers for waste

recycling, and aggressive cars parking at the square - making awareness of its design and quality difficult to perceive.



Fig. 7 – Aerial view of the main square (Francisco Brito, March 2020) and a rendering of the half dome (Inês Malhador, 2020)

The current void, resulting from the lack of implementation of the project, simulates a different square and creates a duality of understandings and reactions by the inhabitants. Some take the void as an opportunity for an open plaza, and occupy these voids with the same less or more permanent occupations inspired by the growing needs of mobility, facing the landscape and the urban park, like some plazas in Lisbon (i.e. Praça do Comércio) facing the Tagus river. Others, assuming the need for the half-dome promote artistic incomplete readings, suggesting, in less imposing ways the dome's layout.



Fig. 8 – View of the main square (Francisco Brito, March 2020)

Thus, this expectant void, available but mischaracterized, does not result in a real square, plaza, or urban center. It does not have its exceptional character included in the designed plan, nor does provide a space that inhabitants could identify in a common way. Álvaro Siza intended to open the half-dome to the outside, the plaza becomes open to the world, refusing to pay homage to the city centre, in a liberating moment of the plan from the old city's reference. This ceremonial plaza constitutes an intemporal place, of both past and future, built to resist the life of men, as other immortal structures that remain in Évora, like ruins that remain untouched by time and still retain the core attributes of the original structure. (Guilherme & Salema, 2020).

Its failure constitutes the biggest designed void present in Malagueira.

### 5. A Viewpoint for the Old City

Malagueira's plan concludes the main East-West axe with a specific built element. Different geometries of the main conduit, or covered aqueduct, resulting from a joint of two sections of the general infrastructure pipeline, constitute a sculptural kneecap that announce the restaurant. The restaurant was designed to face East, ensuring a visual line over Malagueira to the historic city as the background. Some well-known erly bird view drawings include the skyline as a memory of what could be seen from the restaurant.
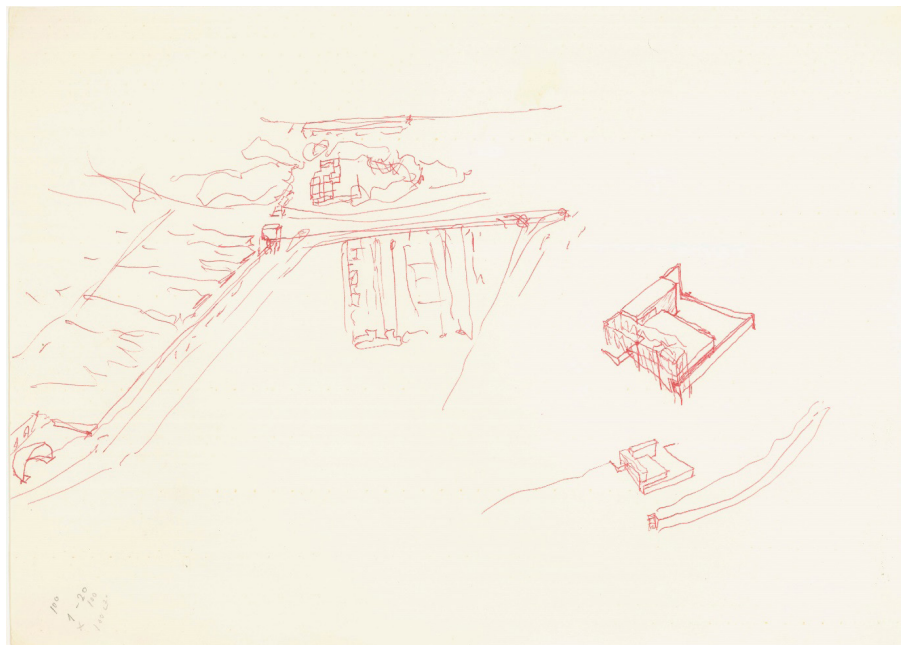


Fig. 9 - Sketch of relation between Dome and Restaurant (Álvaro Siza, n.d.)

Currently, even with the growth of vegetation, with its constant and natural variation, and at terrain level, at mid slope, it is still possible to grasp the silhouette of the Historic Center throughout the year.

This lastly empty space, formerly called Quinta de Senhora de Aires also appears in the first drawings of the Malagueira Plan as a continuity of the main axe. During its undergoing changes and mutations, it lost this continuity and established the restaurant as an identity landmark to the West and a belvedere towards the ancient city.

However, the current emptiness dotted by scattered vegetation where the holm oaks gain notoriety is carved by an undesigned occupation. Paths caried out by the high load vehicles scar the permeable soil in a wavy way, adapting to its morphology. Some seemingly forgotten objects denounce a precarious appropriation of this space. In an area where the vegetation is denser there is a settlement composed of three buildings of provisional and illegal nature. This (used to be) nomad camp has an organized territory made, not only with their constructions, but also with their waste and paths, that creates a sense of property that is both tangible and intangible, both built and unbuilt of social and cultural nature.



Fig. 10 - Nomad temporary camp (Francisco Brito, March 2020)

Undue uses of the plan proliferate through the empty spaces of Malagueira. In this case the use assumes a character of residence, domestication of the vacant spaces and consequently the removal of other unwanted and concurrent users by its residents. The topography allows the buildings to be practically dissolved in the vegetation, but the trails and garbage, permanent and constant throughout the year, confirm the human presence.

Álvaro Siza thought of this place as a place of contemplation, a meeting point to enjoy the view, to understand the urban park and comprehend the plan and its relation to the old city center.

The east-west axis ends today abruptly, on the kneecap that has emerged as a remarkable cultural element. Present occupation makes difficult other common uses. The low height of this territory and the gentle undulation of the topography do not allow the depth of view associated with the smallest hill that constitutes an opportunity for urban relevance. In this project, Álvaro Siza intended to use, very effectively, the hill and height of the *plateau* of the restaurant to provide a surprising understanding of Malagueira estate and increase inhabitant's awareness of its territory.

### 6. Other Residual Voids

As stated, emptiness is part of Malagueira plan and there are empty spaces in the vicinity of the housing blocks that have been designed as vacant by Álvaro Siza. They constitute small squares or reserved spaces that allow some articulation of the conduit and qualify common spaces in variety and proximity. They lack specific purpose but foster and promote neighborhood relations.

However, in different places, due to different geometries or grids, Álvaro Siza investigates and tests thru drawing the different built and unbuilt shapes to work out the residual spaces resulting from them.
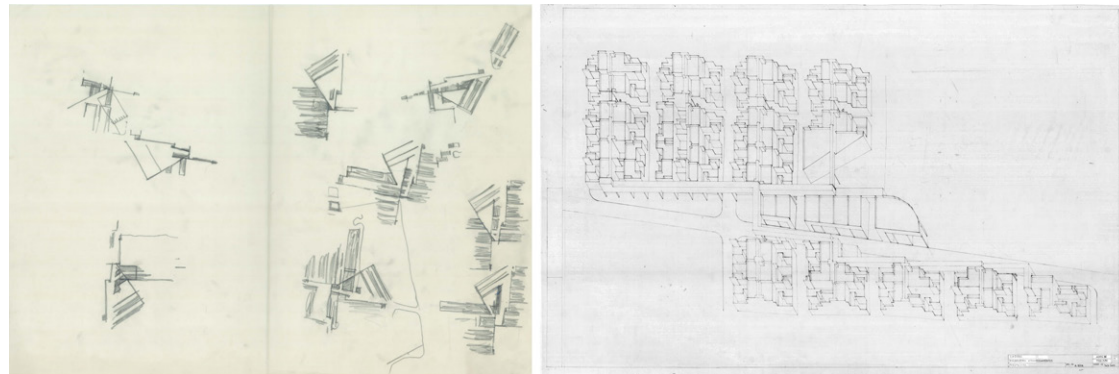


Fig. 11 - Sketches of a proposal to triangular void near dike (Álvaro Siza, n.d.) and Axonometry about crossings near dike (Álvaro Siza, April 1982)

At the confluence of Rua Santa Maria and Rua do Chiado, urban design originates from a building idea that would make sense of the void and then goes through a deconstruction of this idea, until reaching a building that connects streets and dwellings spaces that close the top of the streets and the path that comes from the dam and link to the illegal neighbourhood of Santa Maria.

As commercial spaces remain unbuilt, some trees have been planted to shade the cars that park there. The undesigned space takes over and subverts the design with no respect for the author. Nature substitutes the presence of buildings and induce a different soft use. Green areas in their undesigned precarious conditions advance over the expected voids.



Fig. 12 - Parking in commercial unbuilt area near dike (Francisco Brito, January 2021)

### 7. The Right to Conclude

Malagueira has started building in 1977 and show several moments that combine and contradict its autonomy and identity over a search for unity to belonging to the city of Évora. Being autonomous implies having limits (thus a beginning and an end) and having a very defined center, ichnographically strong and symbolically aggregating. But at the same time means creating connections and controlling the boundaries by balancing the new and the old.

Malagueira is understood today with the negative impact of the unbuilt designed public buildings that have been empty spaces for more than 40 years and constitute what we have described as designed voids. We can observe undesigned appropriations of these empty spaces that provide distinctive readings and refrain a more global comprehension of Malagueira's quality. These voids show the difficulties to make a city and to fulfill the plan's objectives of social change and inclusion.

Designed voids constitute spaces that remain vacant for the fulfillment of the project. But undesigned empty spaces result from occupations and unexpected

intentions, by one or many, that disrupt the continuity of processes. One may discuss on their relevance, temporary character, or legal right but they strongly contribute to misunderstand Siza's plan and vision.

Heidegger states that building is not dwelling. And that "dwelling, building and thinking" reflect different perspectives of space and architecture. Inaction, lack of conclusion, disinvestment in public space seems to be hostage to the constant lack of funds and obstacle a dwelled city. Public space is not a priority because it is decisively vast to belong to all, and, at the same time, lost for not belonging to anyone. The undesigned occupation of Malagueira's public space has come from individual authoritarianism mainly associated with their needs for space outside their dwelling, like cluttered parking. Disorder that stains the potential image of these spaces and of the ensemble.

The full depth of the project can only be grasped thru drawings. The understanding of Malagueira as was imagined by Álvaro Siza is only possible thanks to his work-ing methodology, based on sketches protected in his notebooks that record his research in practice through design. His notebooks act as a graphic diary where ideas are imagined, tested, and validated. It is this practice that allows us, years later, to comprehend what never left the paper.

We conclude with the certainty that the city, the neighborhood, and the inhabi-tants will benefit from the completion of the projects planned by Álvaro Siza. Since these voids and public spaces are truly ours, by their public possession, it is up to us all to perform a role in their protection and development. The rupture of any of the parts is enough to derail urban processes that are both positive and complex. It is up to citizens to express the importance of public space through their pres-ence and responsible use. In the political field, because its administration takes on this character, there is accountability and follow-up to be done. The voids that, despite all, deserve our gaze today have been left expectant for more than 40 years and are now critical elements for a qualitative and affective evaluation of Álvaro Siza's Malagueira Estate cultural value.

### Acknowledgments

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# Track 4: Environment Impact Awareness In Urban Developments

**JOSÉ LUÍS SALDANHA (CHAIR) | DINÂMIA'CET – ISCTE**
**GIULIA SONETTI | DIST, Politecnico di Torino**
**CATERINA BARIOGLIO | DAD, Politecnico di Torino**
**MANUEL CORREIA GUEDES | CiTUA, IST-UL**

*E vós, Tágides minhas, pois criado*
*Tendes em mim um novo engenho ardente,*
*Se sempre em verso humilde celebrado*
*Foi de mim vosso rio alegremente*

Luís Vaz de Camões (c. 1524 - 1580)
*Os Lusíadas*, canto 1, stanza 4[6]

The submission of papers engaging worldwide design and implementation of urban, architectural and engineering developments, carried-out with particular environmental concerns and/or at sensitive locations, during the late 20th to early 21st Century time-frame, were encouraged and welcome at Track 4 in the "Grand Projects – Urban Legacies of the late 20th Century" Conference. That recent period of time was also the moment under focus of "The Grand Projects - Architectural and Urbanistic Operations after the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition" research project, which backed the Congress.

The Expo '98 World Fair, hosted at the same Portuguese capital where the "Grand Projects" Conference took place, was held to great success almost 25 years ago, and became a turning-point in dealing with sustainable urbanization, design and qualification of public space in Portugal. It also generated new urban infrastructure, such as the busiest railway station in the country, and even a new district in the city (a rare event in an aging continent...). The event tackled pressing global issues, such as brownfield reclamation, soil contamination, or handling the country's major waste landfill, while taking a leap forward in environmental awareness in urban development and public space concerns. This also took part in the wider decontamination of the River Tagus estuary, carried out through: the 1994 interception of sewage waters from municipalities west of Lisbon; the 2011 completion

6   And you, tágides of mine, for created
Have you in me a new burning design,
If always in humble verse celebrated
Was cheerfully by me your river

of the capital's sewage treatment; the river's left bank collection of sewage waters from eight municipalities; or the deindustrialization of the largest industrial park in Portugal, on the same left bank of the Tagus, which was active at Barreiro since 1908.

The 1998 event selected the oceans as its major theme: an unsurprising choice, since Portugal has the World's 20th. maritime exclusive economic zone (a notable figure, since it is only the 109th country by area), and that the Expo '98 spread out along the riverfront of the Tagus, which estuary has been the launching pad for navigation around the world by Portuguese vessels for many centuries. Additional operations, along the guidelines set by Expo '98, were carried out in Lisbon's Metropolitan Region during the ensuing years, but also elsewhere in Portugal, with the implementation of critical urban space programs, green parks, or communal kitchen gardens. The extinguishing of the cracking tower belonging to the oil re-finery which previously occupied a large part of the heavy industry grounds where the Expo came to happen, which perpetual flame stood-out as a blatant beacon of industrial pollution against the Lisbon skies, symbolically asserted a time for new policies and practices.

The historical and territorial background for the 1998 Fair - as well as for the re-search project which issued the 2021 Conference - is a legacy of humanity's recent past, replicated all around the planet. Paradoxically, the concept of Sustainability, as viewed today, emerges at a moment when humankind discards more resources than ever.

Sustainability was a concern, and a need, of the Roman Empire, which restricted the transformation of *silva* into *saltus* and *ager*, in strict proportion to the needs of the local populations, or the number of dwellers expected to move into cen-turiations and villages built and colonized by the Romans (and the Greeks before them)[7]. Rome also had to deal with sewage and urban waste, for which the city was forced to produce urban infrastructure like the *cloaca maxima* interceptor or the Testaccio landfill – still to be seen today -, consisting of the pilling-up of debris of broken *amphorae*, arriving from the Empire's provinces. Interestingly, until rel-atively recently in the 20th Century, urban waste was kept to a minimum all across the (so-called...) Western World, and its collection some 100 years ago was even sold by the municipality, for a term, to the best bidder, who would, for instance, use organic leftovers to supply pigsties[8]! By the way - the overgrowth of the city of Rome, above the technical capability to deal with those issues, is considered

7  According to Jorge de Alarcão's "Economia Rural no Alentejo" (Universidade de Coimbra, 1976), Polybius established that each soldier consumed 2/3 of an attican medimnus, which would require half a hectare of land to feed him.

8  'Nothing was thrown away: newspapers and empty bottles would be collected until a man or woman showed up, buying them, or swapping them for soap […] everything would be reused, one way or another' – João B.M.Néu, "Em Volta da Torre de Belém. Evolução da Zona Ocidental de Lisboa". Livros Horizonte, Lisboa, 1994 [translation by J.L.Saldanha].

one of the major reasons for the collapse of the Empire, such as the limitations in supplying the urban dweller with fresh water, which arrived to the capital through the *Aqua Alexandrina*, *Aqua Alsletina*, *Aqua Anio Vetus*, *Aqua Anio Novus*, *Aqua Appia*, *Aqua Marcia*, *Aqua Virgo*, *Aqua Iulia*, *Aqua Claudia*, *AquaTraiana* or *Aqua Antoniniana* aqueducts.

The papers accommodated at the "Environment Impact Awareness in Urban Developments" Track 04 sessions of the 2021 Conference are contributions from researchers in Asia, South America and Europe, and were generated by concerns with major issues in the fields referred above, such as:

- Urban sustainable development and renewal.

- Climate change adaptation and planning.

- Green architecture.

- Green spaces and well-being.

- Green infrastructures and nature-based solutions.

- Urban landscape and heritage.

All the papers have political implications, most noticeably in Chen Chu's contri-bution for placing the Chagos Archipelago on the World map of concerns. It is worth recalling, also, that urban management, infrastructure and public works were politically so important, in Roman Civilization, that being an *aedil* (an official conducting those tasks) was a step in the Roman *cursus honorum*[9].

Sally Torres presents a particular ecosystem landscape, its environmental impor-tance and the loss of territory it has been suffering. Raquel Coelho and José Lage deal with the impact of the rise of the sea level, on a stretch of the Portuguese coastline. Rodrigo Neres produced a research on an intermodal terminal in São Paulo, and how its connection with the urban fabric surrounding it should be im-proved. Eduardo Medeiros worked on SUNstainability: the generation and use of solar energy in urban areas, which emphasizes how these concerns provide grounds for research, investment - and even jobs.

The remaining two papers in the session address urban developments on both banks of the Tagus waterfront. Since decontamination shall be one of the major challenges facing humankind, and sanitizing urban grounds and natural environ-ments will make space for sustainable sources of labor and wealth, maybe soon

9  In Portugal, the term edil – stemming from the same root as edifice and edification – is sometimes still applied to municipal officials.

the celebrated *portugaises* oysters (*Crassostrea angulata*) form the Tagus, which once served as Europe's largest natural bank for these mollusks, may be harvested again. Perhaps, even the river nymphs - the *tágides* sung by the Renaissance poet Luís de Camões, in his epic poem "Os Lusíadas" (*The Lusiads*) -, shall swim its waters one more time, at the mouth of the Iberian Peninsula's longest river, on the westernmost point of Eurasia - where they once welcomed Ulysses.

# 38 Assessing Impacts of Urban SUNstainability

EDUARDO MEDEIROS
Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL),
DINÂMIA'CET - IUL

## ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the concept and how to evaluate Urban SUNstainability. Generically understood as a process for attaining sustainable development in urban areas, via the intense production and use of solar energy, Urban SUNstainability is presented as a convincing urban policy strategy for a greener, sustainable and prosperous world. Based on existing experiences in areas with abundant levels of solar radiation, it was found that, by now, the use and production of solar energy in urban areas starts to be economically viable and should be regarded as an adequate solution to implement a greener and sustainable territorial development process in urban areas. As a way to assess the potential and current levels of Urban SUNstainability in urban areas, the paper proposes a multi-dimensional policy evaluation framework, based on five crucial aspects: the solar energy generation capacity, the direct and indirect environmental, economic and social benefits from implementing Urban SUNstainability strategies, and the soundness and effectiveness of the urban planning and governance processes related to the implementation of this process.

**Keywords:** SUNstainability, Sustainable Development, Territorial Development, Urban Development, Solar Energy

## 1. Introduction

The purpose of policy evaluation is to verify the *raison d'être* of an intervention (European Commission, 1999). Unlike the assessment of mere outputs or results, however, impact assessment looks to answer the 'big' evaluation questions. In essence, impact evaluation consists of judging the effects of the evaluated intervention in crucial development trends, such as the quality of life of citizens, the reduction of environmental footprints, improvements in governance or spatial planning processes, or increasing employment in a certain territory, for example (European Commission, 2008). Although impact assessment can focus on a specific dimension of development, such as the economy (economic impact assessment), or the environment (environmental impact assessment), recent policy impact evaluation trends have brought to the fore the advantages of a more holistic and comprehensive approach which focus on more than one dimension of territorial development (Medeiros, 2019). These impact assessment methodologies as often calleted Territorial Impact Assessment (European Commission, 2013; Medeiros, 2020a).

Following from the above remarks, this paper presents a methodological approach to assess the main Impacts of Urban SUNstainability, which is generically understood as a 'process of attaining sustainable development via the intense production and intense use of solar energy within urban areas' (Medeiros, 2020b). By entailing a multi-dimensional and multi-governance development perspective, the proposed conceptual policy evaluation framework can be applied to assess urban areas' SUNstainability capacity. Methodologically speaking, this 'Urban SUNstainability conceptual framework' is designed based on a wealth of literature, namely on sustainable and smart cities, and also on the use of solar energy in urban areas.

Profoundly preconditioned by an age of global warming and increasing vulnerability to climate related hazards, mankind has a choice to mitigate and invert the potential negative resulting impacts by replace the use of fossil fuel energy sources by renewable sources of energy, towards a more sustainable development (United Nations, 2016). In an increasing urbanized world (Urban Agenda, 2016), cities need to make choices about the use of green sources of energy and infrastructure in order to improve quality of life of their citizens, maximize economic opportunities, and minimize the impact of the population on the natural environment (Sachs, 2015). Indeed, by now, the majority of carbon emissions and the bulk of energy consumption occur in urban areas (Vesco and Ferrero, 2015). Under this scenario, the use of solar energy is increasingly seen as a viable and clean energy source to power cities, through solar thermal systems (solar water heating, solar refrigeration) and photovoltaic (PV) systems (Govada et al., 2017).

Substantially, solar energy can be an important component for promoting sustainable or green urban communities (Zahran et al., 2008). Analogous ideas emerge in

point out several advantages for using solar related technologies in urban areas: (i) can be efficient in large areas of the world; (ii) require no special skill set to generate or provision power; (iii) need no security measures (Stimmel, 2016); (iv) can perform without excessive maintenance costs for prolonged periods (Pelton and Singh, 2019); (v) can help to reinforce national security, economic growth, climate stewardship, sustainable land use, and economic development (Zahran et al., 2008); (vi) contribute to an urban energy transition towards experimentation in sustainability governance (Quirós et al., 2018); and (vii) have the potential for the creation of new green jobs (Park and Eissel, 2010). In addition to environmental and cost benefits, reducing demand for energy in buildings has three direct positive effects: (i) eliminating or requiring smaller mechanical service systems; (ii) making the buildings themselves more robust and resilient, in that they require less heating or cooling; and (iii) reducing the number of new power stations required to generate electricity (Bothwell, 2015).

In sum, SUNstainable cities can be seen as a concrete solution to embracing zero carbon footprint green urban systems and zero carbon buildings (Govada et al, 2017); a vehicle to promote integrated sustainable urban development strategies (Medeiros and van der Zwet, 2020a, 2020b); and ultimately, sound territorial planning (Faludi, 2018) and development (Warf and Stutz, 2012). In order to be successful, however, SUNstainable cities should create partnerships with the academic and business arenas, and stimulate city dwellers in implementing solar energy solutions in their activities. From a governance standpoint, cities supported by solar energy systems can allow for the mitigation of over policy centralization, as they can become semi-independent in providing electrical power to the grid on an as-needed basis (Pelton and Singh, 2019).

The article is organized as follows. The next section will address the Urban SUNstainability conceptual framework for policy evaluation. The following section summarizes the policy support to renewable energy and the potential Urban SUNstainability in Portugal. The final section concludes the article.

### 2. The multi-dimensions of Urban SUNstainability

As previously mentioned, generically speaking, the concept of 'Urban SUNstainability' can be understood as a process of attaining sustainable development via the intense production and intense use of solar energy within urban areas. As such, a fully SUNstainable urban area would not need to rely on any other energy source than solar energy, in an ideal scenario. For certain areas of the globe with wide solar exposure and intensity, that is not a far cry scenario. Emanating from our previous discussion, it is also clear that the notion of SUNstainability is multi-dimensional, as it does not solely regard the assessment of the solar energy generation capacity of the analysed urban area, but also other development dimensions related to planning and governance, environment, social

and economic aspects. Hence, and reflecting an integrated and interdisciplinary approach, from a methodological standpoint, the proposed Urban SUNstainability conceptual framework is supported by five analytic dimensions (Figure 1):



Fig. 1 – The key dimensions of the SUNstainability concept. Source: based on (Medeiros, 2020b)

1. Solar energy generation capacity: this dimension is crucial to assess the degree of SUNstainability since this process largely depends on availability and intensity of solar radiation. Hence, one way of assessing this solar energy generation capacity is by calculating the solar radiation values in a specific urban area, for example, via the use of a Geographical Information System (GIS) software. The end result of this analysis would identify if the urban area can be fully powered by solar energy.

2. Urban planning and governance processes: the sound implementation of 'Urban SUNstainability' processes require appropriate urban planning and governance instruments, which can regulate and stimulate the use of solar energy by all interested stakeholders. In this light, the assessment of Urban SUNstainability should take into account in what measure the incorporation of regulations into urban plans are stimulating the use of solar energy use and production in the city. Likewise, it is fundamental to analyse if and how dedicated institutional capacity to coordinate stakeholders in implementing Urban SUNstainability governance processes is taking place.

3. Environmental benefits: in the end, Urban SUNstainability should be a key driver for achieving environmental sustainability processes within urban areas. As such, the analysis of this process requires the assessment of its direct and indirect impacts in improving environmental conditions (reduction of air and water pollution, and CO2 emissions, etc.).

4. Economic benefits: Urban SUNstainability processes should entail positive impacts in stimulating a greener economy, both via the creation of indirect and direct green jobs and business activities, and also by stimulating the reduction of the use of carbon-related energy sources in transport and economic activities across the urban area.

5. Social benefits: the analysis of Urban SUNstainability processes requires the analysis of the direct and indirect social benefits from the production and dissemination of solar energy related practices. In the end, these practices should contribute to improving the quality of life of urban dwellers, for instance in their health and income status.

As can be seen, the proposed methodological approach is innovative in a sense that is goes beyond the purely technical perspective on the use of solar equipment in cities (see Pitt et al., 2018; Chow et al., 2016; Ko et al., 2017) and the regulatory settings to promote their use (see Steffen et al., 2019). Instead, the Urban SUNstainability conceptual framework is intended not only to unveil the detailed solar energy capacity of each case-study, but also to shed light on existent or non-existent municipal planning/governance processes (regulatory and financial instruments) which aim to support Urban SUNstainability processes. Moreover, the proposed framework is completed by collecting information on the potential economic, social and environmental benefits of such strategies in urban areas.

### 3. The policy support to renewable energy and the potential Urban SUNstainability in Portugal

Portugal is known to be a sunny country. Yet, whist the exploration of eolic energy has been largely explored in many parts of the country, the full exploration of its solar energy production is still largely unexplored (Table 1). Having an ambitious goal to use 31% of energy from renewable sources by 2020, 10% in the transport sector, by 2017, Portugal has reached 27.3%, whereas the share of electric energy based on renewable sources reached 53.7% in 2018, against 38.5% in 2010 (Agência Portuguesa do Ambiente, 2019). These numbers show a clear tendency in Portugal for an increasing use and production of renewable sources of energy, in overall terms, as the data from Table 1 shows. However, the steady increase of eolic-based energy contrasts with the irregular production of hydroelectric-based energy, since Portugal has a quite variable weather system, prone to dramatic yearly changes in precipitation values. Then again, as previously mentioned, it is also clear that Portugal has not been capable of harnessing its tremendous photovoltaic energy production potential (Fig. 2), unlike other south European countries (Quirós et al., 2018).

Table 1 – Annual production of renewable sources of energy (GWh) in Portugal (2010–2019)

| | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hydroelectric | 16,547 | 12,114 | 6660 | 14,868 | 16,412 | 9800 | 16,916 | 7632 | 13,628 | 8814 |
| Eolic | 9182 | 9162 | 10,260 | 12,015 | 12,111 | 11,608 | 12,474 | 12,248 | 12,617 | 12,894 |
| Biomass | 2226 | 2467 | 2496 | 2516 | 2578 | 2518 | 2481 | 2573 | 2558 | 2624 |
| Biogas | 100 | 161 | 210 | 250 | 278 | 294 | 285 | 287 | 271 | 245 |
| Urban solid waste | 577 | 592 | 490 | 571 | 481 | 584 | 610 | 632 | 573 | 587 |
| Geothermic | 197 | 210 | 146 | 197 | 205 | 204 | 172 | 217 | 230 | 206 |
| Photovoltaic | 215 | 282 | 393 | 479 | 627 | 799 | 871 | 993 | 1006 | 1248 |
| Total | 28,754 | 24,692 | 20,411 | 30,610 | 32,453 | 25,514 | 33,503 | 24,309 | 30,637 | 26,366 |

Source: (Medeiros, 2020c).
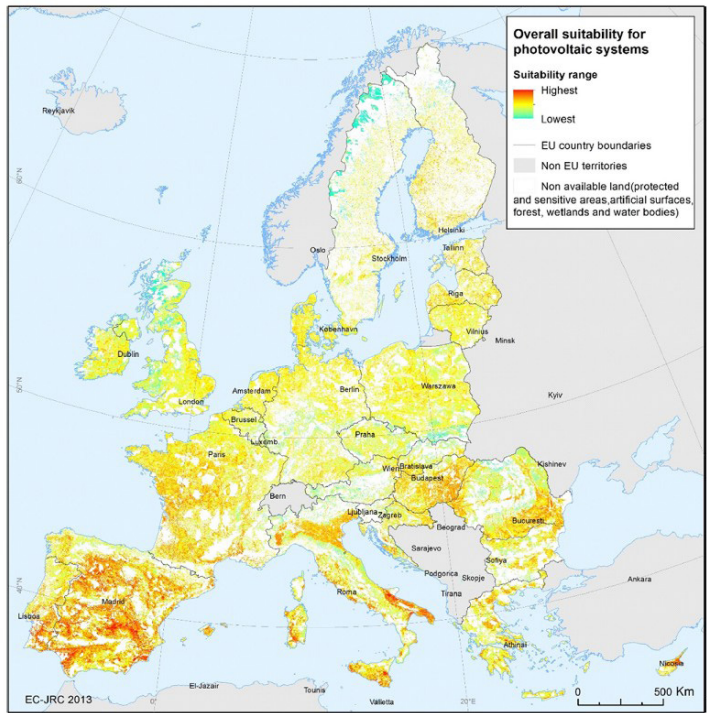


Fig. 2 – Spatial distribution at grid cell level (1km resolution) of the suitability for the installation of large-scale PV systems in Europe. Source (Castillon et al., 2016: 91).

This solar energy potential is extensive to the urban areas, which have an advantage of the presence of a myriad of roofs, many of them with a high exposure to solar radiation in parts of the day. In this stance, Lisbon engaged on the POLIS project, which joins six European cities (Lisbon-PT, Vitoria-ES, Lyon-FR, Paris-FR, Munich-GE, and Malmö-SE), in a quest to implement strategic town planning and local policy measures to utilize the solar energy capability of structures. In sum, the aim of the POLIS project is to "identify and evaluate current practices in solar urban planning, and unite the key responsible parties of this process to create a

more cohesive planning and legislation practice for solar developments. The physical structure of a building and its position within the urban pattern is clearly integral to its solar energy capabilities. Availability and orientation of external surface area is a crucial factor in the design of active solar systems and also important for the reception of passive solar energy. More than any other renewable energy, integrated solar energy relies on the qualification of the built environment".

This POLIS project is particularly interesting since it makes available to all interested stakeholders several instruments to promote solar energy in urban areas, such as: (i) municipal agreements or private law commitments; (ii) a best practice guide for solar urban planning in Europe; (iii) the presentation of solar action plans; and (iv) the presentation of several software programmes for analysing and simulating sun irradiation in a given urban area. In the end, the promotion and mobilisation of solar urban potential is engaged through the cooperation of cities that are currently engaged in solar urban planning.

Lisbon, as one of the cities integrated in the POLIS project, has created an Energy and Environment Agency (Lisboa E-Nova), which "seeks to contribute to sustainable development of Lisbon by mainstreaming good practices among political decision makers, major urban stakeholders and citizens. Lisboa E-Nova's objectives are met through projects and communication actions that promote the adoption of innovative concepts and actively contribute to the definition of new policies and development frameworks. By incorporating measures to adapt to climate change and actions to mitigate it, as well as supporting innovation and the development of projects that enable greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions to be reduced, Lisboa E-Nova is working towards achieving a low carbon city and one that is less vulnerable to the effects of the future climate. A city that is an example to follow on the path to decarbonization, while focusing on the welfare of the citizen[s] and future generations. Lisboa E-Nova is a key player in the city in the pursuit of national and international energy and climate goals for 2030 and 2050, and is active in three broad areas".

Most importantly, however, from this E-Nova initiative, was the creation of the SOLIS instrument, which includes the development of a two-component platform: (i) the update and improvement of a solar potential chart for Lisbon (Figure 3); (ii) and the development of a virtual space, capable of gathering and sharing technological solutions associated with the production of solar energy. In synthesis, the solar potential chart for Lisbon was developed in 2012, and serves as a support tool to assess the solar potential of edifices and other surfaces in Lisbon. With this chart, the city of Lisbon expects to establish appropriate goals and policies when it comes to the adoption of solar energy. Additionally, this tool will allow the owners of the buildings and other spaces to compare their electric consumption profile with the photovoltaic potential of their location, in order to obtain the optimal solar photovoltaic system.

The good news is that, at the national level, Portugal has recently approved the expansion of its capacity to explore the production of solar photovoltaic energy, mostly in the south of the country (Fig. 4). On the bigger picture, however, the main source of regional development investment in Portugal (EU Cohesion Policy Funding for 2014-2020 - Portugal 2020) has only allocated (by 2019) around 15% of its total investment to measures associated with the sustainable development goal, against an expected 25%. Worse still, the share of the allocation of funds for the production of renewable sources of energy is particularly low in view of the country's potential in this domain. Here, hydroelectric is, by far, the most financed source of renewable energy, in a project located on the island of Madeira (Calheta). surprisingly, not a single project was dedicated to exploring the country's potential to be one of the world's leaders (as it is with the production of wind energy) in exploring solar sources of energy (photovoltaic, thermal), namely in the southern part of the country and in urban areas. In sum, the Portugal 2020 contribution to improving the use and production of renewable sources of energy is limited and insufficient, taking into account the untapped potential of the Portuguese territory in this domain. Additionally, and this is extensive to the use of EU funding in Portugal, the policy intervention logic is one of fuelling pin-point project proposals instead of supporting a clear development strategy which boosts the territorial development potential of the country. In this regard, and in our opinion, Portugal 2020 looks to be another lost opportunity to place Portugal in the group of the most developed European countries, in particular, by smartly exploring its main territorial sustainable development potential, especially in the renewable energy policy cluster. To achieve this, there is a need to ring-fence EU funding to key territorial sustainability development areas, such as the promotion of urban sustainability development strategies [75] and off-shore wind and tidal related energy production.
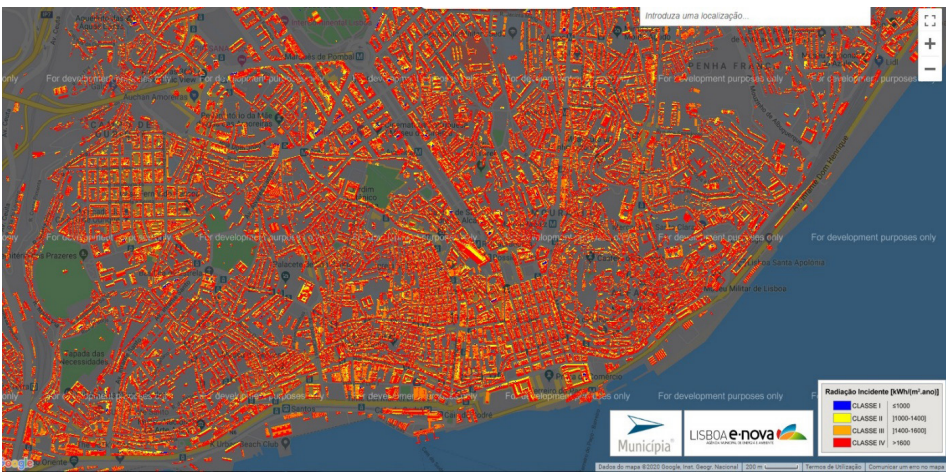


Fig. 3 – Solar potential chart for Lisbon. Source: http://80.251.174.200/lisboae-nova/potencialsolar/
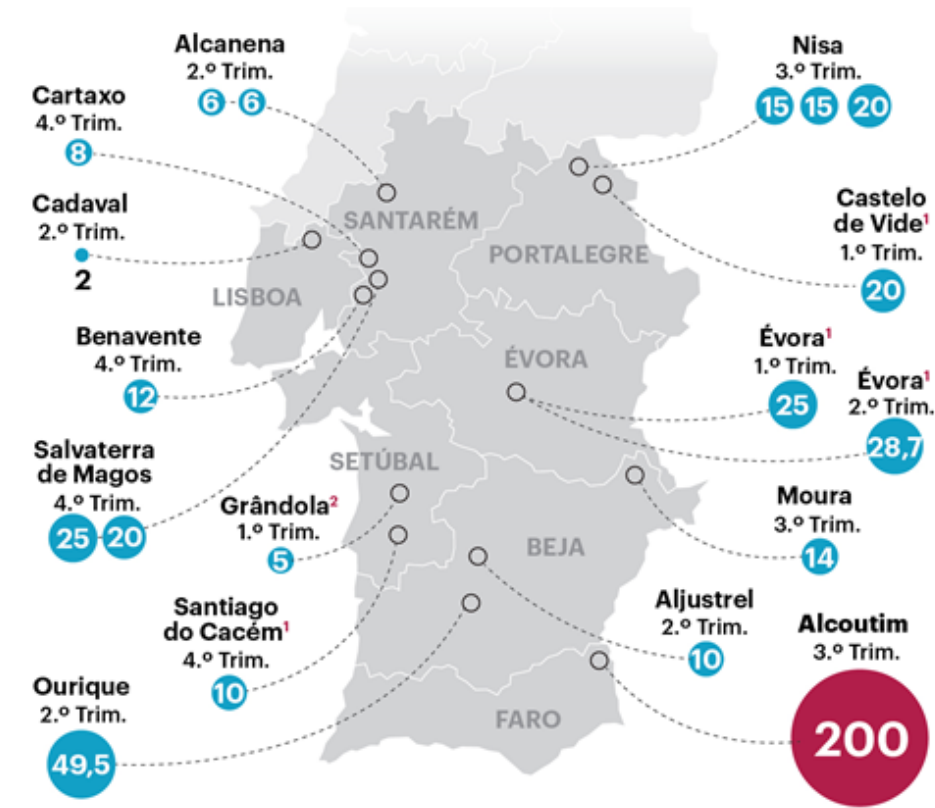
Fig. 4 – Solar photovoltaic projects implemented in Portugal in 2019. Source: https://www.dinheirovivo.pt/economia/portugal-estreia-19-centrais-solares-em-2019-com-um-investimento-de-350-milhoes/



- 1. Competitiveness and Inovation
- 2. Sustainability and Resource Efficiency
- 3. Human Capital
- 4. Social Inclusion and Employment
- 5. Other
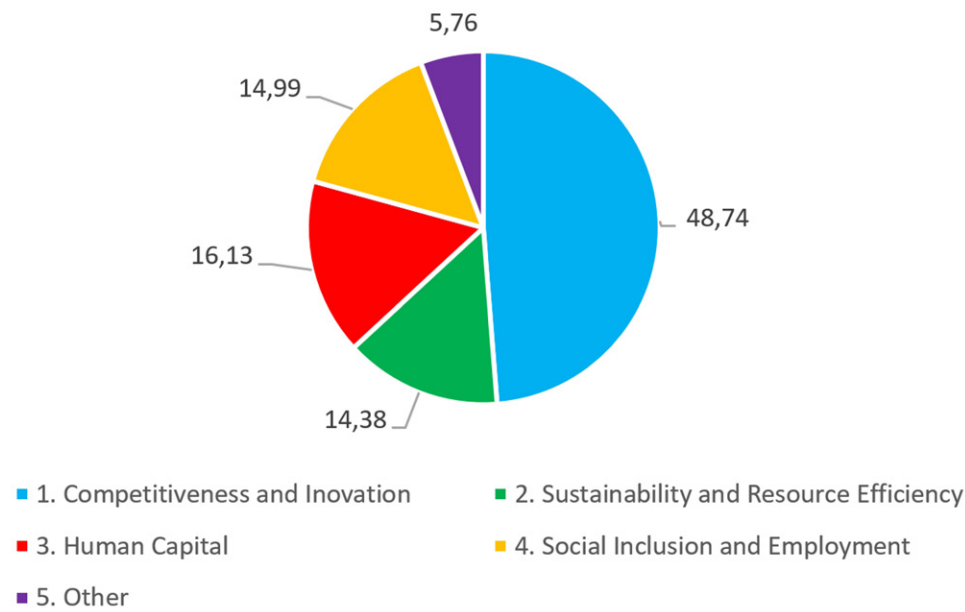
Fig. 5 – Portugal 2020 main intervention axis executed fund distribution (%) by September 2019. Source: (Medeiros, 2020c)

### 4. Conclusion

In this article, a case is presented on how urban areas, in particular those located in territories with abundant solar radiation, can significantly contribute to promoting sustainable territorial development policy agendas, by exploring their untapped solar energy potential, towards a carbon-free economy. Based on a wealth of literature, it is possible to conclude that, as we speak, these potential Urban SUNstainability policy agendas, supported by the idea that an urban area can be gradually self-sufficient in covering all its energy needs via solar energy, with indirect and direct social, economic and environmental beneficial impacts, is very much realistic..

In order to assess the current Urban SUNstainability process, and also to assess its potential, this article presents a conceptual framework based on five analytic dimensions. First and foremost, the solar energy generation capacity needs to be assessed, since this process largely depends on the availability and intensity of solar radiation. In future research, there is a need to assess existing urban planning and governance procedures which can stimulate and consolidate the implementation of Urban SUNstainability policy strategies. Lastly, the analysis of the potential effectiveness of this process needs to find causalities of its implementation to provoke positive social, economic and environment development trends, and in particular to the implementation of a greener and circular economy, higher standards of living, and a cleaner environment.

As could be seen, Portugal had still a huge unexplored potential to explore the production of solar energy. Surprisingly, the national and regional public investments on environmental sustainability have not favoured investment on untapping the solar energy potential, despite positive initiatives to support its exploration in many parts of south of Portugal, in past years. As regards the case of Lisbon, one could expect that a path towards an increasing use and production of solar energy, towards a smarter and more sustainable city, would require policy measures, at the urban level, which could attract the urban population to become both producers and consumers of solar energy. Likewise, this intended sustainability path requires experimenting with novel multi-level governance models, which can embrace a whole-of-society approach in view of increasing the administrative capacity of urban government structures, as well as the awareness of the positive transformative nature that the use and production of solar energy can provide to all urban dwellers.

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# 56   Seeing, pausing, inhabiting the riparian limits

## Urban Projects Bound To the Tagus Estuary Hydrographic System

CATERINA ANASTASIA
URBinLAB, Research Centre for Architecture, Urbanism and Design (CIAUD), Lisbon School of Architecture

### ABSTRACT

In urbanised areas historically marked by watercourses, riverfronts and green or blue corridors seem to be the places for an appealing and winning urban regeneration formula. This work aims to highlight how water is becoming a support for landscape and urban interventions; hence, watercourses turn into a primary resource and a tool for the city's project that tends towards an urban habitability. Now more than ever, we recognise that riverside promenades and green paths attract inhabitants, tourists, and new residents. While water has become a generator of new urban facades and a trigger of territorial habitability, it has also become the place and the way towards improved inhabitants' and visitors' well-being, and social cohesion. Among urban projects that seek solutions towards thriving in a world increasingly sensitive to the 'good health' of the planet and its inhabitants, this work focuses on regeneration interventions along the Tagus Estuary humid system.
Beyond the well-known cases of the Lisbon Municipality, the case studies of this research are realised regeneration projects located in the city settled along the Tagus Estuary hydrographic system – dubbed as the City of the Tagus Estuary (Lisbon Metropolitan Area).
At this moment of the ongoing research, through a critical view on the answer given to the specific characteristics of the place by the selected interventions, the work investigates the context-based design processes that supported them. The work concludes that, regardless of whether they are natural or artificial / visible or invisible (because they are currently canalised and buried), the estuarine waters are today, again, a resource for the city's project that has the potential for becoming a 'sensitive territorial intervention'. This is to say, the estuary's humid system has to be considered as a key term of the metropolitan city's habitability, promotion, and adaptation.

**Keywords:** Water landscape, regeneration projects, City of the Tagus Estuary, Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

### 1. Introduction

Since always, terrains bound to hydrographic networks have accompanied the urbanisation of places. Water corridors, from mobility to environmental infrastructures, have been ground of continuous profound functional transformations. As a 'cultural infrastructure', from being an important vital resource and a place of monumental identification, the river also turns into opportunity for a sort of 'redemption'. This is to say, it becomes support for urban regeneration processes and, at the same time, ground of their verification (Farinella, 2005).

Urbanised areas bound to water are today, more than ever, potential grounds for urban regeneration projects that aspire to deal and challenge with environmental resilience, a broader integrated water-urban arrangement, and context-based design strategies (Ranzato, 2017; Muñoz, 2019). Hence, the current and future terms (the 'materials/matters') of the water-related projects are configured mainly in: adapting cities to the current climate emergency, contextualising the intervention on the base of physical, social, cultural characteristics of the local milieu (Muñoz, 2019), and concerning over social justice in promotion (gentrification) and heritage preservation processes (Nufar Avni & Na'ama Teschner, 2019).

Focusing on the case study of the huge Tagus Estuary water space and its humid system, located in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA; Portugal), this paper will illustrate public regeneration projects realised, or in progress, along the estuarine main riverbed and its drainage watercourses (with superficial or underground water flow). At this moment of the ongoing research project, the work gives special attention to projects' response to the site-specific urbanised context, as a way to reach more habitable places.

The work selects realised interventions and organises the analysis according to where they are located: along the Tagus main riverbed or along the estuarine drainage corridors. The proposed division rather than suggesting different types of design approaches, intends to address two great potentials of the water edge projects in relation with their geographical location: the 'scenic privilege' offered by the huge water space of the estuary and the 'natural continuum' guaranteed by the drainage corridors.

### 2. Water as a Break: Seeing, Pausing, Inhabiting the Riparian Limits

Besides having an immense ecological value and be a repository of places' memories, the river guarantees a 'break' (a pause) of the urbanity. This interruption is a valuable space for the reading of the surroundings and it has a large potential on a design ground. As a space more or less free from constructions, the river helps to define the limits of the city, sometimes drawing its edges and more often guaranteeing a useful distance to observe the opposite bank and frame the urban landscape. In addition, the 'void' (in our case, the space defined by the water) becomes the main material of the project that makes one grasp and appreciate a new spatiality distinguishable from that of the traditional city (Viganò, 2012).

The views or visual relations with panoramic and symbolic character are the foundation of the city's identity and reading, they are essential aspects in the definition of urban spatial framework (Ribeiro Telles, 1999). Hence, the water space turns out to be the main medium through which we build our own city's image and it is a crucial element in the construction of the 'public' image of the city and its promotion.

According to Barthes (1993), the cities that are most opposed to a meaning for their inhabitants are precisely the cities without water, without a lake, without a river, without a current of water; all these cities are more difficult to live, more difficult to read. From this perspective, the visible (or invisible) river, as a free (not built) space that pre-exists the city, can help to read settlements according to polarities that are sometimes denied or ignored.

As well as the reading of the surroundings and the creation of cities' images, the space of water increasingly enters the search for the habitability of places. Regardless of the intended use of the riveredge areas and as a merely guarantor of unbuilt space, the river potentially offers room for the construction of the liveability of inhabited places. The functionality of free spaces is at the basis of the question of restoring the cities' habitability advocated by various authors, first of all by Lewis Mumford. We are now, more than ever, aware that the river (the hidrografic network) is a key term of the city's adaptation, (natural) regeneration, and promotion. All terms that tell us about the habitability of places.

Considering habitability in terms of human well-being, we can say that, if the post-metropolitan territory ignores silence (Cacciari, 2009), the space of the river also allows us 'to recollect ourselves' – to stop, pause, and rest. Similar to the silence during the performance of a musical score, the river's pause is then the place where we can stop, resting or doing sports. Consequently, all the accessible riversides of an urbanised context potentially become the place for leisure par excellence, a great attraction for inhabitants and visitors.

### 3. Materials of the Places and Answers Given by the Selected Interventions

From a geographical and environmental point of view, and as a clearly legible natural and infrastructural corridor, the Tagus Estuary is the matrix and the core of the LMA, the physical element that structures both banks at the ecosystemic, formal, and socio-economic level. Close to its mouth, the Tagus Estuary incorporates an internal transition sea around which the main Lisbon metropolitan conurbations have settled and connected. Among 18 metropolitan municipalities,

belonging to the provinces of Lisbon and Setúbal, 10 are located along the Tagus main riverbed.

Despite the strong differences between the north and south banks, this work identifies the Tagus Estuary as the key structural element for the ecological and socio-territorial connectivity of what we dubbed 'the City of the Tagus Estuary' (CET). The Tagus Estuary turns out to be the CTE's symbolic as well as its physical centre. As highlighted by Viganò, Secchi and Fabian about the empty space of the today's Venice Lagoon, we can say that, in our day, also the Tagus Estuary remains the centre of the metropolitan territory, 'logically and conceptually' (Viganò, Secchi & Fabian, p.15).

The drawing of the Tagus Estuary hydrographic network shows the 'fundamental ecological structure' (Ribeiro Telles, 1999) of the LMA where inhabited riverfronts and drainage corridors highlight the aggregating and relational power of water by becoming an opportunity to generate/regenerate and promote local potentialities of its urbanised surroundings (Anastasia, being edited). (Fig.1)
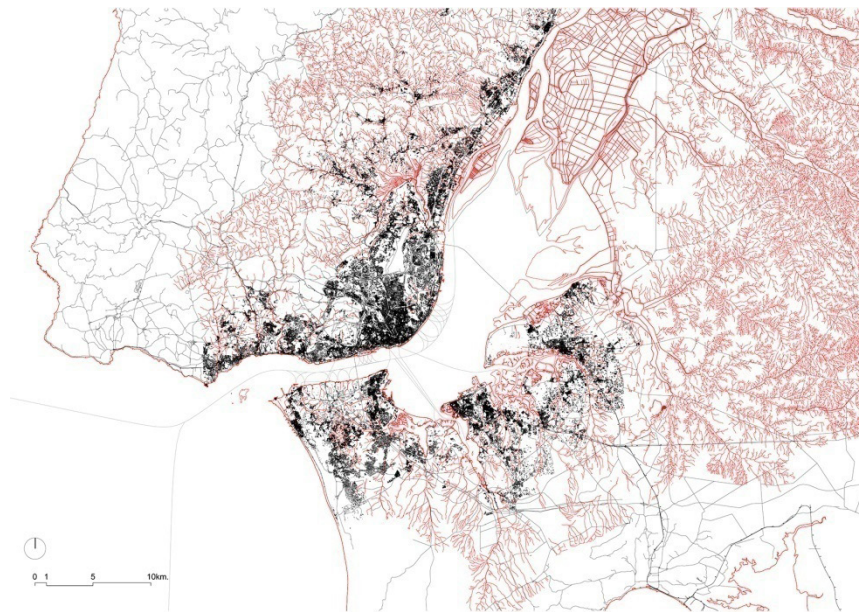


Fig. 1 – Tagus Estuary: hydrographic network, settlements along the main riverbed, and main mobility infrastructures (by land and water). Source: (Anastasia, being edited)

### 3.1 Riveredge Places: Regeneration Projects Bound to the Tagus Main Riverbed – the Scenic Privilege

In the late 1980s, starting from the beginning of the paradigm shift and the new attention given to the river by Lisbon's urban cultural environment, the relationship between the city and the Tagus was pushed to enhance, as expressed at that time, the 'returning the city to the river' (Bruno Soares & Trinidade Ferreira,

2017). From the idea of 'the city of two banks', stated by the LMA Regional Plan for the Territory Management (PROT AML) in 2002, the objective of achieving a metropolitan area centred on the Tagus Estuary seems to be a manifesto also at the municipal and district level. In fact, from then on, numerous public institutions of riverside conurbations promote the symbolic centrality of the estuary by linking urban renewal programs and promotions with the Tagus' waters (Anastasia, 2019a).

The above-mentioned 'centrality' is clearly legible in examples of municipal marketing in which we can find 'slogans' claiming a renewed proximity to the Tagus River and its banks. In 2014, to increase paved and green public areas with special attention on soft mobility, the municipality of Lisbon promoted the well known plan for the Tagus riverfront interventions entitled 'return the Tagus to the people' (*devolver o Tejo* às *pessoas*). Again in the north bank, since 1998, under the commitment with the citizens to 'return the river to the populations' (*devolver o rio* às *populações*), the municipality of Vila Franca de Xira fixed as a priority the requalification of the 22 kilometres of its riverfront.

Based on direct observation, literature review, and information provided by the authors and the riverside municipalities, Table 1 introduces 12 variables through which this research aims to understand the design action set up by the 11 selected - realised (or in process) - interventions. Table 1 presents public regeneration of spaces facing water, with special attention on new promenades rather than 'more green' (merely parks or beaches) interventions and rather than single restoration/revalorisation of former buildings linked with the estuary's activities and identities (i.e., renovation of tidal mills).

| intervention | location | project idea, construction | NP, SF, L | GP | RCC / SP | PL | CP | ICPS | LBTTV | CCMM | VTCH / ALCH | TIPS | LCPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Passeio do Tejo – Requalificação da frente ribeirinha | Alcochete SB | 2013-14 | • | • | • | • | • | | | extension of existing containment wall to mitigate swell / SLR | • | • | • |
| Miradouro Amália Rodrigues | Alcochete SB | 2017-19 | • | | • | ordering parking areas | | | | | • | | |
| Frente ribeirinha entre Esteiro da Quebrada e Cais dos Vapores | Montijo SB | 2004-11 | • | • | • | | | | • | • | | • | |
| Frente ribeirinha da Caldeira | Moita SB | 2003-06 | • | • | • | | • | • | • | | • | | • |
| Passeio ribeirinho Augusto Cabrita | Barreiro SB | 2009 | • | • | • | | • | • | • | | • | | • |
| Passeio ribeirinho | Seixal SB | 2009-17 | • | • | • | ordering parking areas | | • | | | • | • | |
| Rehabilitacao passeio ribeirinho Cacilhas-Olho de Boi | Almada SB | 2007-12 | • | | | | | | | | • | | |
| Miradouro/ elevador Boca do Vento; Jardim do Rio | Almada SB | 1998-2000 | • | • | | | | | • | • | • | | |

**Table 1a–** Tagus Estuary riverfront regeneration projects, south bank (SB)
Source: Own creation derived from (Anastasia, being edited)

| intervention | location | project idea, construction | NP, SF, L | GP | RCC / SP | PL | CP | ICPS | LBTTV | CCMM | VTCH / ALCH | TIPS | LCPA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Passeio maritimo | Oeiras NB | 2002-2017 | • | + beach | | • | | • | new view | | | • | |
| Percurso ribeirinho | Loures NB | 2018-ongoing | • | | new pedestrian /cycling pathway | | | | new view | | • | | • |
| Parque ribeirino Moinhos da Póvoa / Ciclovia do Tejo | Vila Franca de Xira NB | 2017-2018 | • | • | | • | | • | new view | • | • | | • |
| Parque ribeirinho Póvoa de Santa Iria | Vila Franca de Xira NB | 2007-13 | • | • | • | | | | | | • | | |
| Parque linear ribeirinho estuário do Tejo | Vila Franca de Xira NB | 2012-13 | • | • | new pedestrian /cycling pathway | | | • | new view | | • | | • |
| Parque urbano ribeirinho de Alhandra | Vila Franca de Xira NB | 2000-06 | • | • | new pedestrian /cycling pathway | • | | | | • | | • | • |
| Caminho pedonal ribeirinho Alhandra | Vila Franca de Xira NB | 2000-08 | • | | new pedestrian /cycling pathway | | • | | | • | • | | • |
| Recalificação cais Vila Franca de Xira | Vila Franca de Xira NB | 2007-13 | • | | • | | | | | | • | • | |

**Table 1b–** Tagus Estuary riverfront regeneration projects, north bank (NB)
Source: Own creation derived from (Anastasia, being edited)

The 12 variables of analysis take into consideration features of the interventions, namely: the projects' **materials**, their uses and characteristics (in black in Table 1) and the new **relationships** created with the surrounding areas, the river's activities and identities (in gray in Table 1):

In the selected interventions, among the projects' materials (new designed surfaces and uses), we find: New Pavement, Street Furniture and Lighting (NP, SF, L), Green Plots (GP), Reduction of Car Circulation / Street Pedestrianisation (RCC / SP) – that can be materialised through the creation of new pedestrian / cycling pathway – and Parking Lots (PL). Different uses of the new paved surfaces that can be suggested by the use of colour – Colourful Paths (CP), especially in case of an Increased Continuity of new Pavement Surfaces (ICPS) – see Table 1.

Among the planned new relationships with the project areas' surroundings, and new (or potentiated) proposed river's activities and identities, we find: Less Barrier Towards The Tagus and its View (LBTTV), often associated to a new view of the river; Climate Change Mitigation Measures (CCMM), mostly in terms of Sea Level Rise (SLR); Valorisation of Tangible Cultural Heritage / Appropriation of Local Cultural Heritage (VTCH / ALCH); Tagus' Identity in Public Space (TIPS) and links with coastal protected areas (LCPA) – see Table 1.

Table 1 shows us that the riverside interventions aim, in all cases, to create new promenades and public spaces for pedestrians and bikes with a reduced car circulation and increased green plots. Almost all the projects seek to revaluate and adapt local heritage for cultural activities, with few examples of exhibition of the Tagus' identity in public space art (i.e., statue of a salt worker). New views towards the Tagus – less barriers and an increased continuity of pavement surfaces – mark numerous projects. In few cases, colourful paths signal the presence of a cycling path favouring an idea of continuity capable of linking territories belonging to the same river, beyond their administrative boundaries. Even if in Montijo, in Vila franca de Xira, and in Loures the realisations are particularly sensitive to the fragile environment, we note that very few interventions include climate change mitigation measures and planned ways to cohabit with the estuary level rise. Links with coastal protected areas are especially improved in project areas located within the limits of the Tagus Estuary Nature Reserve (*Reserva Natural do Estuário do Tejo*). (Fig. 2, 3, 4 and 5)

Fig. 2, 3, 4 and 5 – Tagus Estuary riverfronts: Montijo (top left), Seixal (top right), and Vila franca de Xira (bottom left and right) Source: author's photographs.

## 3.2 Visible and Invisible Inner Waters: Regeneration Projects bound to Drainage Corridors – Towards a Natural Continuum

The river can introduce in the city the project that entrusts the environmental network and the regeneration of the territory in its different scales. In addition to the activation of regeneration processes of the surroundings, we underline the weight of the natural continuum (associated to a water corridor) for human well-being. On the one hand, the ecological concepts of Continuity, Diversity and Intensification justify and give force to green structures. On the other hand, studies in the domain of Ecology and Health have long proven the existing interrelationships between biotic and abiotic factors, including Man (Ribeiro Telles, 1999; Andreucci, Russo & Olszewska-Guizzo, 2019).

According to the main idea argued by the *Plano Verde de Lisboa* (Ribeiro Telles, 1999) – to establish continuity and sustainability of both the ecological and built systems, to ensure biodiversity, presence of nature in urban areas, protection, and cultural enhancement of the architectural (and natural) landscape and historical heritage – we need to construct and maintain metropolitan green corridors by defining links between natural and agricultural areas.

Within the LMA, crossed by the hydrographic network of the estuary, we find examples of intervened corridors supported by watercourses. Here, the superficial or underground water flow appears as an appealing support to intervene in consolidated and often degraded urban areas. The following selected projects, with the exception of the Structural Green Corridor of the Alcântara Valley, are examples of mostly 'green interventions' (reinforcement, reconstruction and maintenance of riparian vegetation).

Among the planned structural and non-structural green corridors implemented by the Lisbon Municipal Master Plan (*Plano Diretor Municipal* - PDM, 2012)[1] currently in effect, the Structural Green Corridor of the Alcântara Valley – formed by a Tagus' tributary currently canalised and buried – aims to create a new pedestrian and cycling route, to recover the memory of the old Alcântara River by introducing water into the project area, and to use, for scenic effect and for irrigation, water coming from the nearby wastewater treatment plant (Fig. 6 and 7).



Fig. 6 and 7 – Structural Green Corridor of the Alcântara Valley – Source: author's photographs

By transforming the current infrastructure corridor purely used for mobility, the implemented route along the Alcântara Valley intents to minimize the isolation of some closer neighbourhoods and pushing their requalification, and to value the local cultural heritage (the *Águas Livres* Aqueduct). In addition, the Alcântara intervention overcomes the PDM and the current Lisbon General Drainage Master Plan (*Plano Geral de Drenagem de Lisboa 2016-2030* – PGDL) by choosing a more resilient solution: a method for using water already present in the area (Anastasia, 2019c).[2]

Other examples of 'greener' intervened corridors drawn by the estuarine drainage

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1  The Lisbon's PDM, through the 'municipal ecological structure', sought to define the guiding principles and the large-scale program for Lisbon's green structure.

2  The DGDL, in order to control the risk of flooding and contribute to the adaptation of challenges posed by climate change, suggests the constructions of diversion tunnels to lead waters from the upper drainage basins towards the Tagus main riverbed.

waterlines are located in Loures (north bank) and Montijo (south bank). The Strategic Plan for the Hidrographic Network (*Plano Estratégico para a Rede Hidrográfica*) of Loures aims to improve the riverside habitat and the accessibility by the inhabitants, all along the 250 kilometres of existing inland waterlines of the municipality. The urban regeneration action for the conservation and promotion of the natural heritage integrated in the *Estrutura Verde Principal da Cidade de Montijo*[3] (*Sítio das Nascentes*), proposes a landscape recovery of two rainwater streams. Here, the goal is to ensure the interconnection between the Tagus Estuary and the inner land, and the aggregation of the city centre with the urban expansion to the east. The *Corredor Verde da Mundet* (Montijo) includes two huge green areas (*Parque João Esdras Teodorico* and *Jardim do Vale Salgueiro*) and is located along a drainage waterline that flows into the estuary.

### 4. Some Conclusions of an Ongoing Research

The research explored the great potential of the regeneration interventions along the hydrographic network of the Tagus Estuary by emphasizing the 'break' offered by the water space. The latter, represented by the main riverbed or its tributaries, and therefore by a valley with visible or invisible water flow, offers the pause through which we can construct the habitability of the contiguous urbanised territories, and, at the same time, the place where inhabitants and visitors can look, contemplate and linger.

Preliminary findings of the ongoing research can steer further work (i.e., more detailed interpretations of Table 1). At this time of the research activity, and as final considerations, among the 'materials' of the estuarine project sites, we highlight: the privileged scenic characteristics that mark places bound to the main riverbed, and the vegetation/green continuum potentially guaranteed by the natural drainage corridors.

In previous contributions, we noted that by regarding projects facing the estuarine hydrographic network, all the riverside projects especially contribute to **renewing the metropolitan city's image** and, consequently, to rapidly **boosting the existing and new buildings' real estate value** (Anastasia, 2019b). We also noted that, unfortunately, except for very few interventions planned to cohabit with changes due to estuary level rise, the new facades of the estuarine cities do **not foresee a common and shared plan** that addresses the consequences of climate change **nor a 'common and shared idea' of the entire north/south bank**, and even less of the entire estuary (Anastasia, being edited).

In addition to the above-mentioned findings, this paper aims to stress the idea that the estuarine hydrographic network tells us about continuity (Anastasia,

3   TN main green structure of Montijo city.

2019c). In this line, the work points out the value of some municipal **strategies that foster functional and morphological connection of riverside public spaces**.

Beyond the well-known cases of the Lisbon municipality, the cycling-pedestrian soft mobility of the entire north bank of the estuary seems to be a shared and achievable goal. In this line, we emphasise the far-reaching strategy established in the last years by the municipality of Vilafranca de Xira. By requalifying and connecting for community fruition, public and private riverside spaces inaccessible until now, the municipality is claiming and promoting a new-found 'captivating proximity' to the estuary. In the south bank, although the municipality of Seixal has achieved the soft mobility connection of all the bay side, the goal to connect riverfronts belonging to different municipalities seems to be slower and more complex than the south bank's. This is mostly due to the geomorphologic characteristics of the indented south edge of the river.

The functional and morphological continuity of riverside public spaces is achieved mostly through the creation of new promenades and public spaces for pedestrians and bikes with a reduced car circulation and increased green plots. The promenades, the reinforced vegetation and the organisation of the parking lots near the intervened areas, together with the revaluation and adaptation of former buildings of local heritage for cultural activities, appear as the main community attractors. The fruition of the project areas is also stimulated by the creation of new views towards the Tagus, less barriers, an increased continuity of pavement surfaces, and new-found links with fluvial protected areas.

**All the above-mentioned elements, created or potentiated by the regeneration projects, make the riverside public spaces and the green corridors the places par excellence suitable for community** sociability and leisure. In a vision that contemplates social, cultural and lifestyle changes, sociability and leisure become the manifesto of the estuarine municipal marketing, which emphasizes the value of the gregariousness of the riparian spaces together with 'the forms of appropriation and identification of populations with these spaces' (Bruno Soares, 2004, p.7).

Finally, this paper aims to raise awareness that the hydrographic network is the privileged place to construct the liveability of an urban context. In an atmosphere of renewed vicinity to water and of consensus on the restoration of ecological balances, the privileged scenic characteristics and the green continuum mark riparian spaces as places particularly suitable for sport, leisure and, now more than ever, for open-air sociability.

Minor interventions, such as simple maintenance of pathways already existing along watercourses (Figure 8) – examples of an advocated 'low intensity action

promoting the commons' (Brandão, 2017, p.133) – could allow inhabitants and visitors to improve their well-being.



Figure 8.  Pathway already existing along a north bank Tagus' tributary – Source: author's photographs

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# 70 Heritage and History as resources for the creation of new, sustainable, city:

## The Alburrica and Quinta Braamcamp case study

FÁTIMA SILVA
CITAD - Research Center in Territory, Architecture and Design

RUI SECO
CITAD - Research Center in Territory, Architecture and Design

**ABSTRACT**

In the second decade of the 21th century the Lisbon Metropolitan Area had a strong increase in real estate investment, boosted by tourism and favourable international circumstances. Former industrial sites have been especially attractive, areas suitable for conversion into significant size housing developments. In many cases, important heritage and environmental values are at stake, as proximity and visibility to the river are especially valued by the market.

The Qta. Braamcamp, on the Tagus riverside of Barreiro, opposite to Lisbon, is an ongoing case which combines all these issues. An industrial facility for cork production until two decades ago, now deactivated, it had previously been a 'Quinta de Recreio', a Portuguese Villa (rural leisure venue) for the Lisbon eighteenth century aristocracy, and also dedicated to the production of silk yarn, among other products. Tightly linked to the Tagus estuary, this area of Alburrica and Quinta Braamcamp is furthermore an example of a centuries-old legacy of the man's balanced use of natural resources, through semiartisanal technologies such as milling using the energy of the winds and the tides. This is an important testimony of a development anchored in the understanding, complementarity and equilibrium between man and nature.

The transformation of this unique territory, currently under debate, with plans publicly divulged, may and should be anchored in the preservation and enhancement of its historical heritage and environmental values. Contemporary urban development in the 21st century must be based on the intrinsic and founding values of each place, incorporating them, creating differentiation and preserving them,

in order to create a new urbanity of strong environmental awareness.

This study addresses this issues as an example which may draw useful insights for other spots of former industrial premises around the Tagus estuary, such as Margueira, Jamor, Quimiparque and CUF, all currently under pressure for urbanization.

**Keywords:** Heritage, local values, equilibrium, Tagus estuary.

## 1. Introduction

The last quarter of the 20th century was a period of deep urban transformation in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, following strong economic and social changes. Portuguese society evolved from a late industrialization process and urban growth to a transformation of the productive structure towards the services sector and a profound change in its urban processes.

Lisbon, its industrial belt and the Tagus estuary surroundings concentrated one of the main transformations in the Portuguese territory.

Since its settlement, Lisbon has developed basing in an intimate relation with Tagus estuary. The access to the inland through the river and its affluents, by the sea to the world's distant territories prompted Lisbon's development for centuries, while the city grew from the fortress in the top of the hill and expanded along the riverbanks.

From the end of the 18th century, and mainly from World War II onwards, an industrial fabric developed along the Tagus margins, in the northern bank both downriver and mainly upriver from Lisbon centre, and in the opposite bank in some specific areas where industries were able to obtain large plots of land to expand and create industrial complexes of considerable scale for developing activities such as oil refining, steel industry and shipbuilding. These new heavy industrial activities promoted a new momentum in urban growth, especially from the 1950s, boosting a suburban development around Lisbon in both sides of the Tagus estuary as well as in the entire Setúbal peninsula region and the northern metropolitan area.

The rapid urban development was notably intense during the 1960s and 1970s, strongly increasing the urban population, whilst occured the comparatively late Portuguese process of migration from rural areas towards the industrialized metropolitan areas.

Towards the end of the 20th century, the evolution to a more service based economy and the gradual abandonment of the industrial sector left several large plots of deserted industrial facilities that have become appealing to the real estate market due to their interesting dimension and location, often with the valuable feature of a direct connection with the river.

The organization of the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition (Expo '98), rehabilitating a vast former industrial area, set the tone to the recreation of extensive industrial areas into urban space, a process that lasted for the first two decades of the new century and still endures, redefining the territory around Lisbon and the Tagus.

However, the stress charge that this process of continuous urban diffusion and

densification imposes on the Tagus estuary, interfering with its important yet delicate system, is not sufficiently assessed and pondered.

## 2. A sensitive equilibrium

The Tagus estuary constitutes a resource of immense ecological value and strong economic potential, as well as a landscape of undoubted cultural interest. It is the second largest European estuary and the largest wetland in Portugal, with an extensive area of 325km², and 14 municipalities embrace its riverside. It maintains a close relation between territory and water surface, creating the natural environment for a significant biodiversity, with numerous species of fish, mollusks, crustaceans, and above all, for wintering waterfowl, such as flamingos, ducks, or shorebirds, among others. It is among the ten most important wetlands for waterfowl wildlife in Europe (Dias and Marques, 1999).

The importance of this main resource was highlighted with the creation of the Tagus Estuary Natural Reserve, in 1976, and its listing as a RAMSAR site four years later. It covers an area of 14.192 ha, which comprise a large surface of estuarine waters, floodplains, fields, marshes, muds, salt marshes and meadowlands.

In History, the Tagus river constituted a structuring element for the development of the Portuguese territory and the city of Lisbon, both for its importance for the upstream navigation throughout the territory and for performing a central role in the Portuguese maritime expansion, from the 14th century. It has also been an important contributor to the economy, for its productive agriculture, fishing and protoindustries such as milling and salt extraction, and more recently, for harbour activities and industries that settled along its margins.

Over time, the balanced relationship between man and the estuary and the understanding of its nature by human communities has been the foundation of synergy based ways of life and development strategies. Traditional settlement in the estuarine environment used the natural resources in a balanced way, creating activities through the using of the energy of winds and tides, the cultivation of the land and fishing in the water.

All estuaries are dynamic systems, where two distinct environments - freshwater and saltwater - meet, mix and interconnect in an extensive basin of water reception and sediment fixation creating conditions for biodiversity and wildlife, in and out of water. Its longevity depends on an equilibrium of diverse factors.

Man has for centuries been a part – an active part – of this landscape, merging it into a cultural as well as a social system, in which traditions were perpetuated as an important aspect of identity for the inhabitants and communities – artifacts, practical knowledge, skills, festivities, processions – being passed down from generation to generation. Man's activities developed around the river – fishing by boat and from the margins, agriculture in the fertile fields, salt extraction in salines, milling in windmills and tidal mills – and slowly adapted the territory, shaping its marks. Piers, docks, chanels, bridges, as also fortifications, mills, religious buildings and housing represent traces of this interaction between man and the environment, in a slow and balanced adaptation by man of the environment.

The industrialization process which took place in the estuary from the late 19th century onwards, disturbed this long-lasting equilibrium. It accelerated the transformation processes, with new and powerful technologies and a more extensive perspective on the territory, linking and binding but also imposing a more pronounced artificialization. A previous stabilized landscape was swiftly reshaped by infrastructures like railroads, bridges, roads, highways, landfills and docks along the river margins.

Many industries were implanted around the estuary during the 20th century, namely heavy industries like steel mills, refineries, cements, metallurgy, chemicals and naval construction, inducing an extensive urbanization process and creating new and complex problems of pollution and derangement of the ecosystems, with severe consequences.

A reverse process of industry abandonment occurred over the last four decades all throughout the region, leaving numerous industrial facilities and complexes deserted and often neglected, constituting an environmental problem due to pollution and potentially contamination of soil and water, with impact in ecosystems and the human habitat, but also creating an opportunity to regeneration and rehabilitation.

This de-industrialization did not thereby contribute to restore the previous balance on the estuary and its territory. Urbanization continued to sprawl and many of these former industrial plots remained expectant, creating new and no less complicated situations in this delicate territory.

## 3. The Alburrica case

The Barreiro riverside is an example of the development balance guided between man and the estuary, presenting even today important examples of that past of soft transformation and adaptation, such as windmills and tidal mills - although some of the previously existing have already completely disappeared and others are in an advanced state of ruin. Such is the case of the famous 'giant' mill that once marked the estuarine skyline.

Among these cultural and landscape inscriptions, part of the heritage that constitutes the testimony of local identity and its culture, the Quinta Braamcamp plot is

one of the most important components, an example of a centuries-old legacy of the man's balanced use of natural resources, through semiartisanal technologies such as utilization of the natural basins to implant tide-mills and of the strong winds from the water surface to propel windmills.

This valuable site, known as Alburrica, becomes very significant for its prominence in the urban skyline of the south bank of the Tagus Estuary, in a central position of this whole landscape, and with a direct visual connection through the water plan to the central urban spaces of Lisbon, such as Praça do Comércio square, by the river, and from the top of the Eduardo VII park.



Fig. 1 – Alburrica site, with Quinta Braamcamp, front to the Tagus Estuary. Source: (Estejo RP, 2019)

Alburrica also has embodied a series of values and circumstances that are common in the context of several settlements in the estuarine territory, some of them currently under urban pressure.

The Quinta Braamcamp and the surrounding riverside areas in Alburrica evolved from a rural and piscatorial past to experience successive stages of occupation like the creation of milling proto industries and the regularization of the natural water basins, and then the establishment of a 'Quinta de Recreio', a rural Portuguese villa for Lisbon's eighteenth century aristocracy – in this case for the Dutch Braamcamp family.

In this period as 'Quinta de Recreio', the property was structured as a leisure venue with complementary productive functions, as was usual (R. Dias, 2012). Among other products, it dedicated to the production of silk yarn, with a blackberry plantation orchard and pavilions for the creation of silkworms, aside from the manor house and its outbuildings. It was also carried out the production of fish in vivarium, using a large dedicated fishpond. This time was characterized by the presence

of a major windmill – the 'moínho gigante' (giant windmill) - in the Barreiro skyline, which was visible from Lisbon, in the opposite margin, several kilometers away.

Later, the property was sold and converted into a cork transformation industry, that gradually transformed the original structure, adapting the existent buildings and constructing others, for warehouses and other purposes, hurting the previous balance between human use and natural elements, with important urban and environmental repercussions.

Alongside, activities such as fishing have persisted, maintaining settlements of fishermen in the Alburrica area, and the use of other spots for leisure activities, such as beach and sailing.

From the 1990s, the decline of the cork industry led to the closing of the factory and the abandonment of the plot. From then happened a significant degradation of the facilities, including the warehouses, the manor house, the large tide mill and even the wooded area, which is used by several species of birds. Fires (presumably arson), roof collapse, ruin of built structures and even bug infestations spurred this process of deterioration.

With the intent of preventing further decay of the area and acknowledging the historic value and urban importance of Quinta Braamcamp, the municipality acquired the property a decade ago, proposing to reclaim it for public use as a leisure space of the city of Barreiro. Although it has been opened to public utilization, the area has not yet been rehabilitated, and possibilities for its recuperation and even for new urbanization are still being contemplated for a new municipality administration.

The urbanization of the plot, converting it in a real estate operation, had already been considered in the past by previous owners (after the factory shutdown, the property ended up in the possession of a bank), but had been dropped with its public purchase.

This renewed idea of urbanizing the area of Quinta Braamcamp, and the design of the proposal divulged in 2020, with a series of collective housing buildings in the first row of the riverside substituting the already demolished warehouses of the former cork fabric, is an example of an urban development that is proposed without a global perspective of its impact on the urban fabric, on the estuarine landscape and in this particular instance, on the skyline of Barreiro. The implantation of the buildings close to the riverside, the dimension of its volumetry and its overall design is not attentive to the characteristics of the site and the relation with both the urban fabric and the riverside.

Adding to this inadequate conception, it also ignores possible future problems with climate change, being in an area susceptible to flooding due to the low site

elevation close to the water and the mutable nature of the sedimentary soil.

All these issues configure a context of poor adequacy to the site. The transformation of the former industry plots – particularly in areas of significant heritage and environmental values – would strongly benefit from a design informed by the knowledge of those factors and specifically developed to address them.

### 4. Awareness and deeprooting

The area of Quinta Braamcamp and Alburrica is a good example of a centuries-old legacy of the man's balanced use of natural resources in an hinterland space between land and water, developing ways of living from it, respecting the habitat and its conditions.

Although the use of the Quinta plot throughout the 20th century as a cork factory subverted the pre-existent way of using and intervening in the territory, massively occupying and constructing the riverbank, in the transition to the new millennium the abandonment of this activity provided an opportunity to restore the earlier condition and to rehabilitate the area.

To take advantage of this opportunity it is essential to understand the background of the site and to rethink the way of intervening on the creation of new urban areas in Lisbon and its surroundings. Numerous intentions to urbanize are being presented for a diversity of locations in this territory, especially former industrial plots, which replaced the large agricultural parcels in the role of main providers of urbanization soil they had in the previous decades.

In the 1990s, the organization of the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition (Expo '98) set an example for the regeneration of deactivated industrial areas, rehabilitating an old industrial site in the eastern part of Lisbon, 50 ha that were converted in new urban fabric on 5 kilometers of the riverside. This large-scale enterprise, created to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Portuguese fleet arrival in India in 1498, led by Vasco da Gama, was an urban design created from scratch, substituting an obsolescent fabric of refinery and other polluting industries, containers park, slaughterhouse, etc., and although it preserved as landmark the old tower of the refinery, it was in fact a new urban development thought as new design that was not based in the sites previous background or history.

Almost three decades later (the Expo '98 was prepared from 1992) this approach still maintains its influence over the new developments design – many promoters' descriptions state they intend to create a 'new Expo' on their old industrial plot – which, while setting an ambitious standard, also prevents the possibility of other inputs and conceptions.

Other possibilities should be sought and considered for urban development beyond the high density strongly built-up operations. More diverse conceptions are needed, with a focus on the identity of each place and its inhabitants, its history and culture, and with a foresight for the intrinsic potential of the site, from its specificities.



Fig. 2 – Views of Alburrica site. Source: (Estejo RP, 2019)

Alburrica and Quinta Braamcamp can set a different example, establishing a different way of intervening and creating urban space.

The central position in the estuary, the proximity to Lisbon, on the opposite bank, and the direct relation with the water surface are attributes which can foster the creation and promotion of new activities able to reconnect people with the estuary, once the center of all dynamism and the connecting element of the territory and currently regarded as an obstacle rather than a link. The assumption of more flexible uses, that can adapt and reset with environmental changes, is also a principle for an alternative view on urban development, too strictly constrained in standardized solutions, both in respect to uses and design. Many riverside improvement interventions to create 'leisure' spaces are examples of this normalization trend, with a lack of a differentiation that can only come from the place itself and the knowledge and understanding of it.

Awareness of the site and of its potential to create different solutions is, therefore, an idea that can generate – or more accurately maintain and foster – the authenticity and differentiation today highly valued in the territory, developing a sense of deeprooting and identity in planning and managing urban space.

In Alburrica, geography, with the position on the estuary, history, with the balanced relation between man and the elements, and culture, with the creation of activities, artifacts, traditions and religious events like 'Nossa Senhora do Rosário'

procession have shaped the landscape and structured the territory, as today they can also do once again. For this to happen, it is necessary to be attentive and creative.

### 5. Grand projects and legacy in the 21st century

Regarding the future, in this time of awakening to the impacts of human action on the environment and the planet, it is important to think of conscious ways of inhabiting the territory and shaping its transformations, preserving nature and its qualities.
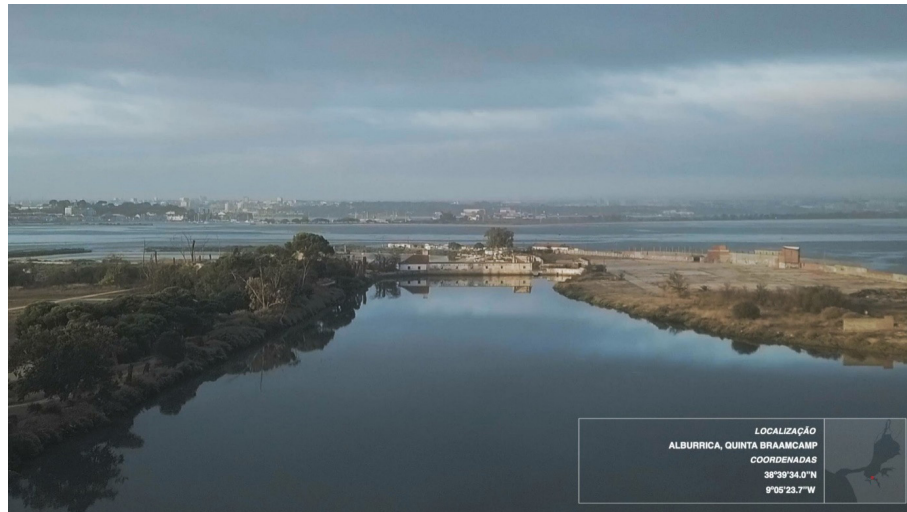


Fig. 3 – Waterbasin and large tidemill in Quinta Braamcamp. Source: (Estejo RP, 2019)

Quoting the Brazilian conservationist and researcher João Campos-Silva's statement that, for its better success, nature protection has to be made with the engagement of local communities (Campos-Silva and Peres, 2016), one may as well assert it in regard to heritage, culture and the balance between man occupation and nature. The local sense of belonging and participation of people is the best manner to ensure the preservation of these qualities.

The understanding of heritage and its legacy - natural, urban, industrial and immaterial – is therefore indispensable for the preservation of the habitat and for the valorization and qualification of the territory and its dynamics.

For this understanding it is important to develop an analysis of the relations of the site at different focal distances, since a place itself is not self-explanatory "*without seeking an understanding of the history of relations*" (Santos, 1988).

In a landscape system such as the Tagus estuary, it is necessary to perceive the relations between different places, as a network, to fully understand their common and specific values. This network perspective will enable, today and in the future, to create synergies that can structure a collaborative development, on a broader scale, dividing costs and sharing advantages, in a common landscape united by the presence of the estuary.

Planning in the estuarine territory has been frequently hampered by administrative boundaries and limited territorial view, creating partial plans that hardly connect. Much benefit would result from a broader perspective, reestablishing ancient relations and creating new ones in common networks to enhance a new form of development that maximizes common participation and the defense of both local and comprehensive values.

Following a long time of connection with the river, center of activity and binding field of this whole territory, the industrial period created multiple barriers between inland and the water surface, disrupting people's relation with it and keeping them apart.

The end of the industrialization period and rise of a service based economy has allowed the removal of many of these obstacles and the rediscovery of the ancient relation with water. However, it frequently led to the adoption of standardized solutions and to the dissemination of sporadic or disjointed interventions, without a holistic and continuous understanding of the natural system.

Even recent interventions with architectonic quality like MAAT (Museum of Art, Architecture and Technology), designed by Amanda Levete, Champalimaud Foundation headquarters, designed by Charles Correa, and the Lisbon Cruise Terminal, designed by João Carrilho da Graça, among other interventions, contribute to a casuistic densification of the riverside.

New urban developments that are currently being planned for former industrial sites like Margueira, in Almada, Lusalite industries (Vale do Jamor), in Oeiras, CUF complex and Quimiparque, in Barreiro, and Quinta Braamcamp, also in Barreiro, would add a new substantial area of urbanization and edification, again imposing transformations on a sensitive territory, in large scale and without a global perspective of its overall impacts.

This reinforces the need for a broader vision and strategic reasoning on the development of the estuarine territory, validated by a wide discussion with the participation of the population, addressing problems such as how to deal with climate change, water rise, soil sealing, densification of construction, infrastructure and accessibilities overload, and territorial disjunction and seclusion.

It is necessary now to involve people in participatory debate about the development of their territory and the preservation of their cultural and environmental legacies, in order to strengthen their ties with the places they inhabit and reinforce

their sense of community, avoiding urban trivialization, promoting distinction and attractiveness through difference and authenticity.

### 6. Final notes

The transition from the industrial period to a service economy created the opportunity to reconnect the territory and its inhabitants with the Tagus estuary water plan, following the abandonment of many industrial sites unblocking the connection with the banks.

However, this rediscovery of the estuary is being hampered by numerous new interventions on the riverbanks that casuistically impose transformations without a global perspective of the territory. A number of large scale urbanizations are envisioned, proposing city unrelated and disconnected to each site's history and culture.

This development conception may be wasting other valuable insights that could foster a different and stronger promotion of this territory's qualities. The preservation and enhancement of its historical heritage and environmental values, retrieving principles of the ancient relation between man and the environment, may constitute a worthy resource for this distinctive approach, embedded in a holistic perspective on the territory as a network of specific places with local based qualities and people with a deeprooted community sense.

In this context, the Alburrica case may represent a milestone in creating and testing methodologies and evaluating their outcomes.

Late 20th century urban legacies comprise, beside consolidated city and urbanized space, many areas in transition, which require an approach informed by these inputs, so to develop solutions to deal with problems such as climate change, and the promotion of development through differentiation, resisting to real estate pressure and involving people in heritage and environmental preservation.

### Acknowledgments

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# 89 Lomas ecosystems landscape

## An approach to the Ecosystem-Based Adaptation for the climate change adaptation in the Metropolitan Area of Lima

SALLY TORRES MALLMA
Universidad Ricardo Palma

**ABSTRACT**

Although the landscape of *Lomas* is part of a green chain from the north of Peru to the north of Chile, over time, this landscape has been losing territory turning into small islands that extends for more than 3,500 km, because of natural factors and urban development issues. *Lomas* are seasonal ecosystems that represent a great opportunity for Lima to adapt to climate change, as well as protection of biodiversity. However, due to rapid and uncontrolled urbanization in Lima reaching a population of more than 10 million inhabitants, they are threatened by land traffic and inappropriate use. After the establishment of National and Metropolitan Environmental tools since 2012, the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima (MML) has started the experience of climate-oriented policies to support the transition from mitigation to adaptation in local planning including the *Lomas* ecosystems protection. In late 2019, the System Regional Conservation Area (RCA) *Lomas* of Lima, a proposal developed by the MML with the technical support of national and international organizations, has been approved by the national government. In an attempt to reflect climate risk management and adaptation, the research focuses on the integration of EbA in *Lomas* Ecosystems into urban policies for climate change adaptation. This by linking adaptation in EbA quality standards and identifying drivers of vulnerability to increase resilience in the Metropolitan Area of Lima. The research concludes that although it is a breakthrough for the city with some gaps to be clarified due to very weak quality standards at the initial planning phase, *Lomas* Ecosystems within its environmental, social, and economical components should take place inside the landscape approach. Lomas Ecosystems are a potential network of open spaces that can become the transition between the city and nature to strengthen climate change adaptation as well as create environmental awareness and culture in Lima.

**Keywords:** Metropolitan Area of Lima, Ecosystem-based Adaptation, Lomas Landscape, Climate Change Adaptation.

## 1. Introduction

Ecosystem-based Adaptation (EbA) is a climate change response that uses bio-diversity and ecosystem services (ES) as part of a broader adaptation strategy (SCBD, 2009)maximize co-benefits across sectors and avoid unintended nega-tive consequences on ecosystem services. Section 3 examines the links between biodiversity and climate change mitigation with a particular focus on land use management activities and reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation. The section explores the potential contribution of biodiversity con-servation and sustainable use to mitigation efforts and suggests ways in which co-benefits can be enhanced. Finally, the section examines the potential positive and negative impacts of mitigation activities on biodiversity (e.g. renewable en-ergy technologies, (Lhumeau & Cordero, 2012), (Rizvi et al., 2015)the Directorate-General of Global Affairs, Development and Partnerships (DGM. Since it has the potential to increase social and ecological resilience and adaptive capacity when properly managed (Reid, 2016), (Seddon, Hou-Jones, et al., 2016), (UNFCCC, 2017) however, can damage the ability of ecosystems to provide life-supporting ser-vices and to protect society from climate-related stressors. Adaptation to climate change therefore needs to strengthen the resilience of both communities and eco-systems. Ecosystem-based adaptation (EbA at different geographical scales, pol-icy-makers and civil soCiety representatives have engaged to develop policy dec-larations and initiatives (Epple et al., 2016) related to ecosystem restoration and Nature-based Solutions. However, there is an emerging issue faced by societies in the capacity of ecosystems to generate these services such as insufficient public awareness, finance, scientific research, and coordination between legislation and policy instruments across levels of governments (UN, 2020).

Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) is a complex region that needs to devel-op more studies. This not only for its weak environmental governance and socio-economic inequalities issues (Dobbs et al., 2019)a long history of pre-Colombian civilizations, and recent urbanization trends, the urban ecosystem services (UES but, also because is the most vulnerable region to climate change and has the highest concentration of biodiversity on the planet. Climate Change then could drive to changes in ecosystems, accelerating the loss of species in the region, and, therefore, leading to ES decrease (Uribe, 2015)its behavior varies between regions. Human beings are responsible for climate change, which takes the form of varia-tions in temperature, humidity and wind speed. Climate change affects all species, but it is in human health where the greatest damage is observed. The paper is aimed at describing the potential current and future impact of climate change on health. Online search was conducted in databases from the Virtual Health Library (MEDLINE, LILACS. Therefore, EbA needs to be settled in policies based on experi-ence and solid governance to achieve national and global agreements (Iza, 2019) and needs to develop drivers such as coordination, stakeholders participation, ex-change knowledge, and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms (Epple et al., 2016).

Since Peru is one of the most biodiverse countries, the Metropolitan Area of Lima has Fragile Fog oasis ecosystems called *Lomas* located as a green urban edge with an area of 70,000 hectares rich in flora and fauna (SERPAR, 2014). Thus, *Lomas* are part of the ecological structure as they constitute green islets in the middle of the desert (MML; SERPAR, 2014). Given the decreasing number of cold days that generate permanent heat waves in some sectors in Lima (MML, 2014), *Lomas* Ecosystems mean huge potential for Lima to achieve sustainable and equitable development. Due to the legal framework, and policy tools at the na-tional and metropolitan level, EbA's approach has strengthened by giving wider recognition to the value of *Lomas* Ecosystems (MML, 2019). However, although the establishment of Regional Conservation Areas (RCA) to protect *Lomas* took place in 2019, they are still being threatened by land traffic and inappropriate use (SERPAR, 2014), (PNUD, 2018).

The research seeks to critically analyze the integration of EbA's approach in *Lomas* Ecosystems into Urban Policies for climate change adaptation. This by linking adaptation in EbA quality standards and identifying drivers of vulnerability to increase resilience in the Metropolitan Area of Lima. For this, the research consid-ers guides developed by international agencies based on LAC studies, as well as local organizations' websites that defend *Lomas* ecosystems. To complement the assessments, the research considers the "Assessment Framework for EbA" (FEBA, 2017) and the "Governance for EbA" (Iza, 2019) also based on LAC studies. As a result, the research is organized into four sections. The next sections consist of EbA's framework, results, and finally, discussions, and conclusions. Therefore, the research aims to contribute to call further investigations as well as to generate greater diffusion in the local society about the relevance and the need for climate change adaptation through the protection and restoration of *Lomas* Ecosystems.

### 2. Towards Ecosystem-based Adaptation

Due to the recognition of the relationships between biodiversity, climate change, and sustainable development in international events such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), EbA is aligned with various international agreements that promote nature-based approaches as a solution. EbA is a unifying concept that calls for a joined-up way since actions to maintain or restore ecosystems and their services contribute policy goals at once (Epple et al., 2016), (Seddon, Hou-Jones, et al., 2016). For this, EbA needs to be integrated into policy and planning processes such as national adaptation plans (Seddon, Hou-Jones, et al., 2016), (Seddon, 2018), (Reid et al., 2019) to achieve integration of new policy objectives into adapted policy objectives (Haase et al., 2014) because climate change has adverse effects on the different ecosystems. Thus, the research considers six rea-sons for EbA's integration into policies, three main aspects of EbA's policies, and two complementary approaches.

The first reason for EbA's integration into urban policies is Awareness, in the interested parties to make decisions by opening the dialogue about EbA and thus, raising awareness about its potential as an adaptation approach. Second, intensification of scale, so that it is not only implemented at the local level but also generates a greater impact in the long term, interrelating with other ecosystems. Third, the Institutionalization, of EbA approaches between governmental and non-governmental actors to guarantee the results over time and thus this learning will guide future policies and implementations. Fourth, Financing, of all the resources oriented towards the conservation and development objective established in national and sub-national government plans. Fifth, Improve Environmental Sustainability, which through the EbA approach, can guarantee positive impacts on ecosystems. Finally, Longer-term follow-up, since the impacts of EbA will only be seen in the long term (Terton & Dazé, 2018). Therefore, enhanced coordination between instruments and strategies, and actors for sustainable development (Epple et al., 2016) are key for long-term adaptive management.

Regarding the policy aspects, there are three requested at the international meeting of the EbA Community of Practice for Latin America in 2015 (Practical Action, 2018). First, Integrate ecosystem services into national development policies and adaptation to climate change. Policymakers need to create conditions that favor EbA, incorporating such measures in each sector. Likewise, decision-makers must be exposed to information about EbA to offer greater opportunities for its integration into adaptation policies, financial decisions, and the definition of its priorities. Consequently, a good use of available land resources, institutional capacity, expertise, and funding, will improve overall outcomes. Second, Encourage innovative financing for the conservation of ecosystems and overcome market failures. However, there is still uncertainty over how best to finance EbA because there is a lack of evidence (Seddon, Reid, et al., 2016). Finally, Involve local communities in decision-making processes through fully participatory, and community approaches. Thus, it facilitates joint learning and knowledge interchange between the community and stakeholders (Seddon, Reid, et al., 2016).

Furthermore, ecosystem management should be integrated into the landscape approach because it enhances the overall benefits while the ES achievement can be obtained at limited costs (Epple et al., 2016). Some initiatives are "the reducing of non-climatic pressures, addressing degradation that has already occurred, enhancing connectivity of fragmented ecosystems, and maintaining the diversity of species at all trophic levels" (2016, p.6). Then, a regional vision of the territory as an interrelated open system with a range of dynamics to grasp what allows and limits their development is key. It is necessary to develop strategies with the participation of all parties to understand what works whereby settling inclusive discussion of stakeholders' needs, capacities, and priorities. Thus, knowledge exchange networks should be established to generate effective adaptation practices (Reid, 2016) such as the EbA Community of Practice established in LAC with the support of Practical Action and the EbA South program of UN Environment.

The key challenge is building the capacity of communities. Thus, EbA involves the Community-based Adaptation (CBA) approach by capturing the wealth of knowledge and experience that communities have in dealing with climate variability and change (Practical Action, 2018). A community-led process directly involved in sustainable community development (Reid, 2016) based on the priorities of the communities, needs, knowledge, and capacities to empower people to plan and cooperate with the impacts of climate change. EbA policies must be aware of the diversity of the locality, the specific conditions, and facilitate activities between the different actors to adapt and efficiently manage the local ecosystem. Therefore, the integration of EbA and CBA approaches, especially in peripheral areas, must work in an integrated manner.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 The Lomas' Context

*Lomas* are stationary ecosystems that depend on marked seasonal variation and little precipitation to bloom and grow during the winter season (Nieuwland & Mamani, 2017)[1]. Of the 67 *Lomas* in Peru, 20 are in the Metropolitan Area of Lima becoming home to 850 species of vascular plants, of which 215 are endemic species, as well as 352 species of fauna. Thus, each *Loma* is different from the other, either by the number and diversity of species, landscapes or by the predominant vegetation (SERPAR, 2014). Between 2013-2014, ten ES were identified in *Lomas* ecosystems as food provision services, climate regulation, and cultural services such as recreation and tourism, among others (PNUD, 2018), (MML, 2019). Since *Lomas* of Lima depends on the concentration of fog during winter, which allows them to regenerate annually on a cyclical basis, they are one of the most sensitive scenarios to climate change since it would affect the decrease in cloud cover and their ability to capture mist water to survive. This because warm days have increased in Lima with temperatures higher than 26.3°C in the city center and higher than 28°C on the east side (MML, 2014). As a result, the total area is 20,000-22,000 ha located in 19 districts (SERPAR, 2014), (Nieuwland & Mamani, 2017). See Figure 1.

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1  *Lomas* are the result of the interaction between climate, soil and relief, that due to the abundant mist coming from the sea that accumulates and condenses, becomes a *garua* creating green, coastal hills or *Lomas* (SERPAR, 2014).
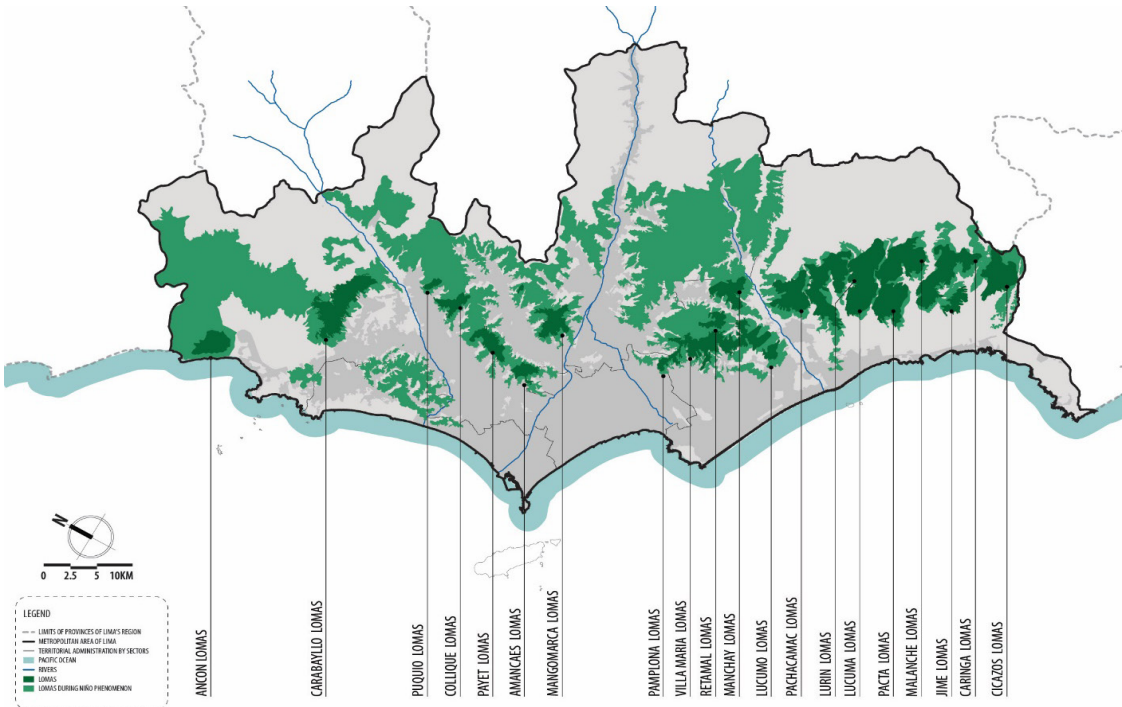
Fig. 1 – *Lomas* Ecosystems in the Metropolitan Area of Lima. Source: Own creation based on (https://geolomas.maps.arcgis.com/home/index.html)

However, the city's relation with *Lomas* is incipient because they are progressively degrading and losing themselves due to unappropriated and uncontrolled use such as land traffic through informal subdivisions, and environmental pollution (SERPAR, 2014), (PNUD, 2018), (MML, 2019). The major threat is land trafficking due to corruption in municipalities that threatens flora and fauna as well as the well-being of the surrounding populations that continue even if *Lomas* have a high seismic risk that induces landslides (PNUD, 2018). See Figure 2. This situation gets more challenging given the lack of a unique comprehensive map of *Lomas* of Lima across different public institutions which exacerbates the incomplete coverage of the RCA System and the Fragile Ecosystems. In contrast, given the landscape and archaeological beauty as well as the biological wealth, *Lomas* develop different tourist and recreational activities very close to the city of Lima like ecotourism circuits implemented in a few *Lomas.* This through coordination between the municipality, local organizations, and the community with the support of young volunteers (MML, 2019), generating then 200 direct beneficiaries (Zucchetti et al., 2020).

Fig. 2 – *Lomas* Threats. Source: (https://geolomas.maps.arcgis.com/home/index.html)

### 3.2 Legal and Policy Framework

Although the Law on Remuneration Mechanism for ES (MERESE) in 2014 to promote, regulate, and supervise ES (PCM, 2014), and the National Strategy for Climate Change (ENCC) in 2015 to enhance adaptation measures in prioritized areas by sectors (MINAM, 2015), the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima's (MML) aim for Conservation Areas of *Lomas* to protect local biodiversity has not been strengthened enough. This even if the MML has prioritized *Lomas* protection and recovery since 2010 within the framework of instruments such as the Metropolitan Environmental Policy 2012, the Metropolitan Strategy to Climate Change in 2014, and the Metropolitan Environmental Agendas that seeks to incorporate ecosystems into urban development policies. It is until the Framework Law on Climate Change approval in 2018 where EbA approach is officially introduced as the tool that identifies and implements actions for the protection, management, conservation, and restoration of ecosystems to ensure ES permanence (MINAM, 2018). Therefore, *Lomas* value has been greatly strengthened with the compliance of the National Environmental Policy objectives, allowing the creation of citizen networks for the monitoring of ecosystems and the incidence in political decision-makers.

Furthermore, a project for the "Conservation, management, and rehabilitation of fragile ecosystems" developed by the Service of Natural Areas Protected by the State (SERNANP), a body attached to the MINAM, and the MML through the Regional Government Program of Metropolitan Lima (PGRLM), took place under EbA approach. Its implementation has started in 2017 due to the financial support

of the Global Environment Fund (GEF) under the leadership of the UNDP program called "EbA *Lomas*". It contributes to the establishment of public and private conservation areas to safeguard biodiversity and ecosystem services and the environmental governance of Lima by strengthening the capacities (PNUD, 2018). Thus, after ten years of management and actions, the creation of the Regional Conservation Area System *Lomas* of Lima (RCA) has established in December 2019 which represents a milestone in the territorial ordering and environmental management of Lima (MML, 2020).

The RCA is made up of five subareas: Ancon *Lomas*, two Carabayllo *Lomas*, Amancaes *Lomas*, and Villa Maria *Lomas* (SERPAR, 2014). See Figure 3. This means that it incorporates only four out of twenty *Lomas* considered as nuclei because they have greater plant cover, presence of greater fauna, and greater predominance of green every year (Nieuwland & Mamani, 2017) with an extension of 13.5 ha (MML, 2019). Likewise, they have been recognized as Fragile Ecosystems by the National Forest and Wildlife Service (SERFOR) and registered in the Sectoral List of Fragile Ecosystems of the Ministry of Agriculture (MINAGRI). For the management and protection of fragile ecosystems against population invasions across sectors, the Interinstitutional Action Protocol was approved in August 2020 to articulate the competences of public institutions (MINAM, 2020). Regarding the financing, there are four investment projects in *Lomas* ecosystems for implementation, equipping, delimiting, and improving accessibility actions (MML, 2019) as part of the MML's budget.
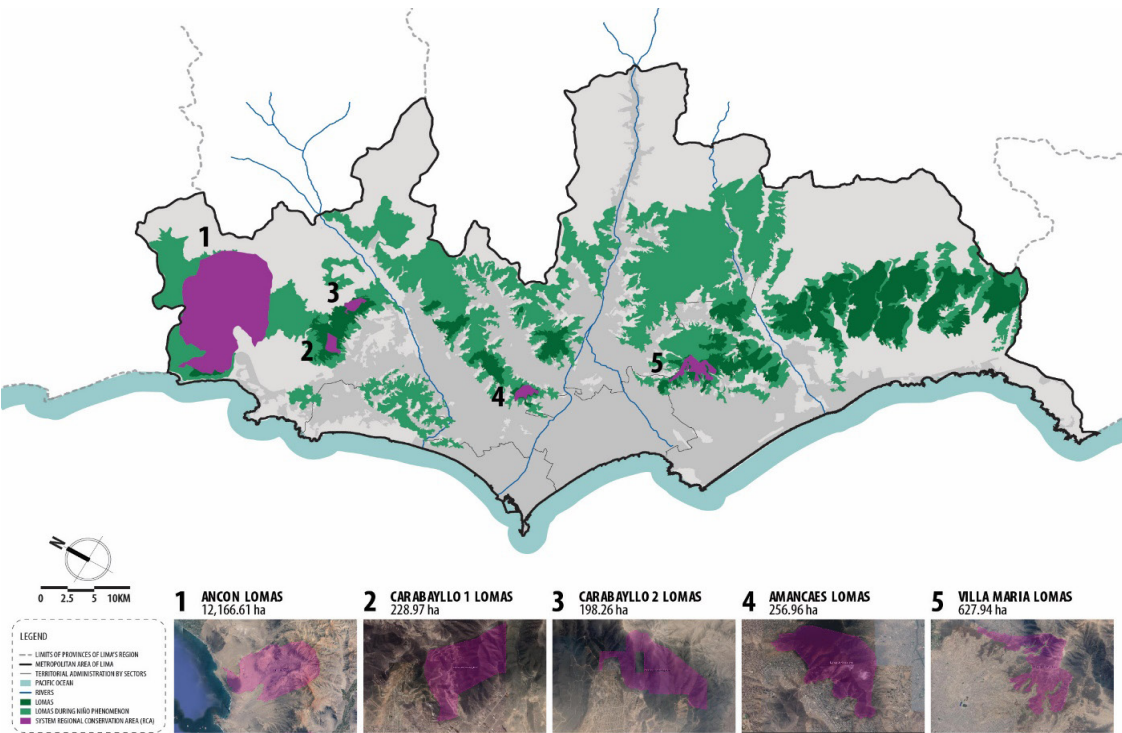


Fig. 3 – System Regional Conservation Area *Lomas* of Lima (RCA). Source: Own creation based on (https://geolomas.maps.arcgis.com/home/index.html)

### 3.3 Institutions and Community Participation

Under the premise of key institution's roles of MINAM and Regional and Local governments (MINAM, 2020), and despite the political will of the current metropolitan government to take concrete actions and establish the RCA *Lomas*, there were other crucial actors. The SERNANP by designing and managing the "Conservation, management, and rehabilitation of fragile ecosystems" with EbA's integration. The GEF for supporting the limited public financial resources for this initiative as well as conducting the project management to raise *Lomas* value among actors even covering the absence of the municipal government. The PNUD for its leadership by converging local governments, SERNANP, and other institutions to participatory planning and management for the conservation, restoration, and sustainable use of *Lomas* (PNUD, 2018). Finally, citizens' participation allowing the creation of an active defense network during three government periods like "Red Lomas del Peru" (Network of Lomas of Peru) that guaranteed the official RCA creation (Zucchetti et al., 2020). However, despite initiatives to generate greater dissemination of the ACR proposal, it has not been enough since municipalities and citizens do not have full knowledge of *Lomas* as a great value to the sustainability of Lima.

Since the RCA establishment, it seeks to manage with citizens, local organizations, and municipalities as key actors under the leadership of the PGRLM. This through the Management Committee as an autonomous entity of SERNANP to support RCA's management and dialogue. Likewise, the MML has implemented the Metropolitan Environmental Commission (CAM) as a space for coordination and agreement between the public and private sectors and civil society to articulate joint actions for environmental solutions. However, there are many challenges at different governance levels. At the metropolitan level, the lack of uniform borders of *Lomas* shows the poor transparency in the handling of technical information because it was requested by civil society organizations in 2014 to the MML without receiving a response, as well as little dialogue to consider larger areas of RCA *Lomas*. Likewise, at the local level, lack of environmental responsibility has been evidenced through the Sanctuary of the Vizcachas incident in Villa Maria del Triunfo *Lomas* from which the municipality recently reiterated his support when it could have been avoided at the time and saving several animals life. Furthermore, at the national level and after six months of the RCA *Lomas* establishment, the Congress of Peru presented six bills for recognition of informal occupations in Lima which also threatens the sustainability of *Lomas* ecosystems. Despite the Network of Lomas of Peru pronouncement supported by MINAM, Congress eventually approved a rule that extends the term of the informal occupation until December 31st, 2015.

### 4. Discussion and Conclusions

Over the last years, Peru has taken great steps by developing instruments for climate change management. However, many countries tend to articulate a theoretical commitment to EbA which rarely conducts into clear targets because it is unclear how to meet the adaptation needs of communities and ecosystems (Seddon, Hou-Jones, et al., 2016). *Lomas* of Lima is one of these cases because, in practice, there is not a clear understanding of the EbA approach and climate change awareness across levels of government although it is officially stated in the Framework Law on Climate Change. Since *Lomas* ecosystems have not been considered part of the Master Plan for Protected Natural Areas, its vulnerability has been sharpened such as the limited knowledge and progress in environmental management, poverty in peripheral areas of the city, the presence of extreme phenomena, among others (PNUD, 2018). The integration of the RCA Lomas to the metropolitan policies and management tools was key to start the establishment of a long-term vision for Ecosystem Restoration based on financial support and capacity management to sustain official actions in favor of *Lomas*. Certainly, it represents a collective achievement that shows the political will of the MML to generate societal benefits with biodiversity and ES with a CBA approach through local organizations participation. However, due to the rapid growth of the population especially located in the periphery, and the lack of knowledge and appreciation of the government to guide the population, these peripheral places adjacent to the Lomas end up being deposits of waste, also contaminated by the neighboring industries and mining. Besides, tourist activities take place without enough criteria for environmental conservation.

As a result, the quality standards for Making EbA Effective developed by Friends of EbA – FEBA, are very weak in the three elements at the initial planning phase. The first element of "Helping people to adapt to climate change" has very weak quality standards because updated climate information based on scientific data and models, and vulnerability assessments are needed. Besides, quantitative, and qualitative studies of provisioning ES and estimating benefits have not taken place yet. The second element of "Making active use of biodiversity and ES" has the most critical quality standards to restore, maintain, or improve ecosystems. Beyond establishing *Lomas* as a special protection area, constant monitoring is needed in place supported by the legal defense, as well as the development of mechanisms to generate evidence of the negative impacts of informal urban growth which have not stopped. There are still district ordinances that are in contradiction with the norms for the protection of *Lomas* and risk areas that are intensifying since there are no controls or sanctions. The RCA still does not have an intervention mechanism for the populations surrounding the *Lomas* which becomes more complex with the lack of official ownership of the RCA land by the MML. Besides, there still issues with recognizing *Lomas* delimitations by public institutions affecting the real area of *Lomas* protection to set up appropriate uses.

Consequently, there are incipient initiatives to generate ecologic corridors to restore ecologic functions considering aspects associated with landscape ecology, and thus, citizens still seeing Lima as a sterile desert city.

Therefore, the third element of "EbA as part of an overall adaptation strategy" faces challenges. EbA in *Lomas* faces uncertainties both compatibility with policy and legal frameworks and multi-actor engagement particularly with Congress of Peru and municipalities. Thus, documents end up being archived without adequate specialists, leading to the diminishing of the civil society, and community engagement that has been established as local defenders of *Lomas* and whose work is shared through social media for raising awareness. However, even if the MML has share meetings with local organizations, the agreements seem to take much more time to become into action while municipalities' participation gets more complicated as corrupt public officials still providing certificates to land traffickers. Thus, greater cooperation with other international entities is needed to strengthen ecosystems, both in financial, technical, and management support, as well as including the academia to generate studies and awaken more scientific interest.

*Lomas* protection indicates that the establishment and effective management to ensure services that contribute to increasing urban resilience against climate change needs and appropriate articulation between governance and EbA. It faces weak environmental governance and capacities due to poor collaboration and support, and disinterest in environmental issues across a range of government levels. To strongly influence EbA in *Lomas* into policy, authorities need to better understand and harness the social, environmental, and economic potentials that already exist in the *Lomas* ecosystem to achieve effective coordination and long-term support by legal and normative framework and institutions. In this sense, EbA *Lomas* becomes a relevant project because it contributes to training and strengthening of capacities like the negotiation for the adaptation of both stakeholders and institutions since climate change adaptation requires flexibility, multi-discipline, and actors to face uncertainties. However, these training are long-term processes and need continuity to be effective (Iza, 2019). Therefore, finding entry points into existing policies and legal frameworks is essential for planning and executing actions through coordination mechanisms. Even if emerging multidimensional structures such as CAM have been established in MML, nevertheless, there are gaps to cover like how to overcome policy and governance challenges that are inherent in such a cross-sectoral and inter-disciplinary approach as well as corruption in local governments, and lack of monitoring and sanction mechanisms.

It is necessary to develop robust studies that integrate all *Lomas* because to date four of twenty *Lomas* have been selected while raising awareness of good practices for the decision-making processes for better and effective management, planning, and equitable provision of ES. Thus, it is urgently required to define a

uniform delimitation, and a monitoring protocol, both against invasions and from different sources of contamination, and assessments for the real surface and the biodiversity to guide correct decision-making. The key responsibility relies on local governments, which without scientific criteria will not be able to effectively implement AbE. Furthermore, it is not clear the coordination of efforts between the municipalities when the Lomas encompass different districts. Therefore, given the slowness of the national government, local ordinances must adapt to this vision. Likewise, the fact of not accounting for a metropolitan urban development tool diminishes the potential to incorporate ES in multiple levels of governance. This through integrated spatial planning approaches and methods to stimulate coordination mechanisms by articulating *Lomas* with Lima as an open and public spaces approach while strengthening the conservation of its biodiversity.

Without coordinated, and collaborative governance, policies lose their continuity while weakens institutional coordination among multiple levels and sectors. Given the environmental effects do not know of administrative borders, it is time for Lima to think and develop solutions that combine nature and biodiversity given its richness in natural resources through multidisciplinary and holistic approaches and managing scales including a landscape approach. *Lomas* should not be threatened as isolated or fragmented initiatives, but as chain with deep relationships to other ecosystems such as the Andean mountains and the coast to foster protection and management of the complete area. Thus, land use planning processes should be strengthened to build resilient landscapes in conjunction with the planning and management of ecosystems and protected area systems. A new environmental culture is needed while raising environmental education awareness among citizens and institutions. Preserving, restoring, and improving ecosystems like *Lomas* with all stakeholders is, therefore, necessary to guarantee livable, sustainable, and resilient Lima.

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# 90  Barra Funda intermodal terminal as an urban centrality in São Paulo

RODRIGO MORGANTI NERES
Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo - FAU/USP

## ABSTRACT

The Barra Funda Intermodal Terminal was opened in 1988 and, at the time of its construction, it was in a region of São Paulo characterized by the presence of industries and low-density housing. The change in this occupation profile has intensified since the 1990s with the implementation of the large-scale urban development project Operação Urbana Consorciada Água Branca.

Today, the terminal has an expressive volume of passengers and integrates several modes of transport, configuring itself as an urban centrality. However, it does not fully explore the potential for synergy with its surroundings, whose current occupation pattern resulting from the diversification of uses and residential verticalization, demands a mobility infrastructure that effectively interacts with this urban area.

Based on this aspect, I intend to reflect in this paper on a renovation project for the terminal, elaborated in 2018 and not yet built, that faces its dialogue with the urban environment. Initially conceived with the objective of increasing the revenues of transport operators and stimulating private investment, the project meets this requirement not only with the reorganization of internal flows and the expansion of commercial spaces, but, above all, recognizing the urban importance of the terminal. With a conscious approach to urban and environmental impact, the project highlights the terminal as an element of north-south connection and expands its reach by proposing interventions that go beyond the building, such as: creation of generous public spaces in the accesses, expansion of green areas in the surroundings, new waiting areas, diversification of aggregate uses and prioritization of pedestrians.

Thus, supported by the transformations of the region and by sustainable urban development strategies, the role of the Barra Funda Intermodal Terminal as an urban centrality is reinforced with the enhancement of its function as transport equipment integrated to the surroundings.

**Keywords:** urban centrality, intermodal terminal, renovation project, Barra Funda.

## 1. Introduction

The paper begins with a brief presentation of the history of the railways in the state and in the city of São Paulo, explaining how the current metropolitan rail network took place and the active railway companies.

It continues showing the importance that the railway had in the physical characteristics of the Barra Funda neighborhood. While some urban characteristics from the first occupations remain, a process of transformation has been occurring more intensely in recent years with the consolidation of the large-scale urban development project Operação Urbana Consorciada Água Branca (OUC Água Branca).

Finally, after a brief presentation of the terminal's current configuration, it highlights the main architectural, functional and urbanistic guidelines of the renovation project of the Barra Funda Intermodal Terminal, with emphasis on the reorganization of internal spaces, integration with the surroundings, new uses and action plan for construction and operation.

## 2. Rail transport in São Paulo: from railways to the metropolitan rail network

The implementation of railways in São Paulo was the result of the cultivation of coffee that began in the first decades of the 19th century in the interior of the State. The rapid growth of the coffee economy and the difficulties imposed by the existing paths for the flow of production aroused in the imperial government the interest in building a railway network. The financial situation, compromised for high investments, postponed the construction of the first railway in São Paulo, which only materialized in the 1860s when funds were raised from English investors. The construction of the first railway, São Paulo Railway (SPR), ended in 1867, connecting the seaside city of Santos to the countryside city of Jundiaí, passing through the city of São Paulo (State's capital) (Stefani, 2007).

SPR was the main line of the railway network that expanded to reach other fronts in the State, accompanying coffee production. Other railways were built from the 1870s onwards, interconnected to the São Paulo Railway, which was the most profitable and had heavy traffic because it had a monopoly on rail connection to the port of Santos.

Besides the São Paulo Railway, other two companies passed through the city of São Paulo and, as the urban settlement increased, gradually introduced or expanded urban transport services.[1] The São Paulo Railway, later called Estrada de Ferro Santos-Jundiaí, crossed the city in the Southeast-Northwest direction and

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1  Known as suburban trains, it was intended for settlements far from the capital, since the central region of the city had trams and buses that covered virtually all transport needs (Stefani, 2007).

operated suburban trains since at least 1906. On the Estrada de Ferro Sorocabana the suburban service appeared in 1928 and connected the center of São Paulo to municipalities in the western region. The Estrada de Ferro Central do Brasil was responsible for the suburban trains that left the center and served the eastern vector of the metropolis (Stefani, 2007).

At different levels, improvements were implemented by these companies in the 1940s and 1950s, such as electrifying the lines, rebuilding stations and acquiring new trains. Such investments, although unsatisfactory, generated an immediate increase in the number of passengers transported by the railways (Stefani, 2007).

However, the stimulus to the automobile sector since the 1960s caused a fall in investment in railways and demonstrated that its renewal was insufficient amid the growing volume of passengers. From that moment on, the railway lost passengers and a period of low service quality and intense system degradation began.

During this process of stagnation, institutional changes took place. In addition to those involving the organization of companies and the segregation of cargo transportation, one of the most important was the unification of the railways with the aim of improving management, eradicating deficit lines, standardizing services, unifying technical studies and centralizing accounting and budgeting.

The national railways, including the Estrada de Ferro Santos-Jundiaí and the Estrada de Ferro Central do Brasil, were integrated with the creation of the Companhia Brasileira de Trens Urbanos - CBTU, which operated on the northwest, southeast and east axes of the metropolis. The state railways, including the Estrada de Ferro Sorocabana, were also unified on the Ferrovia Paulista S.A. - FEPASA, which operated in the western sector. The transport services had different conditions, as the complete remodeling of the FEPASA suburb trains in the 1970s and 1980s raised the quality, whereas in CBTU the degradation had worsened.

Another institutional change occurred in 1994 with the creation of Companhia Paulista de Trens Metropolitanos - CPTM. Under state administration, the company took over the urban train systems operated by CBTU and FEPASA. As remaining of the pioneer railways of the 19th century, the six lines inherited by CPTM are the main lines of the current rail network of São Paulo.

The creation of CPTM took place in a period of increased investment in public transport. Improvements were made in order to recover and modernize the infrastructure of varying characteristics, transforming it into a network connected to subway lines. This process resulted in greater regularity, reliability and security. However the expansion of the network with the construction of new lines has progressed timidly since then.

It should also be noted that in the last 20 years, the government remains the major responsible for investment in rail transport in São Paulo, despite attempts with the private sector to promote improvements and partnerships for operation services.

### 3. The urbanization of Barra Funda: from industries to large-scale urban development project

The last decades of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of an uninterrupted process of growth in the city of São Paulo related to coffee, railways and industries, which boosted the capital as the national economic center.

The wealth provided by the cultivation of coffee directed the investment in the installation of industries in the city of São Paulo. The railway lines promoted the initial expansion of urbanization and the railway system organized the forces of metropolitan expansion and, simultaneously, reinforced the hegemony of the capital as a centralizing pole (Meyer, Grostein, Biderman, 2004).

The areas close to the railway tracks were occupied by industries and workers' homes. Located on the Tietê River floodplain in the west of the city, Barra Funda is one of those regions. Crossed by the São Paulo Railway and by the Estrada de Ferro Sorocabana, it had a first industrialization outbreak in the late 19th century that intensified in the first decades of the following century.

The industries were installed in the floodplain of the river, to the north of the tracks. To the south of the railway lines, residences were concentrated and commercial occupation took place on the main streets, encouraged by the circulation of trams (Brunelli, et al., 2006). Some physical characteristics of the Barra Funda neighborhood came from its first urbanization and still remain. There are two urban occupation profiles: the south of the railway line has a better structure of the road system, with smaller and regular blocks, while in the north large blocks and discontinuous routes predominate.

This profile of urban settlement lasted until the 1950s. As a result of the increase in land prices and the decentralization of industrial production, the industries began to leave the neighborhood in the 1960s. From this moment on, the industrial plants ended their activities, leaving large abandoned areas in Barra Funda.

In this context of industries departing and slow verticalization, the neighborhood received the Barra Funda Intermodal Terminal in 1988. This transport infrastructure provided greater accessibility and introduced a new dynamic to the neighborhood, however, the immediate expectation of renovation did not materialize.

According to Nobre (2019), at that time, the economic crisis, indebtedness and budget constraints of the public sector were presented as arguments for the introduction of neoliberal ideas in the urban policy of the city of São Paulo. A slow process of negotiation began intending to promote partnerships between public authorities and private entrepreneurs through the implementation of large-scale urban development projects. These studies culminated with the creation of the Operação Urbana Consorciada (OUC) as an important urban fundraising instrument for the municipal administration to invest in specific areas of the city.[2]

The justification for applying instruments like this is to change the negative characteristics of degraded areas, attracting investments from the private sector and resulting in improvements for the community. For Nobre (2019), however, this process is full of contradictions, since in most cases there is a gap between the formally declared objectives and the results obtained. It can be noted, where these instruments were implemented, a cycle of growth in the real estate market and the allocation of public resources generally in favor of specific sectors, to the detriment of demands from most of society, such as housing and public transportation.

These aspects can be identified in Barra Funda. Attempts to make those projects feasible appeared in the City Master Plans of 1985 and 1991, however, it was only in 1995 that the Operação Urbana Água Branca was created.[3]

Still according to Nobre (2019), the objective in Barra Funda with the creation of OUC Água Branca was to transform the region and its underutilized land into a new front of real estate expansion with the installation of tertiary activities. To this end, road and drainage improvements were needed to make the area more attractive. Road improvements would enable new metropolitan connections, restructuring the fragmented local system and dividing large blocks. Drainage works would reduce flooding in the Tietê River floodplain. In order to make such works feasible, 1.2 million square meters of additional construction area was launched in the perimeter of the urban operation, with 300 thousand residential and 900 thousand non-residential.

2016 data show that, despite the sale of 812 thousand square meters of additional area, OUC Água Branca did not boost the desired construction potential and was unable to compete with the other two most attractive large-scale urban development project in the city (OUC Faria Lima and OUC Água Espraiada). Reinforcing the desire to attract real estate capital, the resulting benefits served a portion of the population, since investments consumed only R$297 million of the R$883 million collected, with the majority (79%) being spent on construction and road improvements (Nobre, 2019).

2  Currently, the main way of participation by the private sector with the consolidation of OUC is through the payment of a counterpart for the granting of additional urban parameters within the perimeter established for each project.

3  In 2013 a new law updated the parameters and transformed it into OUC Água Branca, enabling the participation of the financial market through the issuance of the Additional Construction Potential Certificate (CEPAC).

The participation of the real estate sector in Barra Funda resulted in the demolition of part of the industrial warehouses and construction of residential and office buildings. This slow process of decades has intensified in the last 15 years and continues in progress but has not yet reached the desired municipal targets.

The transformation of the region resulting directly from this large-scale urban development project was complemented by greater accessibility provided by Barra Funda Intermodal Terminal and the opening of shopping centers, universities and the Memorial da América Latina.

## 4. Barra Funda Intermodal Terminal: from intermodal hub to urban centrality

The Barra Funda Intermodal Terminal was built with the arrival of the subway in the region. Inaugurated in 1988, it also contemplated physical integration with the railways, replacing the two stations of the companies FEPASA and CBTU.[4] Unlike what was usual up to that time in São Paulo, where the intermodal aspect was not a fundamental requirement in urban transport, the building was conceived as a single large structure to house all the services that converged on the site (Neres, 2018).

The terminal currently has two train lines operated by CPTM, a subway line, two urban bus terminals (municipal and intercity), a road bus terminal, parking lots and taxis,[5] receiving around 600.000 passengers daily[6] (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 - Map of the metropolitan region with location of the terminal in the rail network. Source: (Neres, 2018)

The building was designed with a single roof that gives the terminal an architectural unity. There are two main levels. On the ground floor the platforms for trains and buses were arranged. The upper floor was designed for pedestrian circulation and provides the urban connection in a north-south direction (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3).
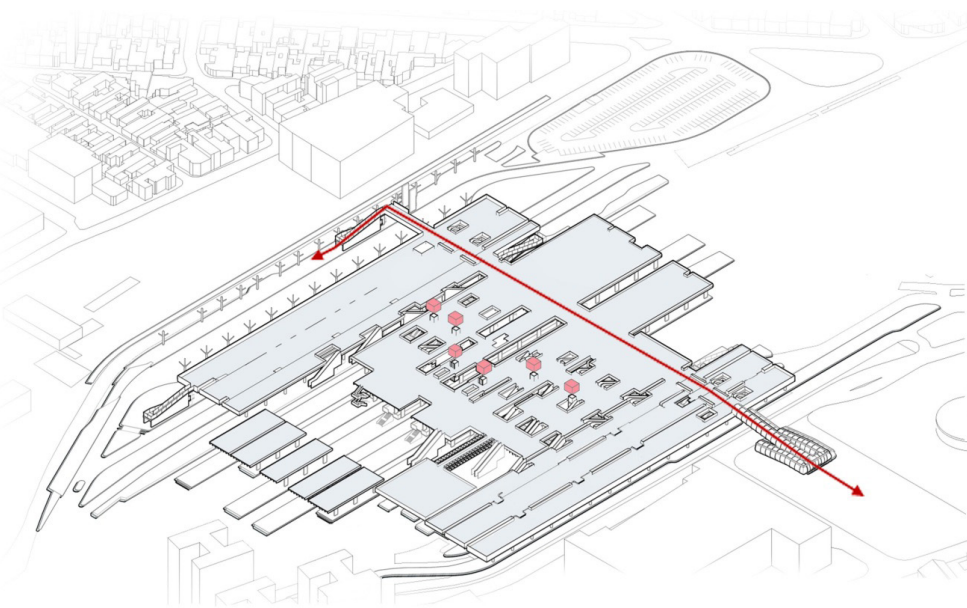


Fig. 2 - North-south pedestrian flow on the upper floor. Source: (STM, 2018)

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4   Two railway stations with the name of Barra Funda have coexisted a few meters away for more than ninety years. One built by the São Paulo Railway and the other by the Estrada de Ferro Sorocabana.

5   Rail transport, regulation of intercity and road buses is in charge of the state government. The management of municipal buses and taxis is with the municipal government.

6   Data for the year 2018 (STM, 2018).

Fig. 3 - Cross section of the terminal shows the trains and buses on the ground floor and the circulation of passengers on the upper floor. Source: (STM, 2018)

Connections to the surrounding spaces were limited to a small square and widening the adjacent sidewalks to receive the access stairs (Fig. 4). As in the interior of the terminal, the main function outside is circulation, which animates free spaces, but without providing opportunities for permanence.
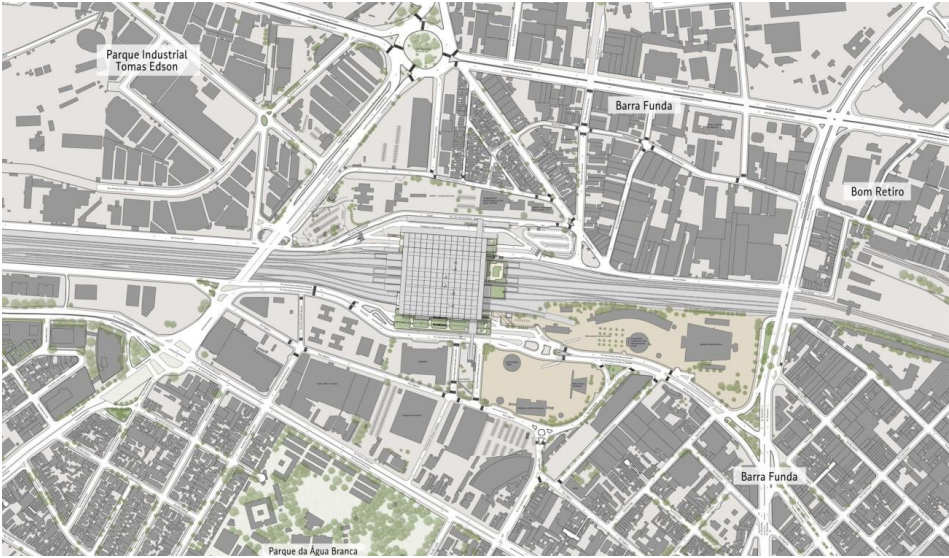


Fig. 4 - Site plan of the existing situation with terminal in the center. Source: (STM, 2018)

The square, connected to the terminal via footbridge, disperses the flow of pedestrians and allows connection with the surrounding equipment. The sidewalks also contain bus stops. As a result, the legibility of the terminal and its external spaces is impaired, since the small scales of the square and sidewalks in relation to the large building do not qualify them as transition spaces between the surroundings and the terminal (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5 - Square to the south and sidewalk to the north of the terminal. Source: (Neres, 2018)

The construction of the terminal brought as positive aspects the intermodality and the expressive volume of passengers. The equipment was configured as an urban centrality, however, it does not fully exploit the synergy potential with its surroundings, whose occupation pattern intended by OUC Água Branca demands an infrastructure that interacts effectively with the virtues of the Barra Funda region.

Based on this situation, a renovation project, developed in 2018 and not yet built, faced interlocution with the urban environment.[7] Conceived with the objective of increasing the revenues of transport operators and stimulating private investment, it met this requirement not only with the reorganization of internal flows and expansion of commercial spaces, but, above all, recognizing the terminal's urban importance.

The project started from diagnostics and goals on three scales. At the building scale, the objective was to reorganize passenger's flows to increase efficiency in modal integration. At the neighborhood scale, it was proposed to build up ties between the terminal and its surroundings. At the metropolitan scale, the intention was to reinforce its centrality role in Barra Funda. To achieve these objectives, some actions were proposed to improve the legibility of internal and external spaces, diversify the commercial offer and enhance public spaces (STM, 2018) (Fig. 6).

7  The project was developed within the scope of the technical cooperation agreement signed between the State of São Paulo, the French Development Agency (AFD) and Île-de-France Mobilités for the execution of mobility and urban development projects. CODATU integrated cooperation as AFD's technical partner. The project was developed by the companies EGIS and AREP and had the participation of representatives of the State Secretariat of Metropolitan Transport (STM), CPTM, Metrô, EMTU and agencies of the City of São Paulo.
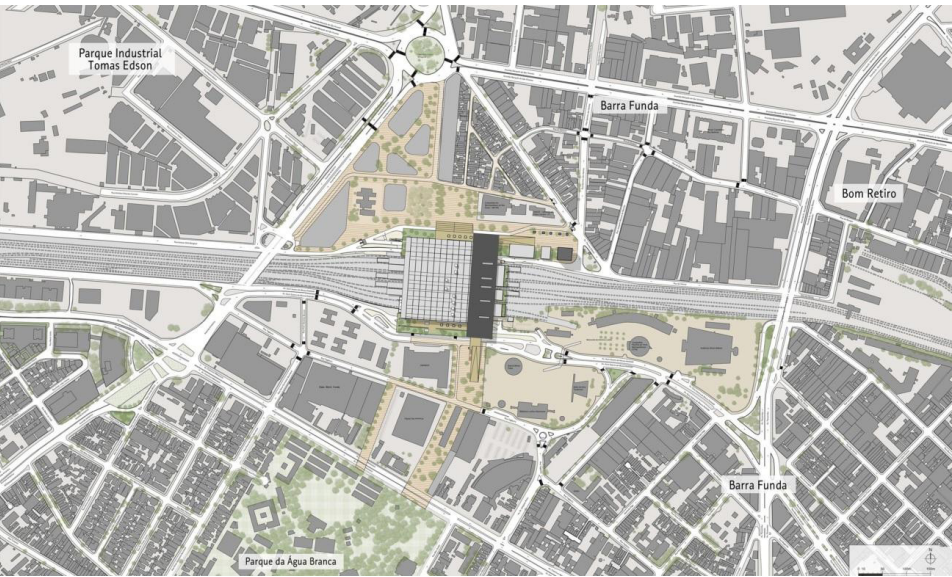
Fig. 6 - Site plan proposal illustrating the interventions in the surroundings. Source: (STM, 2018)

Internally, it was proposed the reorganization of the upper floor, aiming to decongest the space for passengers and improve the legibility of the routes. Also on this floor, a commercial area expanded the offer of stores currently available. These actions will make the north-south connection more comfortable (Fig. 7).
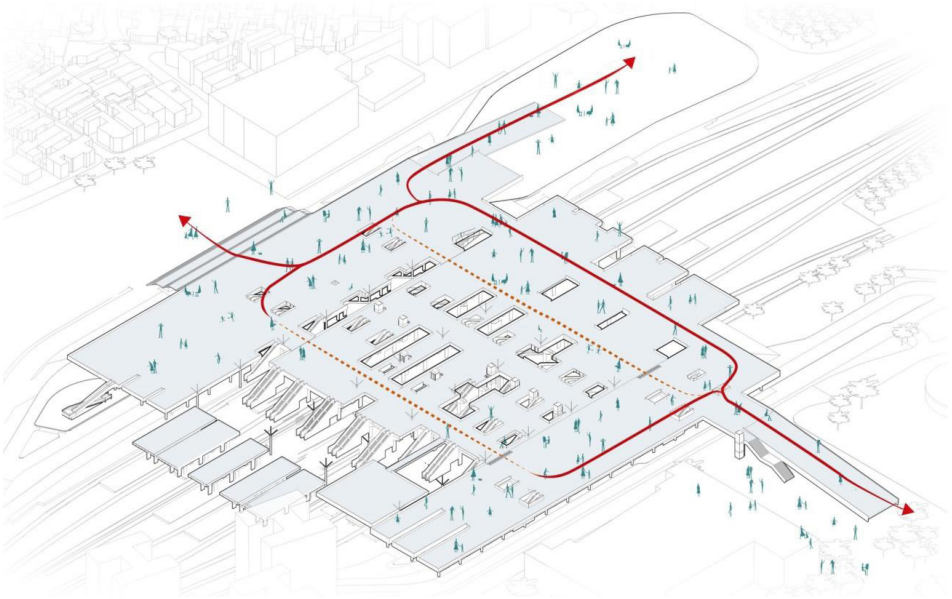


Fig. 7 - Reorganization of internal areas and new circulation scheme on the upper floor. Source: (STM, 2018)

In addition to the commercial spaces inside the terminal, hotel, offices and other uses were proposed on land owned by one of the operators to the north of the tracks, diversifying activities in order to make the terminal a meeting place (Fig. 8).
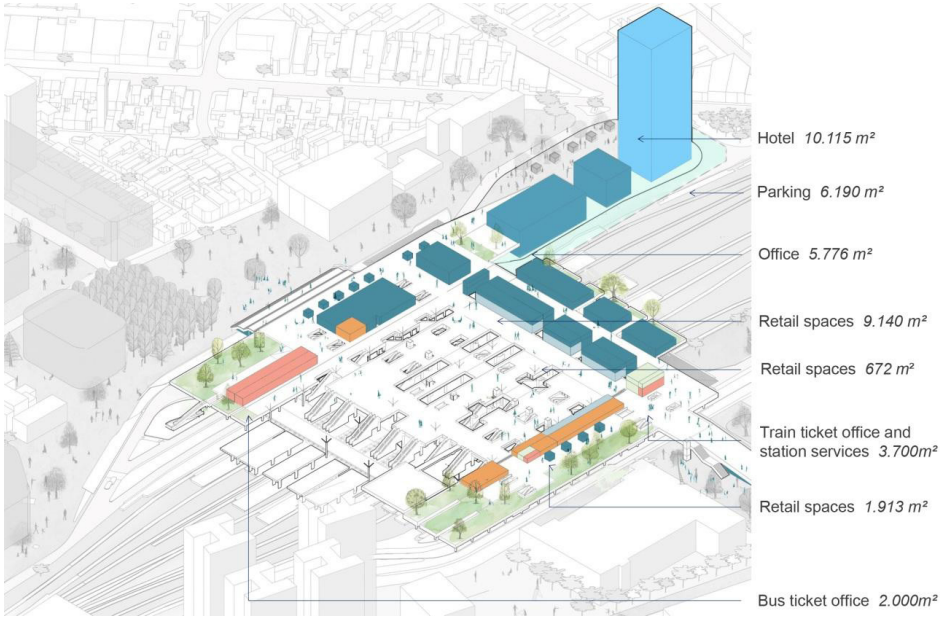


Fig. 8 - Proposed uses and respective areas. Source: (STM, 2018)

Externally, priority was given to the reorganization and requalification of the public space, in order to improve the legibility conditions.

The proposal expanded the intervention radius, creating or improving pedestrian paths and establishing a clear and progressive relationship between the surroundings and the terminal. Expansion of south and north accesses was considered too, transforming the narrow existing spaces into generous meeting places.

Real estate development to the north was also proposed to stimulate the neighborhood's potential. With mixed uses, it sought to encourage residential use to leverage changes and overcome the historically industrial character of this parcel.

This set of actions in the surroundings sought to open the terminal towards the city and, together with the reorganization of internal spaces and new uses, making it a more attractive urban centrality (Fig. 9).
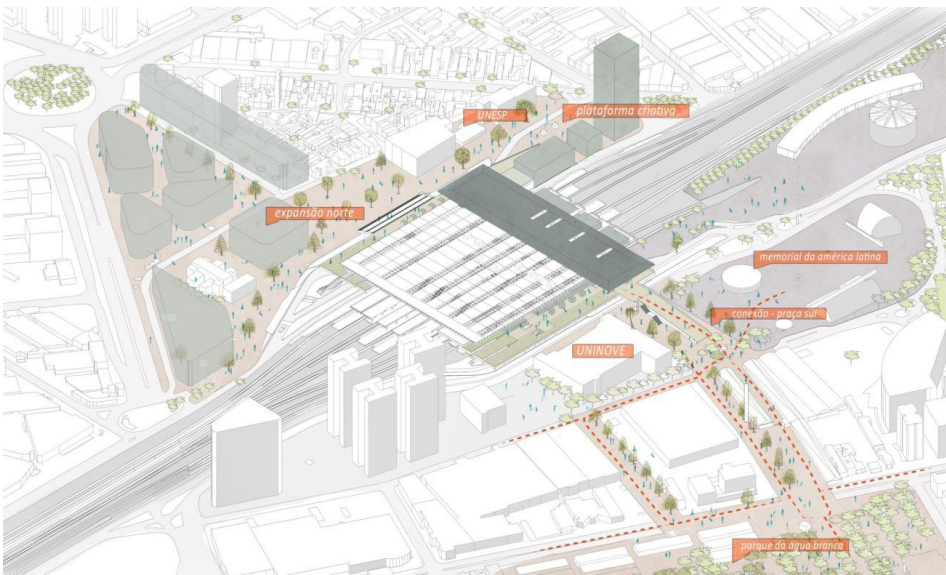
Fig. 9 - Interventions proposed in the surroundings. Source: (STM, 2018)

The study also included an action plan that presented scenarios, estimated cost and financing proposals.

The action plan started from three following premises: (I) to establish conditions for private investments and self-sufficient operation; (II) divide the project by type and size of business to: increase attractiveness, reduce complexity and risks and maximize the number of proponents; (III) enabling a gradual implementation, prioritizing investments with greater urban and social impact (STM, 2018).

To detail the costs for each stage and to establish implementation phases, the intervention area was subdivided according to its main function: terminal, public spaces and shops (1, 1' and 3); office, hotel and parking (2); and real estate development (4, 4') (Fig. 10).
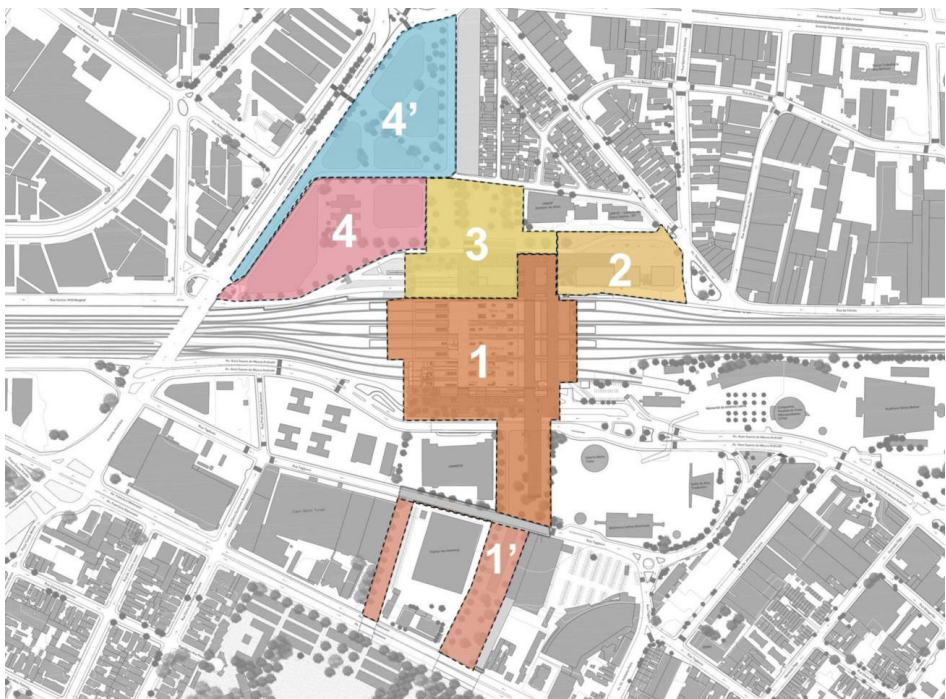
Fig. 10 - Subdivision of the intervention area. Source: (STM, 2018)

From this subdivision, three implementation phases were proposed (Fig. 11). The first included the transport hub, requalification of the southern and northern urban surroundings and construction of an office building. At this stage the greatest impact is the improvement for passengers, mainly due to the reorganization of flows and commerce, which initially already provides revenue collection. After this phase, the implementation of the hotel and parking lot was suggested, reducing the risks and attracting proponents with knowledge of the market. Finally, the last phase included real estate development to the north with mixed ventures that can assist in collecting revenue (STM, 2018).
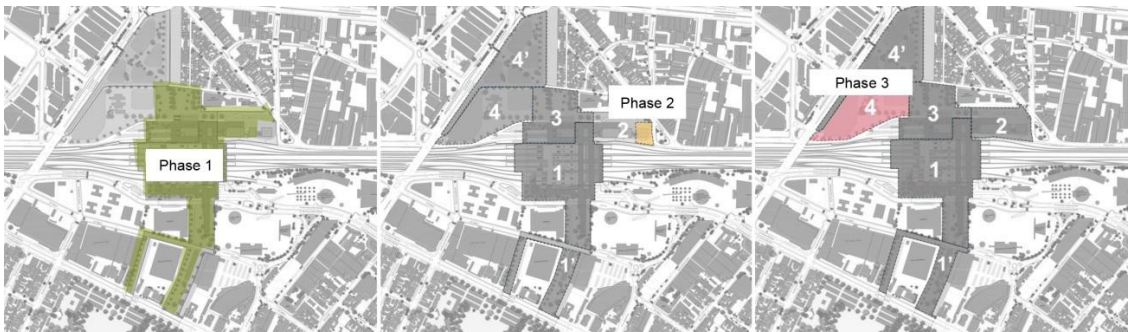


Fig. 11 - Three implementation phases. Source: (STM, 2018)

Considering a horizon of 30 years, the necessary investments and the complexity of structuring the project, the study indicated the self-sufficiency of the three phases. Therefore, meeting the initial premises, a private source of funds was

suggested to make the project viable through the contractual model of public service concession (Fig. 12).

| | CAPEX Million R$ | NPV Million R$ | Complexity | Contractual model |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Phase 1: area 1 + 1' + 2 (without hotel) + 3 | 278,51 | 298,23 | Moderate | Concession |
| Phase 2: area 2 (hotel) | 65,02 | 84,34 | Moderate | Concession |
| Phase 3: area 4 | 293,08 | 391,89 | Moderate | Concession |

Fig. 12 - Summary table with indications for the project. Source: (STM, 2018)

As it is a pre-feasibility study, it was concluded with recommendations for the next steps: to prepare a detailed study of costs and responsibility matrix; alignment with agencies responsible for environmental licenses; popular participation at all stages; legal and contractual modeling; check the eligibility of loans from banks and national and international development agencies; traffic study to analyze the proposed changes for the region; and market research on the commercial potential and studies of the target population (STM, 2018).

### 5. Conclusion

The evolution of the rail transport system and the urbanization of Barra Funda are fundamental aspects for understanding the renovation project of the Barra Funda Intermodal Terminal. While the metropolitan rail network came from the first railways built in the city, the current stage of urbanization results from the use of underutilized areas originated with the departure of industries.

The renovation project seeks to integrate the terminal with its surroundings by taking advantage of the urban transformation process that has intensified with large-scale urban development project OUC Água Branca.

In addition to improving the north-south connection, reorganizing the internal space and increasing commercial areas, it proposes improvements in the sur-roundings based on an urban diagnosis that is attentive to local characteristics. Counting on an action plan that validates the premise of participation of the private sector, this set of actions sought to open the terminal towards the city and, with an approach that considers urban and environmental impact, makes it a more attractive urban centrality.

The renovation project for the Barra Funda Intermodal Terminal also brings two

aspects that have been neglected in the city of São Paulo and that can be used in station and terminal projects, as well as in others large-scale urban development projects: the priority for public transportation in a city that historically has privileged the automobile and a conscious focus on the importance of public spaces with better connections to the surroundings.

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# 102 Weaponized Chagos Archipelago

## Strategic urbanization and environment fortress as legal ammunition against human rights

CHEN CHU
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

### ABSTRACT [1]

Building upon Tim Ingold's conceptualization of environmental outlooks ranging from the "globe" to the "sphere," this paper demonstrates how the privileged Western global ontology and technology can lead to the disempowerment of local people—confined both physically and ontologically within their "little communities"—from the management of their immediate "sphere" of environments. It brings awareness to that environmentalism, when misconstrued in practice, becomes means of fortification and exclusion, furthering economic exploitation and political marginalization. This paper examines the Chagos Archipelago in the Indian Ocean—in particular, its largest island Diego Garcia that is strategically urbanized by the U.S. military—which presents a coupling of military occupation with environment fortress that perpetuates indigenous injustices.

Following the 1966 so-called "exchange of notes"—essentially a treaty that granted U.S. military use of Diego Garcia for fifty years, Chagos Archipelago was "sanitized" between 1970 and 1973 with 1500 Chagossians expelled. In 2010, Chagos Marine Protected Area was established, following the shibboleth that, "bigger is better" and "no-take is the best." Acting as legal ammunition against Chagossians' claims for the right of return and abode, Chagos MPA sustains the romanticization of a pristine ecology that benefits few—according to challenges from the science community on its efficacy and necessity—but conceals coral mining, unmonitored fishing and other military activities. Generalizing Diego Garcia in relation to other military installments where similar blue- or green-washing narratives and technologies were constructed to legitimize military occupation, this paper suggests a reading of environment conservation in local "spheres" within the network of a global-scale engineering project while revealing its social and political implications when perverted by de-territorialized powers.

Keywords: Militarization, territoriality, marine protected areas, ecology.

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# 122 Integration, adaptation, reconversion

## Program Polis - Urban planning of the coastline and riverside facing the rise of sea level applied to Vila Chã and other cities

RAQUEL COELHO DE MATOS
Faculdade de Arquitetura da Universidade do porto

JOSÉ ABREU LAGE
Faculdade de Arquitetura da Universidade do porto

### ABSTRACT

The Polis Program - Urban Requalification and Environmental Enhancement of Cities Program was a program that allowed the intervention and requalification of riverside and sea areas, with the intention of creating a recovery strategy and creating action frameworks in Portuguese territory. This program pointed and developed actions that valued the local qualities and that still solve the problems of the community and the urban areas, in order to improve the quality of the public space and the riverside areas. In another parallel and recent program, Coastal Program (POC) that aims to set boundaries to the land use in order to protect the Portuguese coast has become a tabu topic to many for its rather strict way of acting. This program, which is considered controversial due to its radical and widespread form of action, proposes the retreat of populations in their areas of residence, resulting in a loss of human relations with the territory. This happens in "Praia" and "Facho", fishing districts located in Vila Chã, Vila do Conde, where fishing traditions such as the typical "houses of the sea" are at risk. Due to the increase in sea water level (predicted by the reports of the International Panel on Climate Change, NASA, etc.) as well as the aggravated coastal erosion identified by the Portuguese Environment Agency, it is essential to protect the natural and built heritage and communities.

Keywords: Heritage, Climate Change, Community, Resilience.

## 1. Introduction

Over the past few decades, we have seen an accelerated and unpredictable change in our habitat. The damage of natural elements to be made by global warming (predicted by the reports of the International Panel on Climate Change, NASA, etc ) and natural disasters, have to be calculated in the way we create city. The coast, which on national territory has 3/4 of the population, is one of the most affected, given the accelerated rise in sea level and coastal erosion. In an attempt to ensure the safety of communities, the Portuguese Environment Agency created the "Programa da Orlsa Costeira", a programme which, among other measures, defends the demolition of various buildings along the coast, which could result in the de-characterisation of the territory and the disappearance of communities .

Despite the growing interest in these dynamics, it was at the end of the 20th century that ecological concerns began to emerge on national territory and the first programs aimed at re-qualify and regulate the coastline.  As such it becomes relevant, to any future intervention or even to understand this new program, to study the dynamics such as those of POOC and POLIS. In the light of their differences and similarities or methods of action left by their legacy, their following program -the POC- will be analyzed and a et of strategies that suit it will be studied.

Focusing on the Portuguese context, in Vila chã, one of the critical areas to be retreated by the POC, it is intended as suggested by the title: to INTEGRATE new urban planning strategies, as well as the participation of the population, ADAPT the community and the territory, to the new risks they face, through the RECONVERSION of the neighborhood in a resilient place.

## 2. Regulate the coast - legacies of the twentieth century

### 2.1 The POOC (Plano de Ordenamento da Orla Costeira)

After calling into question the legitimacy of the territorial planning of the 1970s, which led to situations that put pressure on the coastal territory, coastal ecosystems, goods and human well-being itself, for the first time a plan that aims to enhance the Portuguese coastline has emerged.

By focusing on "the protection and biophysical integrity of space, the valorization of existing resources and the conservation of environmental and landscape values" (Agência Portuguesa do Ambiente, 2019) it will define safeguard, protection and management regimes through conditioned, prohibited and preferential uses along the entire coastline.

The POOC, acted through restrictions to the construction on the beaches, dunes, sensitive areas and areas of environmental risk, and to the bathing space through the beach plans[1] and included some demolitions or relocations, of which only São Bartolomeu do Mar was carried out.

### 2.2. From theory to practice - Polis Program

#### 2.2.1 The Polis

The POLIS, appears in a way to reverse the "expansive urbanism", valuing new centers of attraction within the cities and giving emphasis to medium-sized cities. Through "(...)urban redevelopment with a strong component of environmental valorization( ...)", "redevelopment and revitalization of urban centers(...)" (Ministério do Ambiente e ordeamento do território, 2002)  and support for "other redevelopment actions that improve the urban environment", initiatives are supported to enable "increase green areas, promote pedestrian areas and condition traffic."[2]

The program financed by the public sector but of autonomous management[3], aimed to change the consciousness of the population and of designers to act in favor of a more sustainable landscape, through pilot/model projects.

when in coastal areas it included the regulations established by the POOC[4], implementing "Beach Plans"; demolition of houses at risk or illegall; and valued perpendicular access to the beach (Melo, 2009), as well as protection works, and the stabilization of the dunes.

#### 2.2.2 Case Study - Polis Costa da Caparica

The intervention in this large urban area on the coastal shore has the purpose of ordering the urban agglomeration respecting and protecting the natural landscape and the execution of actions outlined by the POOC.  Of the 7 detailed plans, it is relevant to study the following:

In the detailed plan of Praias Urbanas it was intended to repair the structures of Coastal Defense (promoted by the POOC and developed by INAG and FEUP), enhance the quality of bathing use, guide and frame the demand for activities

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1  in interview to Engineer Veloso Gomes, made in June 22, 2019.

2  The programme defines a strategy defining the territorial urban dynamics of the national urban system in order to implement the strategic plan outlined by the PNDER (National Plan for Economic and Social Development) and the RDP (Regional Development Plan) where 10 model interventions aim to create a basic structure that can then serve as a reference to new project applications with the aim of making cities more competitive and more sensitive to the current economic and social landscape.

3  In which a working group establishing the principles and objectives of the Programme manages project applications as well as the whole legal and legal process and defines the appropriate sources of funding for each project. in CUNHA, Maria Inês. (2007) Participação pública: via de aproximação entre projectistas e cidadãos: contextualizando no programa Polis, Viana do Castelo, Beja e Costa da Caparica. Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto. Porto. Portugal. p.108

4  In the same way it includes other regulations such as the Transport and Accessibility Structuring Plan, for example in the Costa da Caparica Plan.

(mainly tourist, relating them to traditional fishing) and restrict access near the beach to pedestrians (limiting other forms of locomotion to perpendicular streets.)

In the detailed plan of Campo da Bola it was proposed the full demolition of the neighborhood that is in precarious situation to rebuild it immediately north. Its objectives were to create a more continuous relationship with nature and surrounding built spaces (interspersing them with public spaces between the housing area that includes buildings intended for rehousing within the PER program and the shopping area), to ensure the "intimacy of the local experiences of the neighborhood, ""( ... ) valuing the social relations of the resident population and respect for the ways of appropriation of the community space" (Costa Polis, 2003: 75), and its polarization through the new streets to the north and the nascent Neighborhood.

The conclusion of some detailed plans of the Polis of Costa da Caparica (2001), as the Campo da Bola, which was expected for 2006, was not possible given the high contestation of the population removed from the site and the whole complex process that involved.

## 2.3. The restructured coastline programme (POC-Programa da Orla Costeira)

### 2.3.1 *What is POC?*

The *Programa da Orla Costeira* (POC) aims to address the dangers inherent in coastal erosion that make the coastline more susceptible to climate change phenomena in recent years[5], reducing risks and integrating a broader view of the environmental heritage to be maintained.

This programme set out to regulate actions[6] by linking public entities, based on national strategic objectives that aim not only to safeguard natural resources and values, but also the economic valorization of coastal resources, ensuring monitoring and evaluation of coastal dynamics

The program aims to present itself as an innovative method of action that aims at more effective and lasting results through a dynamic of integration of several entities and the realization of a flexible management program, which is to be achieved through a characteristic "participatory" and inclusive assessment and monitoring model.

### 2.3.2 The *POC*: intervention methodology

Three types of rules are defined to regulate different with objectives and involving different agents. The General Rules are rules of a strategic nature that are addressed to public entities and must always be present in the elaboration, revision or modification of territorial plans[7] (Agência Portuguesa do Ambiente, 2019: 45). The Specific Rules define the actions allowed, conditioned or prohibited in each area defined by the POC that must also be included in the territorial plans (Agência Portuguesa do Ambiente, 2019: 45) of which the critical areas deserve special attention and are subject to one of three levels of intervention: Accommodation (aiming at feeding or advancing the coast line); protection (where population resilience is to be increased); and Planned Retreat of the villages. Finally, the Beach Management Standards.

Managed by a management body chaired by the APA (Portuguese Environmental Association) the POC subdivides the Portuguese coast into different sectoral POC (six in total), for which are proposed different methods of action adapted to each zone.

### 2.3.3 *POC vs POOC*

The POC is created to suceed the POOC, with the same objectives and mode of intervention, but with stricter limitations, and with more areas considered risk or susceptibility.

With the passage of the Plan to the Program, it became mandatory to include the demarcations in the PDMs (city master plan), directly linking public entities (and no longer private ones), replacing the zoning by areas to be considered (such as critical areas or areas of environmental interest)[8].

This measure is intended to facilitate consultation of the areas likely to be built and their uses, avoiding misunderstanding and contradictory information[9][10] and preventing non-compliance by municipalities[11].

5   In 2014, after the Hercules storm, the Ministry of the Environment commissioned a report from the Coastal Working Group (GTL) that would characterise the coastal territory and define the consequences of the worsening of conditions due to the effects of climate change in the medium and long term and that would indicate possible strategies, which would become the basis of the POC.

6   Applying safeguard regimes in an area covering coastal or inland maritime waters, as well as their margin/beds and maritime and land protection bands by defining risk bands (covering public and private domain) which are expected to be complied with in the medium term (as required by Decreto-Lei n.º 159/2012, of July 24

7   Aims to safeguard the Natural Heritage and the Landscape, the Surface Water Resources; proposes the economic enhancement of coastal resources such as port areas, agriculture and forests, and the reduction of artificialized area; promote, reclassify and upgrade fisheries; aims to develop oil exploration, develop offshore energy production from renewable sources, exploit offshore aquaculture and the upgrade of Maritime Beaches, as well as the promotion and management of sliding sports

8   As stated in interview the Geographer Vilma Silva, in July 17, 2019.

9   "(...) construction areas will no longer be defined in places where it wasn't possible to built" in interview to Arquitecta Ana Pinto, in February 12, 2019

10      Also the Architect Rui Mealha, in his experience of planning the coast of Vila do Conde under the Polis program, felt the difficulty in managing plans that contradicted each other, where he ended up electing the regulation with more hierarchical power. In interview to Architect Rui Mealha, in May 2, 2019

11      According to Architect Miguel Figueira this inclusion in the PDM will also prevent non-compliance as "(...)From the moment these rules pass (...) to a local plan with this link, there is greater accountability of local actors". In interview to Architect Miguel Figueira, in July 17, 2019

### 2.3.4 *Criticism of the Program*

"Undemocratic participation" is one of the flaws in the process pointed out by municipalities[12], adding the difficulty of applying the participatory system in a public, generally, poorly informed[13]. Also the validity of the scientific methods used to define the formula and each component used to define risk areas; as well as in the consideration of the "various scenarios" advocated by the POC as well as its adaptive model is questioned by Veloso Gomes[14].

### 3. Case Study- Vila Chã

The places Facho and Praia are located in Vila Chã in the Municipality of Vila do Conde, and are one of the critical areas to retreat defined by the POC. (AC34) It becomes a case to be studied because it is characterized as a community economically dependent on its location (by the practice of manual fishing and by bathing tourism), for its heritage of the sea houses dating back to the nineteenth century (which served to guard the caught sargassum, used until then to fertilize the lands), by the vast number of houses, which although in Water domain, are legalized, and population density. POC prohibits the construction on the margin (information that contrasts with the intentions present in the current PDM and ARU) , and indicates the possible construction areas and areas of adaptation to the risk (by comparison of the plans it was possible to identify that the possible areas where we could move the population at risk would be too far from the current place and demand some expropriations). The study of the place was made, through a multidimensional look, from the scale of the county to a SWOT analysis of the local context, where it was identified a territory with an uncharacterized public space and characterized by the lack of resiliency to the sea.

### 4. The Strategy

#### 4.1 The definition of a strategy

In order to define a set of strategies that would be somewhat similar to the way Polis program to serve as a model for intervention for risk zones, research has

been carried out on various projects and ways of acting in situations of environmental threat, which allowed us to summarize the strategies presented.

1.  Protection through "Light Techniques" in which the sediment discharges exemplified by the "Blue Dunes" of the West8 are inserted. In this proposal, objectives of safety and environmental quality were met and recreational activities were stimulated through the increase of the dune cord and the application of vegetation creating various types of dunes (West8, 2019).

2.  Or through heavy infrastructure:

    . using traditional barriers as walls such as in the example of the "Sea Wall" at Ocean Beach in San Francisco in the United States, where it intended to solve the threat of storms that dragged great amount of sand and water to the urbanized space through the construction of a continuous wall along the coast (Cubanatuan, 2015).

    . or by placing spurs as occurred in the example of the Espinho coast, where to stop erosion a large scale spur front was built (Dias et. Al, 1994).

3.  Resilience through public space planning including strategies such as:

    . the integration of permeable areas in the public space using the example of the BIG called "The Big U", which is based on a strategy of defense from the sea water through the use of the common space, and the "Weatlands" building recreational areas with vegetation, designing a strategy free of barriers and divisions (Rebuild by design, 2019).

    . the integration of water into public space through the example of the regeneration of Hamburg-Hafencity, where the definition of safety levels is used through the elevation of the public space locating lower risk functions for the population on the lower floors and ensuring that the city maintains the relationship with the pre-existing city (Hafencity Hamburg, 2019).

    . the integration of water into public space in a controlled way through the example of OMA in the project "Resist, Relay, Store, Discharge", through which, as the title indicates: it resists through the implementation of heavy infrastructure and vegetation; delays the advance of water through more permeable pavements and reserves it in water reservoirs and floodable areas and later makes its discharge (OMA, 2019).

4.  Resilience through solutions applied to the Buildings by:

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12 As mentioned by Ana Pinto, Architect of the Municipality of Vila do Conde. While not denying that there were several meetings, both for the POC's analysis and for the Munincipality's proposals, he states that the failure to take them into consideration calls the method into question. In interview to the architect Ana Pinto, in February 12, 2019.

13 "In the POC everything is coded and people just want to know if their house goes down or not, neither will they talk about global issues because they can't even get to the documents." In interview to the Engineer Veloso Gomes, in July 17, 2019.

14 The first criticism made by Veloso Gomes is that the time horizons defined in the POC (forecast for 2050 and 2100) cannot be confused with several scenarios, which would imply the consideration of various combinations of factors. The second criticism is that there is a dividing line between the areas at risk, which would be impossible if several scenarios were to be considered in the same way as the POC stated. The third and final criticism relates to the fact that Veloso Gomes once again considers that this is not an adaptive programme because it does not evolve according to the risk. In interview to the Engineer Veloso Gomes, in Jully 17, 2019.

. its elevation, as in the example of the elevation of the houses in New Orleans after the hurricane Katrina where given the nature of the pre-fabricated houses it was possible to raise them through *pilotis*, stone support walls or permeable cellars so as to let the water pass freely (Peck, 2008).

. or floating structures using the example of Factor Architecten for the community of Maasbommel in the Netherlands, where given their location on flood-prone land, fixed floating houses are built on stilts to ensure their stabilization and have created connecting walkways to the surroundings (Insteading, 2015 and Inhabitat, 2012).

5.  And finally, the planned retreat option through the displacement of the building as happened at Pacifica State Beach in California, where after the removal of three houses, the sands where naturalized with vegetation that protects the adjacent houses from future storms (Kershner, 2010).

**4.2 The application to the site under study**

Through the examples studied of resilience to the sea, the strategies were adapted to the place keeping elements that were considered essential for the elaboration of the intervention strategy: the conservation of its identity and the valorization of the public space.

Thus, these are the adapted strategies that, according to this study, best adapt to the site:

. Replenishment of sediment by fixing the cord through vegetation, which reduces the force of tides, and walkways that provide access to the beach and create new pedestrian paths revitalizing the existing blind facades facing the beach.

. Barriers with walls: raising the level of the pavements in the existing accesses, and creating new accesses, in Largo dos Pescadores.

. Integration of permeable areas in the public space taking advantage of the space to stimulate new recreational activities, raising barriers of dunes and vegetation and creating a passageway to a high level that overcomes the lack of pedestrian paths.

. Integration of water into public space by raising and subdividing space into 3 levels that distinguish different levels of flood danger: the lowest that keeps the fishing houses, the intermediate that has mainly shops; and the last where homes would be located and the main road.

. Water integration in the public space in a controlled way by the installation of barriers, which prevent the flooding of the lower zone redirecting the water to the floodable zone and underground reservoirs through permeable pavements, being drained later.

. Planned Retreat: relocating the population in a nearby territory, maintaining neighborhood relations making only changes so that it adapts to the pre-existing fabric of the place, creating streets perpendicular to the sea. The fishing houses would be kept in place and would be revitalized to support new activities.

The population included in the strategy discussion process showed a clear preference for solutions that would not intervene on the building and that would little alter the landscape as those that resort to the construction of walls, those that adapt the public space to the water in a controlled way, or those that create permeable areas in public space.

It has also been made a table that summarizes the main strategies for adapting to the impacts of climate change in relation to populations on the coast.

## 5. Conclusion

As the Chinese philosopher Confucius defended to predict the future we must study the past, and as such study plans such as the Pooc and programs such as the Polis, both embryos of an ecological thinking in Portugal, make us understand the motivations and ways of acting of recent programs as well as draw conclusions for an intervention in the present.

Just as Polis unwittingly served as a practical program of the ideas of the POOC, also in the present work have been created guiding lines of action that fall within the 3 lines of action of the POC regarding critical areas, based on various strategies that depending on the location should be adapted and reinvented.

For this to be possible, some of the same lines of acting where followed although altering some processes that where not so well succeeded. Local authorities as well as locals participation where included throughout the process and not in the end, simplifying information for easier perception by them, and we focused on other forms of relation between the territory and the population since the proposal to move away from the existing village, as we saw in the example of Costa da Caparica, constitutes a threat leading the population to despair often causing the process not to be concluded. As such, these strategies aim to mitigate the risk through a new design of the coastal territory and to identify paths and mechanisms for the production of spaces that can behave resiliently in the face of the threats of the sea, equating the local purposes of the population under study adapting it to the new conditions.

Finally, this dissertation aimed to open the discussion regarding the POCs and their impact on the coastal population in particular in the community of Vila Chã, in order to conserve their important human, material and immaterial heritage.

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# Track 5: Methods And Technologies on Architectural Design and Urban Planning

RUI PÓVOAS (CO-CHAIR) | CEAU – UP, Porto
JOÃO PAULO DELGADO (CO-CHAIR) | CEAU – UP, Porto
FRANZ GRAF | École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne

Usually, the need for promptness and cost-effectiveness propitiates the search for new solutions and methods, as these factors are usually associated with a willingness – from decision makers, designers, and contractors alike – to prove their suitability for the tasks at hand. As such, large exhibition events, by their very nature, are privileged occasions for the use of innovative design tools and building technologies.

The goal of the session call was to identify and discuss some main technological developments emerged during the design and construction processes falling within the scope of the conference. It encompassed Portuguese cases, such as those taking place in Lisbon or those comprised by the Polis Program, but also included other international examples developed during the 1990s and 2000s. Moreover, it was the intention of the session to welcome contributions dealing not only with building systems and technologies (e.g., structures and envelopes), but also with environmental technologies (e.g., HVAC and home automation), and with new design tools (e.g., software and other computerized processes).

Taking into consideration the final selection of papers, the session was organized according to a sequence that progresses from a single structure to the urban design scale. José Fonseca and Clemente Pinto, both structural engineers and professors at the Beira Interior University School of Engineering, present "Construction process of a pedestrian bridge in Covilhã, Portugal", dealing with the construction process of the celebrated passage over the Ribeira da Carpinteira. Part of the Polis Program for Covilhã, a hill town near the Estrela Mountain, in Central Portugal, the footbridge was designed by João Luís Carrilho da Graça, with structural analysis by Adão da Fonseca and Carlos Quinaz. The paper explains how the innovative construction methods used in the final solution differed from the one anticipated by the initial design, and how this permitted both a decrease of costs, on one hand, and a reduction of impact in adjacent zones, on the other.

Shifting from the construction of a footbridge to the refurbishment of an industrial

structure, "22 years later, what future of the south door of Expo'98, Lisbon (1994-1998)" discusses the challenges of designing one of the entrances to the Expo'98 exhibition, as undertaken by the team led by the late Manuel Graça Dias and Egas Dias Vieira. Written by Dias Vieira himself, together with Alexandra Saraiva and Inês Campos, the article explains the architectural and technological strategies used to transform an industrial construction of important effect into a building fit to fulfil a symbolic and functional role as access to the international event. Moreover, the paper ventures into questioning about the fate of the striking structure, now sadly unused.

As the name implies, "A new waterfront for Vila do Conde – the Polis Program and its technological aspects" is concerned with an area of broader dimensions. Here, Sara Mafalda Oliveira displays a plan undertaken by Álvaro Siza for Vila do Conde, a coastal town in Northern Portugal. Her first concern is to frame Siza's work in the general outline of the Polis Program, either in its physical and political aspects. As one of the Polis ambitions was to enhance riverside or maritime fronts, Sara Oliveira argues that these goals immediately set technological challenges related with the proximity of water. Some of these challenges are judiciously explained in the paper, using Siza's work as study case.

For the period that falls within the scope of the conference, the papers here presented form two different patterns. These were not anticipated by the co-chairs but both are complementary and relevant in many ways. The first pattern is related with the importance of leading figures of Portuguese architecture and civil engineering in the advanced use of building technologies. The second is the relevant role of Portuguese academic institutions and its researchers in the development of groundbreaking solutions, useful either for the planning or the construction of new facilities.

In short, even considering that the established goals for this technical session were not completely fulfilled, it is our opinion that the papers presented were, in its diversity, both in scale and technologically, interesting examples of the application of innovative solutions in Portugal along the 1990s and 2000s.

# 96    22 years later, what is the future for the South Door of Expo '98?

## Lisbon (1994-1998)

**EGAS JOSÉ VIEIRA**
Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa (UAL), CEACT/UAL

**ALEXANDRA SARAIVA**
Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL), DINÂMIA'CET-IUL; Universidade Lusíada Norte

**INÊS CAMPOS**
Universidade da Beira Interior (UBI); CIAUD-Lisboa/UBI

**ABSTRACT**

This project combined the desire for representation and symbolism characteristic at the entrance to Expo '98 with the recovery of an industrial structure of significant impact. With the creation of a support building at the base, simulating a shipwreck, it was possible to fulfil the requirements and integrate the Cracking Tower into the entrance. With this, the Cracking Tower has remained an effective memory of the area, and it should also become a privileged viewpoint of the entire new space open to the north.

In the 22 years after Expo '98, little use has been made of the building, and it has remained closed and without public access. We are currently witnessing an attempt to return this space to the community; however, it depends on the assessment requested from the LNEC on the structural integrity of the edifice.

This article aims to recap the design process and construction of this industrial structure as it was integrated into a building.

The goal is to return it to the public and, preferably, allow access to the top of the Tower. It is a striking building in the local landscape.

**Keywords:** Expo '98, Industrial structure, Contemporânea, future.

### 1. Introduction

In the south of Parque das Nações, there was a refinery tower, a legacy of the industrial past that existed in that place before Expo '98. Designed by a German engineering firm, it was built in 1939 as Torre TCC (Thermofor Catalytic Cracking), also known as Sacor's chimney and the Galp Tower. It was part of the Cabo Ruivo Refinery, playing an essential role in the manufacture of products from the distillation of crude oil, processing them into gasoline, diesel, and other derivatives. The transformation of this Tower for Expo '98 was intended to leave a mark of the industrial past in the territory of the future. Being the only structure that remained, it was integrated into the Exhibition in conjunction with Porta do Mar.

The recovery project was led by the team of architects, Manuel Graça Dias and Egas José Vieira who, in addition to adapting the structure by reducing its size, at Porta do Recinto, created a viewpoint space reserved for elite guests so that during the event they could observe the magnificent view over the whole Eastern part of Lisbon and Mar da Palha. For this purpose, an elevator was attached to the structure, giving access to a panoramic platform. (Moura 2019)

This project combined the desire for representation and symbolism characteristic at the entrance to Expo '98 with the recovery of an industrial structure of significant impact. With the creation of a support building at the base, simulating a shipwreck, it was possible to fulfil the program and integrate the Cracking Tower. With this, it remained as a tribute to the former industrial site. At its base were built some spaces that had different uses during Expo '98.

In the 22 years after Expo '98, little use has been made of the space, and it has remained closed and without public access. The CDS-PP Municipal Group proposed to the Lisbon Municipal Assembly, in its session on 12th February, a recommendation to the Lisbon City Council that (Moura 2019) promotes a study by the LNEC to evaluate the stability of the structure to gauge the possibility of:

a) Resuming the use of a viewpoint at the top of the Tower, after the necessary adaptation and conservation works for this purpose;

b) Installing, in the existing spaces at the base, support spaces (ticket office, cafeteria, sanitary facilities, among others);

c) Promoting an exhibition in the entrance area that summarizes the structure's past;

d) Integrating this eastern viewpoint into tourist routes, creating an anchor in the south zone of the City and linked to the project of the Interpretative Centre of Parque das Nações.

The objective is to return this striking building from a former age to the population and, preferably, allow access to the Tower's top. The built heritage of the City, in particular, that which symbolizes a time in the eastern zone and an urban conversion, recognized as an excellent international example, should, as far as possible, be occupied by its people and by those who visit us.

### 2. From the industrial past as memory in the future territory

Cabo Ruivo, in Lisbon, is on the Tagus river front, between Matinha and Beirolas. In this area, the Sacor/ Petrogal refinery was installed, along with other large industries. There was also a jetty of 300 meters jutting into the river to serve the oil tankers that supplied the refinery.

With the construction of Expo '98, currently Parque das Nações, this eastern part of Lisbon was rehabilitated as the Cabo Ruivo area was involved as part of an environmental program. The Cracking Tower was in the proposal for the South Gate of the Lisbon International Exhibition of 1998, with the theme "The oceans: a heritage for the future."



Fig. 1 – Sacor Refinery, Cabo Ruivo, Lisbon, 1940. (Leite, 2011)

The Cracking Tower is currently located almost a kilometre from the Tagus Rivera, a fact that can be explained by earthworks and the requalification of the land around it. Until the 18th century, the river reached its base. Associated with its location, in the area where the river begins to widen north-south to east-west, this Tower was a renowned landmark for anyone sailing the Mar da Palha.
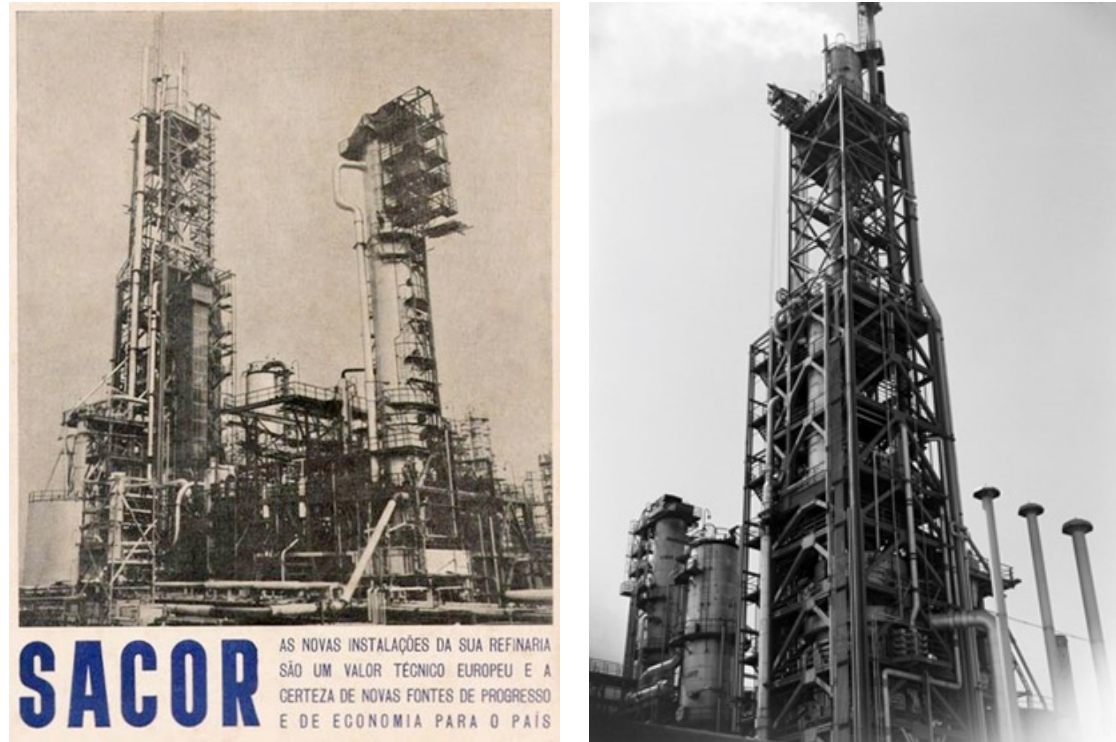
Fig. 2 e 3 – The Cracking Tower, Lisbon, 1955. (Leite, 2011)

It was founded on 28th July 1937 by a Romanian living in France, Martin Saim. The Sacor company chose Cabo Ruivo, an industrial area of the capital, to install its refinery, which was officially opened on 11th November 1940. It produced Gasoline, Diesel, LPG (liquefied petroleum gas), Fuel oil, Nafta, Jet fuel (aircraft fuel), Bitumen (for asphalt and insulation), and Sulfur (for pharmaceuticals, agriculture, and pulp bleaching). It had the first car fuelling pumps. (Santos, 2014)

This refinery was expanded throughout its existence until the Sines refinery started operating in 1979, which led to its decommissioning. It operated until 1995, after which the refinery was decommissioned and dismantled.

Vasco Graça Moura e António Mega Ferreira, within the Discoveries Commission's scope, proposed to the Portuguese Government in 1989 the challenge of Portugal to organize a World Exhibition in Lisbon.

The idea of Portugal's candidacy for the organization of a World Exhibition was accepted by the Government, and the Promotion Commission for the Lisbon World Exhibition, after carrying out several studies for its location – all of them on the riverside – chose the eastern part of Lisbon. The Bureau International des Expositions for the Exhibition proposed site was to be around Doca dos Olivais – where the Petrogal refinery (formerly Sacor), container depot, and the former central Slaughterhouse of Lisbon, among other industrial spaces, were located. The application of Lisbon won in 1992 in Toronto.

In 1995, at Parque Expo, António Mega Ferreira, at the start of refinery dismantling works, invited Manuel Graça Dias and Egas José Viera to recover the Cracking Tower of the former Sacor refinery, with the desire to keep it as a memory of the old industrial space.

Architecturally, the object – the Cracking Tower – to be integrated with new uses and meanings (bar and viewpoint on the roof) had the shape of an almost "obelisk" after being cut off from its interconnections to the old industrial mass. It seemed too slender, out of place, depressingly lonely and abandoned, decontextualized from what it had been – a useful object of industrial beauty – without knowing what it could be.
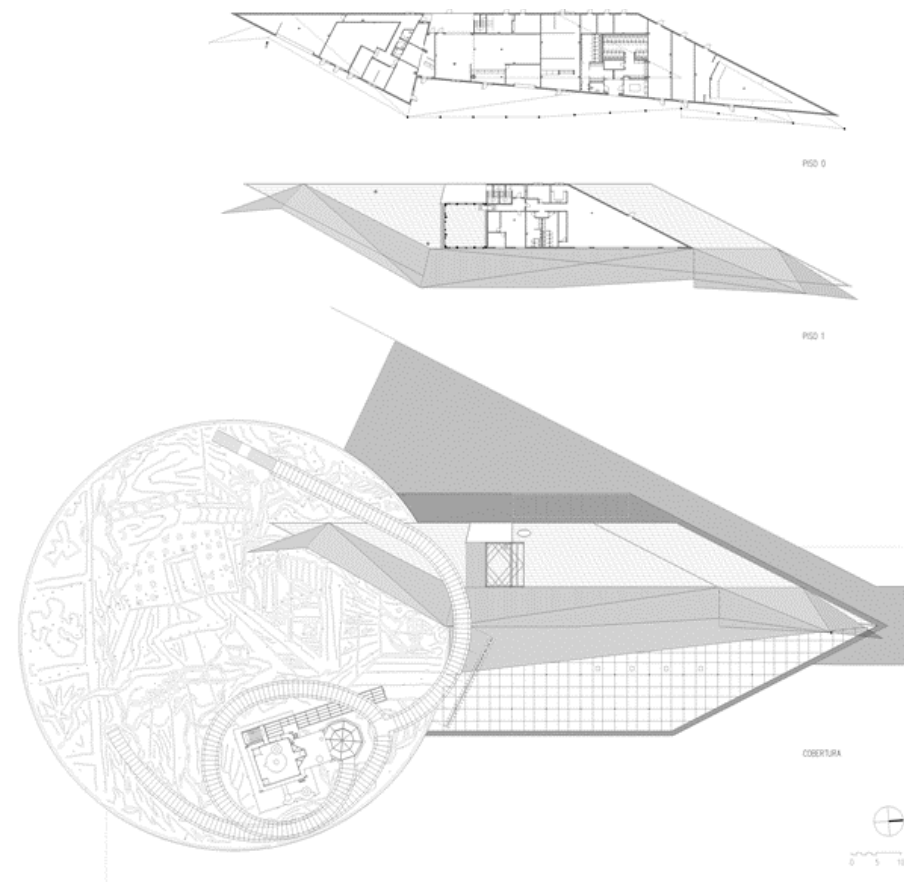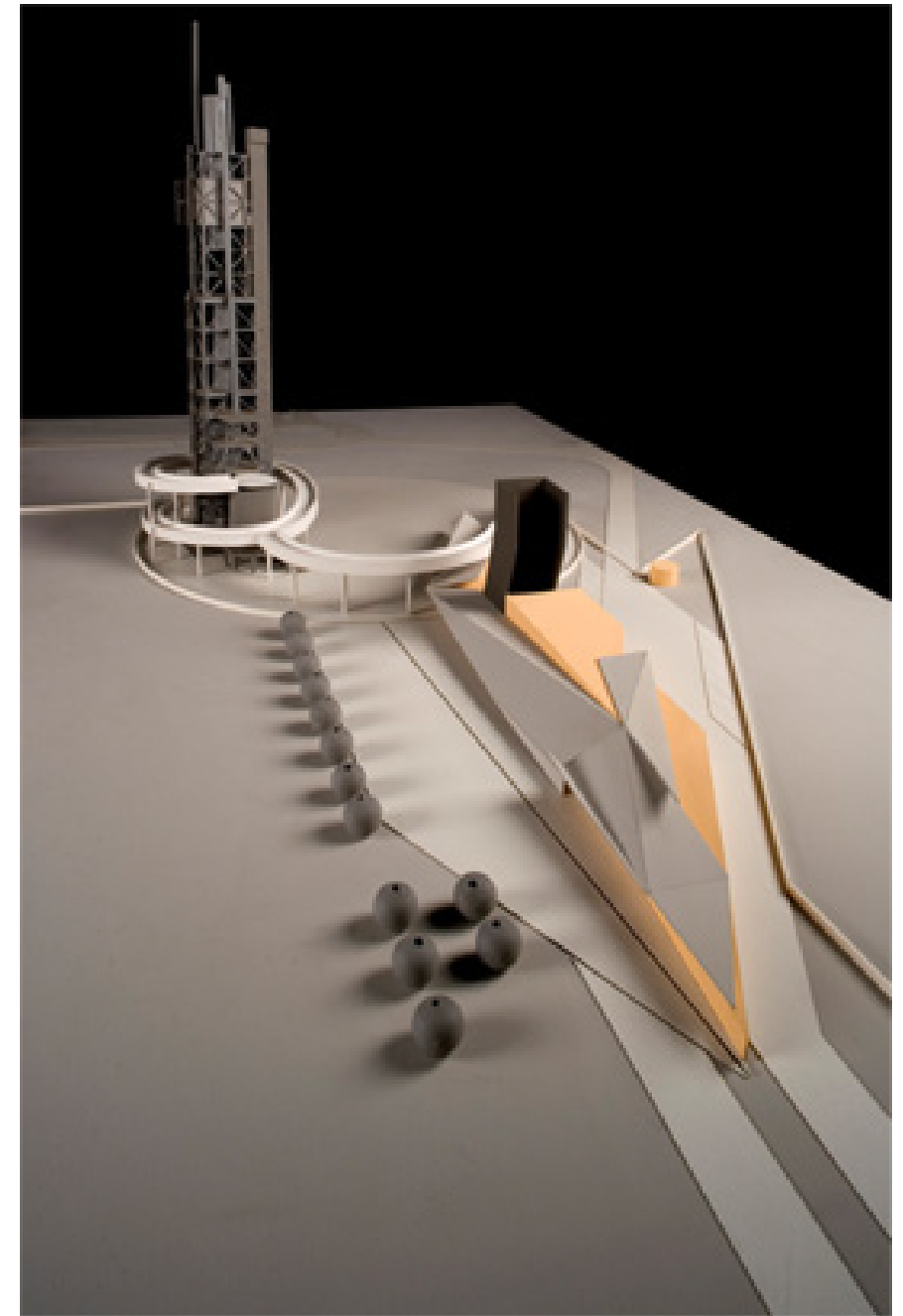
### 3. The south door of Expo'98
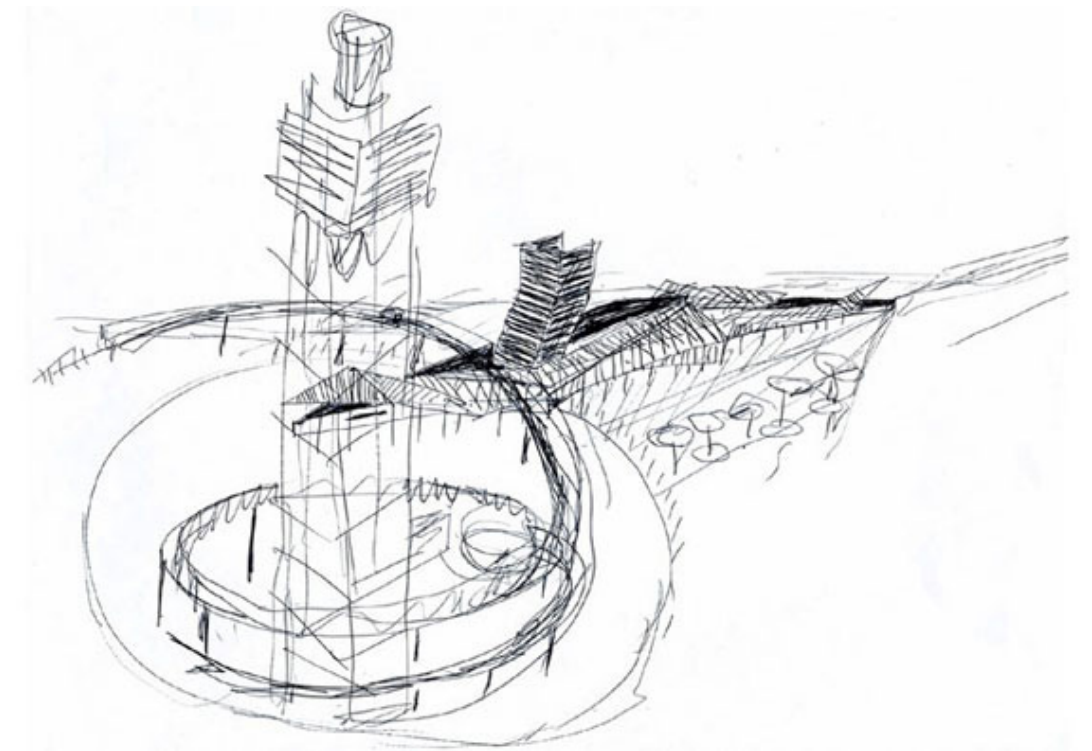


Fig. 4 – The south door of Expo'98, drawing by architects Manuel Graça Dias and Egas José Vieira (Graça Dias + Egas Vieira, 1994-1998)

With the construction of the Porta Sul came the desire to create a significant entry point for Expo '98 while giving significance to an industrial structure of historical importance. The recovery of Petrogal's old Cracking Tower would pay homage to a former industrial era while at the same time provide a privileged viewpoint of the whole new area open to the north.

Once the proposal to include the Cracking Tower was made, questions were raised. Those responsible for the initial constructions asked Graça Dias and Egas Vieira, if

they could tell them where to cut it. They were very alarmed because they still did not know the structure of the Tower well enough to decide. Despite that, the team decided what was to be removed, not least because they had already started the demolitions. The team encountered a distinct element, like an obelisk in the middle of nowhere, which made the architects feel alarmed because of the lack of a base to balance the entire structure (as we can see in Figure 2).

The team started to make sketches of the Tower to understand how they could fill this emptiness and restore the existing base to balance the object and add features to relate to the past. To begin with, they did not know what the program was, and they just knew it was to be the south entrance. With some conversations, Manuel Salgado and Vassalo Rosa concluded that the entrance would have to have support spaces for groups, guides, door employees, and a space for a bank as there were not many ATMs in that locality.

The idea was to recreate an element that looked like a train standing next to the Tower. When they realized that an avenue was going to be constructed in the future, the idea was to make a route that wound around the Tower and passed over that avenue. The main idea was that the support building would give shape to the Tower. At this stage, they still did not quite know what the walkway would be like, but they had the guidelines for two avenues that were designed in the project for the area. In the first phase, they tried to understand the areas destined for the support service and the space that would occupy the Tower's walkway and the avenue.

The project was developed starting from the central and diagonal avenues, supporting the Urbanization Plan (PU) of Manuel Salgado, of not being centred and symmetrical with the sidewalks and also the South Detailed Plan (PP3) developed by Troufa Real.

The team tried to develop a narrative that would support the Cracking Tower, retaining part of the old body and wrapping it with a walkway.

The walkway has two moments: the first level of inflexion was raised so that as it wrapped itself around the tower, it passed over the avenue, and ended with standard stairs and, in time, an elevator; and the second allowed to climb around the tower which ended at the first viewpoint, on top of the first cylinder.

To achieve this overlap of the walkway without a pillar from top to bottom in the overlapping area, project engineer Tiago Abecassis used a larger span, and the pillars were positioned in a very simple way that solved the problem and allowed them to be slender in their design.

The idea of the walkway was to make it appear contradictory, almost fragile,

made of glass, radiating inner light, marking the movement, designed with a metallic structure with two compounds, which made the bridge more coherent than if they had used reinforced concrete.

Thus, the loop of white fluorescent light draws, through its practical use, a pedestrian bridge in opaline glass, making it a doubly symbolic moment: arch, door - during and after the Exhibition - but also a foundation for the Tower. The passage is a pretext, a shroud to the Tower that brings it closer as one that observes it, a climb that gradually gains quota and sees a bit of the city lit up in the distance.

The walkway was made of a radial structure, and the glass was cut small in size to make the curves and give the effect of an almost perfect angle. On top of the cylinder, a new floor was created where the walkway to the lowest viewpoint began. The team had to increase the elevation and the existing stairs that did not reach the tower's top where the main view had to be. In the beginning, there was only a back-breaking staircase to reach the top. The Coffee shop proposed under the cylinder at the top of the tower - designed with the dimensions of the existing structure between two crosses of the structure above and below the coffee shop, extended with the same design of the storage cylinder, to give the idea that there was no intervention.

The Coffee shop box was made of glass with a few brise-soleil to control the sun on the south side. The top cylinder had an elevator that led to the WC, and the bottom cylinder was the kitchen, which had an elevating dishwasher.

On the ground floor of the tower, at the base of the cylinder that housed the first viewpoint, the architects proposed to use the space as a support area.

Proposing around the counter that surrounded the cylinder with a smaller dimension, they took advantage of having concrete pillars that defined the Expo's access gates.

They took advantage of the elevated base to respond to the program and created an arm facing the cylinder with the same image as the elevator, with rooms and a toilet for security guards, a garbage house, and a security cabin.

Fig. 5 – The south door of Expo´98, architectural plans by architects Manuel Graça Dias and Egas José Vieira (Graça Dias + Egas Vieira, 1994-1998)

The initial shape of the main building of the door still did not have the ideal design, so it was redesigned according to the visual relations of the avenues, and conceptually, they tried to compare it to a stranded boat, refining the shape according to some alignments, circulations and functions spaces. They proposed some blades to shade the support building.

The door construction program was divided into two parts, the outer part of the Expo, which was reserved for the bank branch, points that connected to the outside for ticket sales and information points, and the inner part of the Expo; inside, there was a service area with a bathroom for visitors, a support room for groups to receive information and surveillance services and security rooms. Upstairs, there were changing rooms and toilets for workers. And on this floor was the tower where the name Porta do Mar was located. The building was built in masonry with an inverted roof covered with salmon-coloured concrete slabs.



Fig. 6 – The south door of Expo´98, model by architects Manuel Graça Dias and Egas José Vieira (photo by Graça Dias + Egas Vieira, 1994-1998)

The building contained three squares that defined the different spaces: the tower square, the door square, and the service square. The tower square was outside the Expo, the door square referred to the entrance building, and the service square was exclusive to Expo workers.

The Tower with the name initially was going to be covered with wood. First, it was going to have the name of the Port SUD, Gate SOUTH, and Puerta SUR. The

structure was to be in wood, and the letters were also to be made of wood that came out to make a 3D effect. However, at the contractor's request, the wood was replaced by metal, which was faster and more straightforward to construct, and in terms of maintenance would be simpler and more manageable. Then the name changed to Port MAR, and the words were SEA, MAR and MER.

The Graphic Designer Filipe Alarcão designed a profiled chimney with the name of Porta do Mar, Sea, Mer.



Fig. 7 – The south door of Expo´98, letter design by designer Filipe Alarcão
(photo by Graça Dias + Egas Vieira, 1994-1998)

They invited Pedro Calapez to design the square's pavement. The project was carried out in basalt and built in dark grey granite and white limestone. To prepare the drawing for the work, it was necessary to make multiple grids of scans to start the more detailed work. The circle had a radius of 44 meters. Where the building existed, the floor was white to remind people of the building's existence after it was dismantled. The complete paving of the square was only accomplished in 2000.

Pedro Calapez's surface plan established a recognizable board that unifies the whole and slows down the movement of cars. It was composed of almost abstract pieces whose absolute sense could only be understood by the aerial view over the



Fig. 8 e 9 – The south door of Expo´98, pavement design by Pedro Calapez
(image and photo Graça Dias + Egas Vieira, 1994-1998)

The Tower did not have the expected impact, and its use was very restricted, and it was left to those who initially planned it. Few people went up to the lookout; the Coffee shop ended up not being built because the work at height was costly, and the work was delayed.

During the exhibition period, the elevator ended up being acquired by Galp, being used only by this brand's guests. After the Expo, when the support building was dismantled, the Expo administration decided that the door's name should remain, creating a foundation, like a memory from the past.

We also await the viewpoint's opening at the top, a significant pretext for the strategic operation that resulted from this proposal.

### 4. The permanence and life of the South door of Expo '98

After major World Exhibitions, there are usually difficulties in reconverting spaces, in guaranteeing a new life for the various buildings and structures constructed. There are examples worth mentioning, such as was the case with the Seville Exhibition in 1992, where the central space was converted into an amusement park for the City.

Parque Expo intended to return all the space to the City and transform it into a new area of expansion for the City, taking advantage of most buildings and structures. Converting some (FIL - Feira Internacional de Lisboa, Casino Lisboa) and using others (Lisbon Oceanarium, Knowledge Museum, Teatro Camões, Altice Arena, The Nations Park Gondola Lift, Vasco da Gama Bridge, Vasco da Gama Mall, Marina Parque das Nações) in addition to the proposed Housing Plan built since the beginning of Parque Expo development, to the present day.

However, we witnessed specific errors, such as the case of the Portugal Pavilion, an iconic work by Siza Vieira that has never been able to find a use and has remained closed since the end of the Exhibition.



Fig. 10 – The south door of Expo´98, currently Parque das Nações
(photo by Fernando Guerra | FG+SG)

The South door located between the buildings on the south side of Parque das Nações, the urbanization, built in the wake of Expo '98, was for decades one of the industrial area's symbols that disappeared definitively after the 1998 World Exhibition. Five years earlier, when the refinery's closure had already been announced, the hypothesis that the old oil tower received the Petroleum Museum was advanced, but the initiative never got off the ground. It would end, within the scope of the regeneration process of that riverside area of the capital and, according to the website of the Lisbon City Council (CML), for being "recovered by the architects Manuel Graça Dias and Egas José Vieira, to preserve the memory of the time when the Expo '98 site was a refinery of Petroleum".

In the 22 years after the World Exhibition, little use was made of the space, and it remains closed and without public access.

The last event it hosted took place on 1st October 2016, when ACIPN - Associação Cidade Imaginada Parque das Nações, organized, in partnership with Parque Expo, a visit of its members and the media. About seventy participants observed that the Tower was safe during this visit, with only a few rust marks that needed maintenance, although the elevator was broken and vandalized.

It is this situation that the president of the Parish Council of Parque das Nações, José Moreno, wants to reverse. To *Diário de Notícias* (Banha, 2016), José Moreno confirms the news advanced by the online publication *O Corvo* that the municipality has received contacts from several entities that would like to boost the Galp Tower.
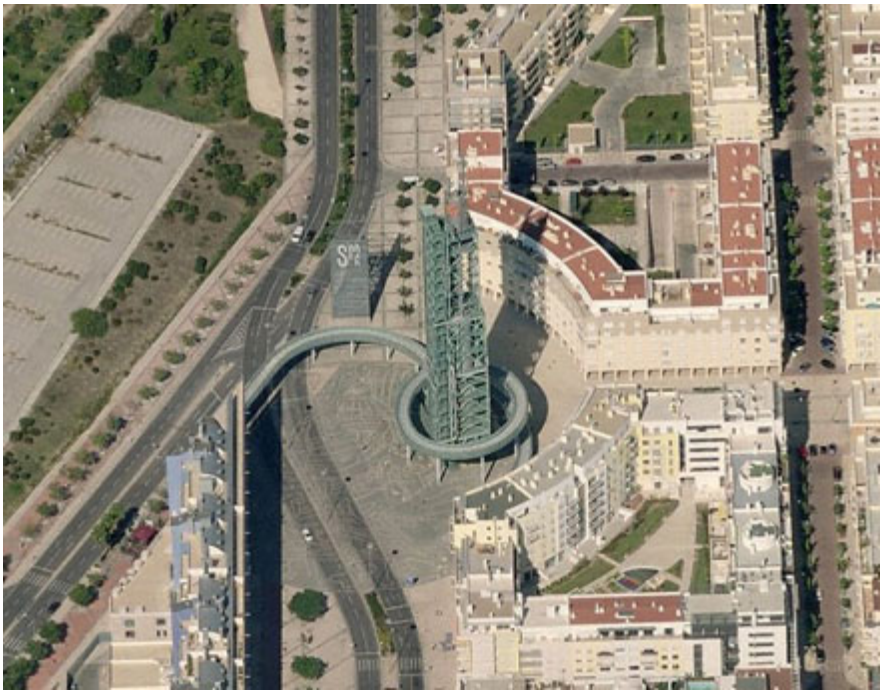


Fig. 11 – The south door of Expo´98, currently Parque das Nações
(photo by Graça Dias + Egas Vieira, 1994-1998)

The problem, according to José Moreno, is that despite the urban management of Parque das Nações having been transferred, in December 2012, from Parque Expo to CML, the structure remains in possession of the society responsible for the design, organization, and execution of the contents and all the space, infrastructures and equipment of Expo '98, explicitly created for this purpose. The parish council's president intends that the Galp Tower also passes to the municipality's authority and that its management is delegated to the parish council he presides over. Diário de Notícias refers in his article that its journalists tried, without success, to contact Parque Expo for further clarification. At that time, José Moreno said that young entrepreneurs and publishers would like, respectively, to install design spaces and book sales kiosks and added that "the parish council itself has projects that it could develop there".

In 2018, the extinction of Parque Expo, SA, was transferred to the Municipality of Lisbon domain, under the provisions of Decree-Law No. 67/2018 of 17th August, which defines the terms and effects resulting from the extinction.

Despite the requests, this building remained closed to the public and unused. On 12th February 2018, at the Lisbon Municipal Assembly session, the CDS-PP Municipal Group proposed to the Lisbon City Council to promote a study to assess the stability of the structure by LNEC. Thus, to evaluate the possibility of resuming the use of a viewpoint at the top of the Tower, proceeding with the necessary adaptation and conservation works for this purpose; installing, in the existing spaces at the base, support spaces (ticket office, cafeteria, sanitary facilities, among others); promoting an exhibition, in the entrance area, which summarizes the structure's past; and at the same time integrating the viewpoint space in tourist routes creating an anchor in the south area of this Parish and linking it to the Parque das Nações Interpretative Centre project.

Diogo Moura justified, "The built heritage of the City, in particular, that which symbolizes a time in the eastern zone and an urban conversion, recognized as a good international example, should, as far as possible, be occupied by its people and by those who visit us, as is the case with the structure in question."

Subsequently, on 29th June 2019, the political party *Os Verdes* demanded clarification about the former Galp Refinery Tower's future in Parque das Nações. The Lisbon City Council's request is to follow a Municipal Assembly's recommendation that the Tower could be used as a viewpoint.

Furthermore, since that date, the future of this building has not yet been decided. Perhaps this article can underline the need to reconvert this building to allow its use, underlining the importance of the Galp Tower's memory existing south of Parque das Nações, as a living testimony of the first Portuguese refinery and the first steps of refining in Portugal - the Cabo Ruivo Refinery. Built in 1939, in Lisbon,

it was recognized by the "eternal flame," the memory of industrial space, more than a monument of industrial archaeology; it is a symbol that is part of the identity of the territory and, as such, it is crucial to defend and preserve.

## Acknowledgements

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# 116  The construction process of a pedestrian bridge in Covilhã, Portugal

JOÃO FONSECA
University of Beira Interior

CLEMENTE PINTO
University of Beira Interior

## ABSTRACT

The construction process of large pedestrian bridges is an important option in the design stage to avoid major reformulation of the concept at later stages of the project.

Conceiving an appropriate solution to the construction of a bridge is a task usually associated with the concept of "Engineering". In a broader sense, the solutions result from teamwork, involving architects and builders.

The article deals with aspects of the construction process of a pedestrian bridge over the Ribeira da Carpinteira in Covilhã, Portugal, which opened to the public in 2009. In that case, the adopted construction process was not the one foreseen in the initial design, but a solution found in the construction phase. The innovative solution can be adopted in cases of construction high above de ground.

The constructor that won the tender invited the University of Beira Interior for technical support, which allowed him to present a more advantageous proposal than that of the other competitors, namely regarding vibration control and construction process.

The bridge has a metal deck about 220 m long between abutments, with 4 intermediate pillars (Hmáx=40 m), defining 5 spans (Lmáx=49 m). In plan view, the bridge presents two curves of small radius that characterize the architecture of the structure.

The initially defined construction process, using heavy lifting cranes, was replaced by a more engineered alternative, using lightweight means to build the irregular deck, subdivided into three parts. The 75 m long central part was lifted with two

light jacks from the top of pillars. The other two parts were launched from the abutments.

The process described in the paper permitted a reduction of costs, having been more adjusted to the difficult orographic conditions. As a general contribution, the paper shows how solutions using simple engineering principles and tools can be useful in the construction process of structures like pedestrian bridges, reducing costs, and impacts in adjacent zones.

**Keywords:** Bridge, construction, engineered, lightweight.

## Introduction

The construction of bridges is, in some cases, a technical challenge. Some must be built in urban areas, with limited space and possible conflicts with the normal routines of the population. In some cases, construction takes place with limited technical resources and demanding orographic conditions, as in mountain towns. In the frame of public works, as in the case of POLIS program in Portugal, in which the costs and the interaction with the urban environment are relevant, the design of simple lightweight engineered construction procedures can give positive results.

As a reference for that idea, the constructions of Eladio Dieste (Pedreschi, 2000) can be mentioned, in which relatively simple engineering principles and techniques allowed the construction of special structures in areas with limited technical capacity. The construction of some Robert Maillart bridges (Billington, 1979) in mountain areas is also a successful example of complex construction, in demanding conditions, with limited resources.

The experience in the construction of the Carpinteira pedestrian bridge (Fig. 1), in a mountain zone, seems to be relevant, justifying its description in the present paper. The pedestrian bridge was built in Covilhã, Portugal, under the POLIS program, designed by Carrilho da Graça (Architect) to reduce by 65% the distance traveled by pedestrians when accessing the Penedos Altos neighborhood. The structure was designed by Afassociados (Engineers). The bridge was completed in September 2009 at an approximate cost of 3 M €.



Fig. 1 – Overall view (Courtesy of Jornal do Fundão).

The main technical characteristics of the bridge can be found in (Afassociados, 2004). It has a frame structure with a 220 m long steel deck over 4 reinforced concrete piers, partially covered with steel. The peculiar polygonal shape of the deck includes two horizontal curves and was chosen for architectural reasons. The two main piers define a central span of 49 m with over 50 m of maximum height above the ground. The deck transversal U-section has a 4.40 m width and 1.75 m height. The total mass of the steel deck is about 274 tons.

The construction site had difficult orographic conditions and limited space for heavy construction processes. In the original project, the construction of the deck was planned using two large cranes, which were not available in the region and which would have to operate in a conditioned manner due to access to the site, increasing costs and affecting normal life routines in adjacent urban areas.

The Structural Mechanics Group of the Civil Engineering and Architecture Department of the University of Beira interior was hired by the contractor for consultancy work on two problems:

– Dynamic behavior of the bridge, to evaluate the need for vibration control devices;
– Alternative construction process, when compared to what was planned in the tender project, and more appropriate to the conditions of the site.

The solution to the first problem appears in DECA-UBI (2010), and Fonseca et al. (2011). This article describes in detail the alternative construction process that was used (Fonseca, 2009).

## Construction process

As an alternative to the tender planed utilization of two heavy truck cranes, a "light" method was proposed and applied with success to build the deck, after completion of the piers. The applied method may be understood with three steps: a) Launching the north and south parts of the deck from the abutments, considering the deck subdivided into three straight segments; b) Elevation of the central segment by suspension from the existing piers, followed by transversal displacement, using light equipment; c) Introduction of prestress for closing the joints between deck segments and welding. The definition of each stage was based on the conditions available at the site, regarding the free working space, the transportation of the prefabricated elements, and their connection to obtain the desired final deck shape.

### 2.1 Assembling and launching the bridge deck

Due to the long spans, the height of the piers, and the deck's polygonal shape, the

steel structure was assembled by multiple parts with approximately 10 m length, to satisfy transportation limitations. The steep slopes of the valley at the construction site and the reduced available space implied the assembling of the deck in three parts. Two parts were assembled and launched from the adjacent zones (Fig. 2) of the bridge, and a longer central part was assembled aligned with the central columns.

The assembling of the deck resulted from successive addition of steel parts and launching from the abutments, creating relatively large 31 m long cantilevers. To ensure the cantilever equilibrium, temporary back loads were used. The launching operation was possible on temporary supports (towers) and the definitive piers of the bridge. Launching of the deck segments was a relatively light procedure, using a 10 tons jack over a rail (Fig. 3).
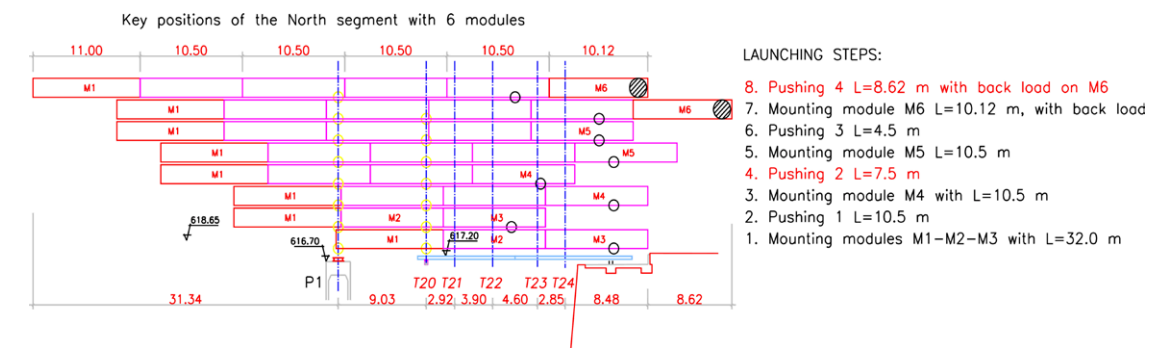


Fig. 2 – Launching scheme of the north part of the deck.
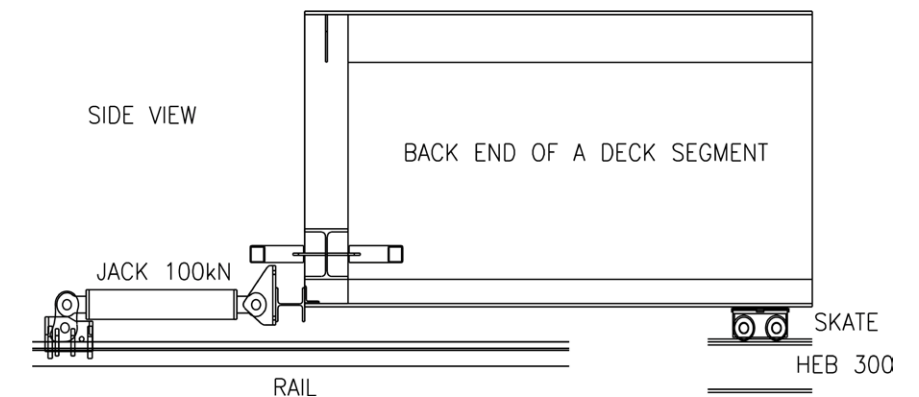


Fig. 3 – Detail of the pushing device.

### 2.2 Lifting of the bridge deck

Fig. 4 and Fig. 5 show the lifting operation to a height of 40 m of the deck central part, with 60 m length and 100 tons of weight. The operation was performed using two hydraulic jacks of 60 tons of capacity each, in two steps: i) Lifting using suspension steel frames in the top of the bridge piers (Fig. 6a); ii) Lateral displacement

to the final position over the piers using lateral supporting frames (Fig. 6b).

The shape of the central part of the deck, with a curved portion, implied some details concerning torsional equilibrium. The problem was solved by a lateral balancing system using a mass of 1,4 tons, with a 5.8 m arm (Fig. 5 and Fig. 7).



Fig. 4 – Lifting of the central part of de deck suspended on two cables.



Fig. 5 – Position after the deck lifting, with mounted lateral supporting structure and torsional balancing system.
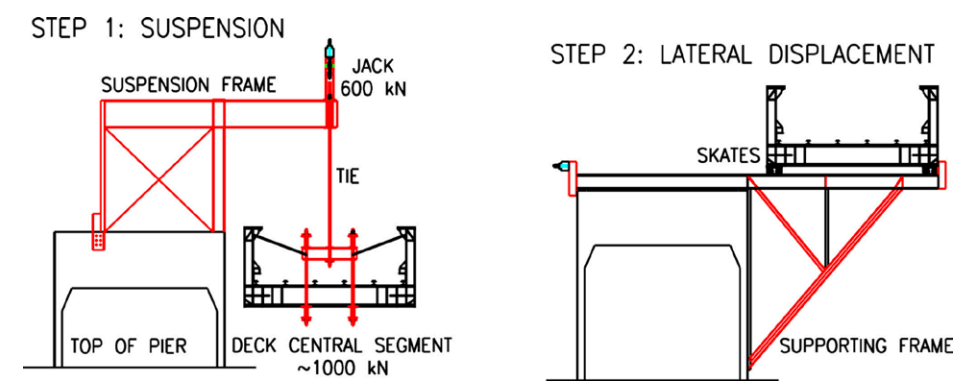
Fig. 6 – Detail of the two steps lifting operation (left: suspension; right: lateral displacement to the final position).
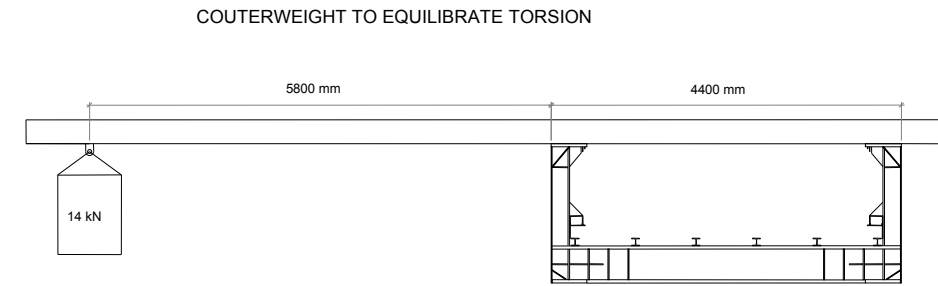


Fig. 7 – Balancing system of the torsional effects related to the curved portion of the deck.

### 2.3 Prestressing of the deck construction joints

The final step of the construction procedure aimed to ensure that the designed shape of the deck, with a horizontal axis, was effectively obtained. Otherwise, the final shape would result in undesirable camber. Contrarily do the more complex solution defined in the original design (Afassociados, 2004), the proposed and used procedure included a simple linear analysis of the whole deck as a system of 3D continuous beams, under the action of self-weight (Fig. 8). That analysis gave the vertical displacements of the deck used as camber values for the fabrication (Fig. 9). The success of the procedure was determined by the later introduction of the calculated section forces by prestressing (Fig. 10 and Fig. 11), previously to welding.
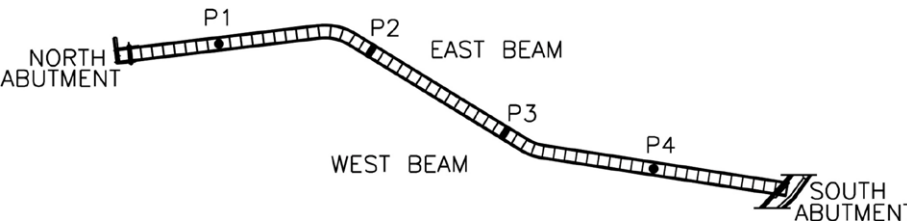


Fig. 8 – Plan view of the 3D model for structure analysis.
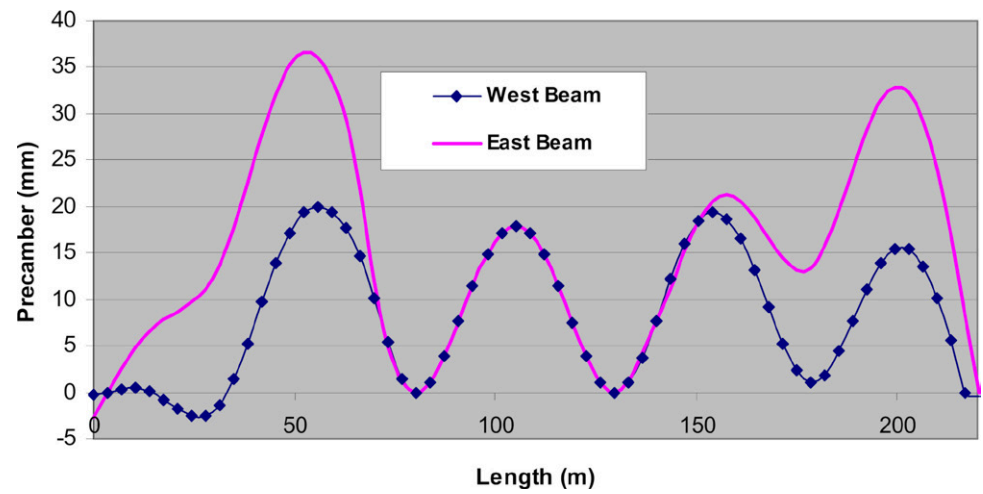
Fig. 9 – Camber of the longitudinal beams.
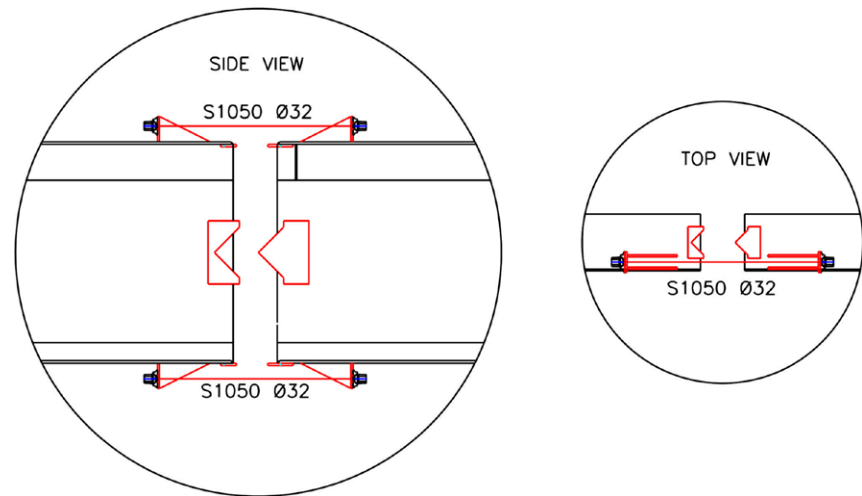


Fig. 10 – Details of the prestressed construction joint.



Fig. 11 – Prestressing application and temporary fit.

## Conclusions

The present paper described the construction process of a long pedestrian bridge in a mountainous area, with specific demands. Using simple engineering principles and tools it was possible to propose and apply with success, an alternative easy to apply, and a cheap construction process. The main advantage resulted from the adjustment of the different steps to the site conditions, minimizing technical means.

As a general contribution, the present paper shows that the construction process should be carefully included in the design stage. In this way, it is possible to avoid major reformulations after the tender phase, as in this case, at the beginning of the bridge construction. Thus, it is possible to plan the optimized solutions and the related reduction of costs in the early stages of the process. This seems to be particularly relevant concerning public works, like the Portuguese POLIS Programs, and for current sustainability requirements.

The present paper also shows that the role of structural engineering should be to propose easy to apply and rational solutions for the different problems, based on simple mechanical principles, working in an integrated way with the different designers and stakeholders, preferably from the initial design stages.

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# 155 A new waterfront for Vila do Conde

## The polis program and its technological aspects

SARA MAFALDA OLIVEIRA
Universidade da Beira Interior

**ABSTRACT**

In the context of the new development paradigms, concerns about cities have gained visibility especially in the last decades, witnessing a reorganization of the territory that has caused changes that lead to the re-structure of urban agglomerations. In the search for a strategy to combat the problems presented by the cities, intervention plans are drawn up to continuously complete the cities and transform them according to the needs of the inhabitants, making them more attractive to new inhabitants and investments.

The Polis program arises in this context and thus refers to the political side of the city, its structure and organization. Its interventions are understood as a new stratum, of a specific time and way of thinking that is characteristic to it, accumulating in the history and future of each of the participating cities. This time, it is not about the shape of the city, but about how that shape contains the habitable space. It refers less to the way in which it proposes or plans new areas to be built and more to the construction of spaces that could exist, based on spaces already built. Polis appears as a motto to "think the way cities live".

Due to the landscape value and its historical and identity importance, the riverside or maritime fronts of some cities constituted elements of reference, with a differentiating character whose need to value was identified as a structuring line of the Polis Program. In Vila do Conde, the urban and environmental requalification of the coastline was given priority through a series of operations that aim to reinforce the city's identity. Therefore, we want to analyse the impact that the Polis Program had on this city and on its daily life through an essay on the development of the Maritime Front / Vila do Conde Atlantic Park.

**Keywords:** Strategic plan, Polis Program, Vila do Conde, Atlantic Park, Seafront

## 1. Introduction

Until the beginning of the 20th century, Vila do Conde was a stabilized town in terms of physical growth and from a social and economic point of view. It was the target of initiatives that highlighted the power and vitality of Portuguese architectural culture, however it was the valorization of the beach that transformed its entire structure as a city.

With the awareness that a city / urban fabric is sensitive and reflects changes demanded by the needs of the inhabitants, this intervention becomes an act to reconcile the specificities of the space, integrating them in a context where they can be enhanced or mitigated.

Based on the proposal, it is important to characterize the way in which the Portuguese architects involved portrayed social spaces and made them functional and attractive through innovative construction methods. Hence, this investigation arises in the scope of the realization of my dissertation to obtain the degree of Master in Architecture, by the Universidade da Beira Interior, with the title "O Impacto do Programa Polis na Frente Marítima de Vila do Conde".

## 2. Polis Program - Urban Rehabilitation and Valorization of Portuguese Cities

"The Polis Program intended to invest in the future, betting on the one hand on urban quality with deep interventions in Portuguese cities, and on the other hand on proximity to the citizen, encouraging the exercise of citizenship. In the contemporary world, the growing and diversified cultural process has socialized the space of experiences, giving them images that identify it with the wishes, values and rituals of individuals." (Correia, 2002, p.3)

Trying to counter the perverse effects of the growth of cities, the Polis Program aimed to respond to problems of abandonment and degradation of the historic centers of cities that did not have incentives for rehabilitation.

The creation of the Program follows the PROSIUB (Program for the consolidation of the national urban system), based on the financial resources of the III Community Support Framework,[1] which aims to be a program that mobilizes and enhances initiatives aimed at qualifying urban areas.

1  Document that included the set of Community structural aid to Portugal in the 2000-2006 programming periods (CSF III). The CSF was the result of a negotiation process between the European Commission and the national authorities and was based on the proposals presented to the European Commission, within the scope of the Regional Development Plan, elaborated in close articulation with a broader planning process, embodied in the National Plan Economic and Social Development (PNDES). Based on the general objective of increasing productivity, as a necessary condition for the recovery of structural backwardness in Portugal, three priority areas of intervention were defined for the CSF III: the enhancement of human potential, support for productive activity and the structuring of the territory. Source: http://www.qren.pt/np4/3094.html

It was a Regional Development Plan prepared by a Working Group, created on 18 November 1999, under the responsibility of the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning, led by José Sócrates and formally started on 15 May 2000, according to the Resolution of the Council of Ministers n°26 / 2000.

This program, aimed primarily at 39 cities in the country, played an important role in those that were initiatives aimed at rehabilitating cities. The purpose of these initiatives is based on the interest of making cities more livable by creating a better quality of life for their inhabitants.



Fig. 1 - Location of the 39 cities covered by the Polis Program. Source: (Expresso, 2009)

Thus, the main objective defined for the program was "To improve the quality of life in cities, through interventions in the urban and environmental aspects, improving the attractiveness and competitiveness of urban centers that have a relevant role in structuring the national urban system" (MAOT, 2000a, p.27)

This objective, created with the aim of requalifying Portuguese cities, was based on partnerships between the State and the City Councils, in the sense of producing

critical dynamics and strategies that contributed to qualify the national urban system. For this reason, 28 urban projects were supported in order to reinforce the identity of the selected cities, increase competitiveness, solve environmental problems and strengthen and clarify their role in the national urban system. To these smaller interventions, others were added, making a total of 40 interventions carried out in 39 cities.

The financing model of the Polis program is based on the establishment of partnerships between the State and local authorities. 60% of the expenditure was allocated to the State and the remaining 40% to the City Council. However, the main sources of financing originated from the various operational interventions of community funds, realized through the realization of the share capital of POLIS Companies.

## 3. The City Program

Initially, it focused on the requalification of the area surrounding the Santa Clara Monastery, intervening in the Cais da Alfândega area, with the construction of an anchorage for recreational boats, the construction and musealization of a replica of a 16th century Nau, among others.

Shortly thereafter, Polis Vila do Conde, Society for the Development of the Polis Program in Vila do Conde, S.A, appeared, which contributed to the realization of projects designed with the aim of offering spaces capable of enhancing the indispensable economic and social development.

Thus, the proposal focused on the intervention of two fundamental areas present in 118 hectares that encompass the Atlantic Front and the banks of the Ave River. The intervention also includes the urban park located in an area adjacent to secondary and preparatory schools, as well as its connection to the seafront through Rua de António Pereira Cadeco.



Fig. 2 - Polis Program in the city of Vila do Conde. Source: Own creation with cartographic basis provided by the Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde

## 4. The sea as the main focus of the intervention

The most emblematic work of the Polis Program in Vila do Conde goes through all the re-profiling and requalification of the Atlantic front of Vila do Conde, where the bathing areas called Frente Urbana Norte and Frente Urbana Sul were inserted. The intention was to requalify the entire space public on Avenida Marginal, from the northern limit of the municipality of Vila do Conde to the Chapel of Nª Srª. From Guia to the south, and from Parque Atlântico next to Forte de S. João Baptista. The project has an extension of approximately 3000 meters, with a variable width, with a minimum of 18.5 meters.

The construction of the city next to the coast and in a flat area, implies that the views to the sea are cut and that the visual connection between the coast and the "inland" is lost. Its low and flattened coastline presents intense human occupation, having worsened over the years. If, on the one hand, this work has developed deeply on an urban scale, on the other hand it has not proved to be considerable on a territorial scale since the space for intervention was already an urban center of the coast. The urban proliferation that is evident on its coastline corresponds to the urban growth of agglomerates due to the impacts of fishing.

Thus, the line drawn by Arch. Alcino Soutinho covers an approximate area of 57,000 m2 (Avenida Infante D. Henrique), while the execution of Parque Atlântico

and the entire Avenida do Brasil is designed by Arch. Álvaro Siza Vieira, an area practically virgin with 120 000 m2.



Fig. 3 - Avenida Infante D. Henrique. Source: Own creation with cartographic basis provided by the Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde



Fig. 4 - Avenida do Brasil and Parque Atlântico. Source: Own creation with cartographic basis provided by the Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde

The main objective of this intervention was to propose a clear and effective composition of the space, enhancing the coastline and the urban design associated to it, optimizing the circulation and allowing the area of intervention not to lose its characteristic singularity. Since the Marginal Atlântica was not yet a well-consolidated area of the city of Vila do Conde, architect Alcino Soutinho created distinct areas of activity. His study started during the Preliminary Program phase, which was adjusted in the following Preliminary Study phase and defined in the Execution Project phase. Taking the relationship between urban spaces and maritime areas as a reference, the intervention was divided into five areas, described from the northern limit of the municipality:

- Zone 1: corresponds to an empty embankment that integrates the marina and the respective support equipment.

- Zone 2: it is an extension in direct contact with the sea, protected by rockfill.

- Zone 3: corresponds to an extension of non-concessioned beaches, also defended by rockfill.

- Zone 4: it is an area of the Coastal Coastal Planning Plan, where most of the concessioned beaches are located at a level close to urban spaces.

- Zone 5: it is located along the so-called Pinhal de Menéres, with an extensive sandy beach not concessioned at a significantly lower level, defended by rockfill.

From this consequent division of the marginal, a second lane parallel to the carriageway was provided for zones 1 to 4 for exclusive access to garages and parking lots to facilitate the flow of traffic. In zone 5, only parking bays perpendicular to the mechanical traffic lane have been proposed. However, in both cases, the car parks are located on the east side.

Fig. 5 - Avenida Infante D. Henrique, Zone 1. Source: Own creation based on cartography provided by the Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde



Fig. 7 - Avenida Infante D. Henrique, Zone 3. Source: Own creation based on cartography provided by the Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde



Fig. 6 - Avenida Infante D. Henrique, Zone 2. Source: Own creation based on cartography provided by the Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde



Fig. 8 - Avenida Infante D. Henrique, Zona 4. Source: Own creation based on cartography provided by the Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde

Fig. 9 - Avenida Infante D. Henrique, Zone 5. Source: Own creation based on cartography provided by the Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde



Fig. 10 - Secondary road for access to car parks, Zone 1 to 4. Source: Own creation based on cartography provided by the Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde
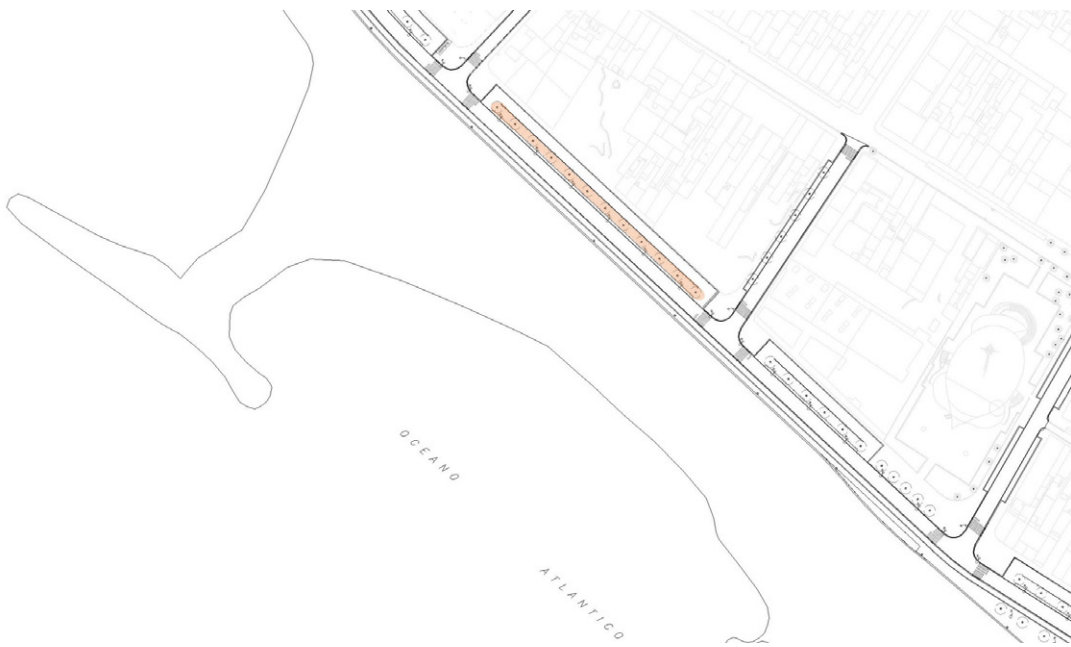


Fig. 11 - Parking spaces perpendicular to the mechanical road, Zone 5. Source: Own creation based on cartography provided by the Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde

Still on this part of the Avenue, walks along the beaches and access ramps to the beaches were added. The first type of walk corresponds to a slab without a wall, supported on Jet Grouting columns with a thin layer of bituminous, intended to stabilize the sands next to the street. The second type, on the other hand, is flanked by walls in order to control sand fluctuation. The first type of ramp used, overcomes a small gap and consists of a reinforced slab between concrete walls. The second type is a ramp that overcomes a greater difference, made up of wooden platforms supported by a structure of tubular metallic frames founded on Jet columns under the rockfill.



Fig. 12 - Slab without wall supported by Jet Grounting columns. Source: (GOP, 2006)
Fig. 13 - Walkway flanked by walls. Source: Own creation, 2020)
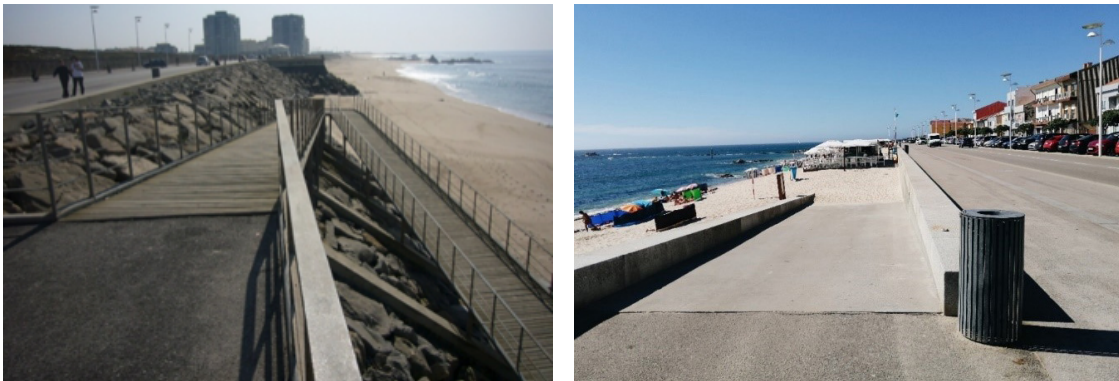
Fig. 14 - Access ramp to the beach with small height difference. Source: Own creation, 2020)
Fig. 15 - Second type of ramp. Source: (GOP, 2006)

Architect Álvaro Siza Vieira's idea for Parque Atlântico and Avenida do Brasil, on the other hand, were linked with the intention of preserving the dune cord and capitulation of the "Straight of the goal". Aiming to build a salt water pool with a support bar. And at the end of the dune space, a disco and a bar. However, none of this equipment would have been built since its construction would overturn the architect's first intention, which was to create as little damage as possible in the dune area. However, the old Avenida Sá da Bandeira between the beach and the dune area, gives way to a pedestrian and bicycle corridor (currently Passeio da Marginal), allowing the extension of the sand in certain areas up to 15 meters. From this new promenade, only pedestrian corridors were implemented in the dune space, which connect the Passeio da Marginal to Avenida do Brasil. Also in this section of the Maritime Front and in the sense of the natural enjoyment of the space, parking lots were placed perpendicular to the traffic route and parking spaces on parallel roads, however located on the west side.
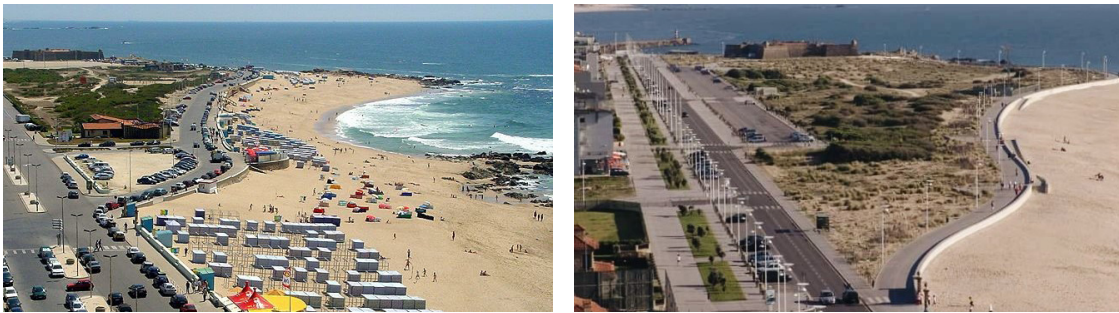


Fig. 16 - Aerial View of Parque Atlântico and Old Avenida Sá da Bandeira. Source: (Arquivo Municipal de Vila do Conde,2003)
Fig. 17 - Aerial view of Parque Atlântico and current Passeio da Marginal. Source: Jornal Vilacondense

Thus, the way found by the two architects to combine the diversity of situations along the waterfront was to develop a type profile that integrates a traffic lane with two 6m wide lanes. And another road on the west side with a walkway and a 2.5m wide bike path each.
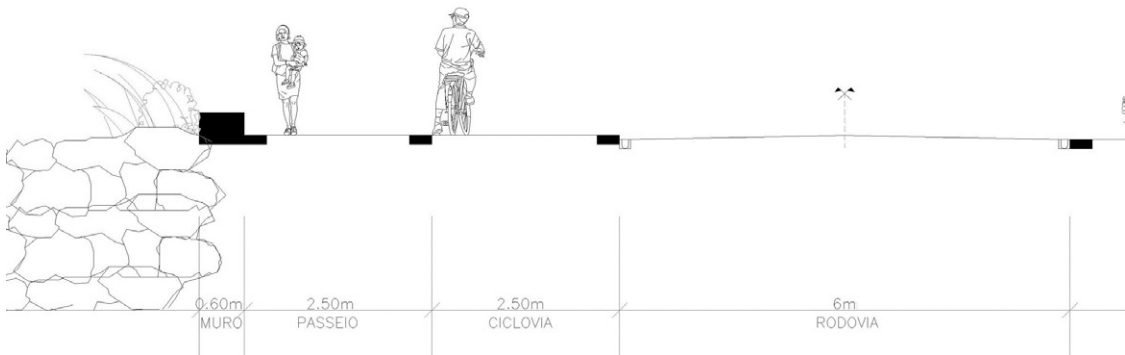


Fig. 18 - Type profile. Source: Own creation based on the project description, 2020

## 5. Terrain modelling

Strong uniformity and harmony prevail throughout the intervention, in the way solutions and techniques were applied and materials and finishes were used. The modeling of the terrain for the project dimensions was basically due to the opening of the pavement box, the excavation and removal of unusable soils, the opening of the hollows to the foundation elements, the replacement of the hull filling soils, the supply and placement of the bases and sub-bases of the pavements and for the supply and application of drainage and reinforcement of the pavements. However, before starting any type of work, it was important to prepare the area for intervention. For this reason, they started by limiting and sealing the work area, setting up the shipyard, making the total survey of the coverings, drilling and preparing the existing infrastructures, provisionally replacing the services and services affected by the work, signaling and organizing the areas surrounding the shipyard in order to minimize the effects of the work, remove the tree species that were to be removed and protect the rest.



Fig. 19 - Work on opening the floor boxes. Source: (Arquivo Municipal de Vila do Conde, 2003)
Fig. 20 - Excavation work for soil removal. Source: (Arquivo Municipal de Vila do Conde, 2003)

Fig. 21 - Works to open the hulls for foundations. Source: (Arquivo Municipal de Vila do Conde, 2003)

Fig. 22 - Soil replacement work. Source: (Arquivo Municipal de Vila do Conde, 2003)

Fig. 23 - Works for laying the base layers. Source: (Arquivo Municipal de Vila do Conde, 2003)

Fig. 24 - Paving work. Source: (Arquivo Municipal de Vila do Conde, 2003)

The choice of materials that make up the intervention was carried out with the vision of an homogeneous coastal front, from the west to the northern limit of the municipality of Vila do Conde: all pavements are made up of bituminous cover, separated with yellow granite guides and counter-guides that are sometimes flush with the pavement for pedestrians and cyclists, sometimes elevated (6 cm) in relation to the mechanical traffic lane, except of the parking separator with the avenue , where a 1 m wide elevated guide is foreseen. With this and in accordance with the constituent layers of the pavements, this can be considered a flexible pavement, as it presents upper layers formed by bituminous mixtures consisting of materials stabilized with hydrocarbon binders, followed by purely granular layers based on a foundation layer. Its structural resistance is given specifically by these different layers that make it up and the success of the paving, depended in large part on the foundations used. Thus, assuming that the soils were already sufficiently stabilized, there was a greater preponderance of the regularity of the foundations than of their thickness, imposing that the construction progress was as follows:

- Placing the sub-base of 20 cm car traffic pavements;

- Laying on the previous one, the base of the car circulation pavements, with 20 cm that extends to the sidewalk areas forming its sub-base, in a continuous layer;

- After the execution of the previous layer, the openings for the guides are opened and their application is made;

- Execution of the base layer of the sidewalks with a thickness of 14 cm.

- The rest of the pavements were built on sand, therefore, only the separation and confinement of its foundation (also in sand) was promoted from the rest of the soil, using geotextiles (with anti-contamination functions) and wooden stakes (confinement).
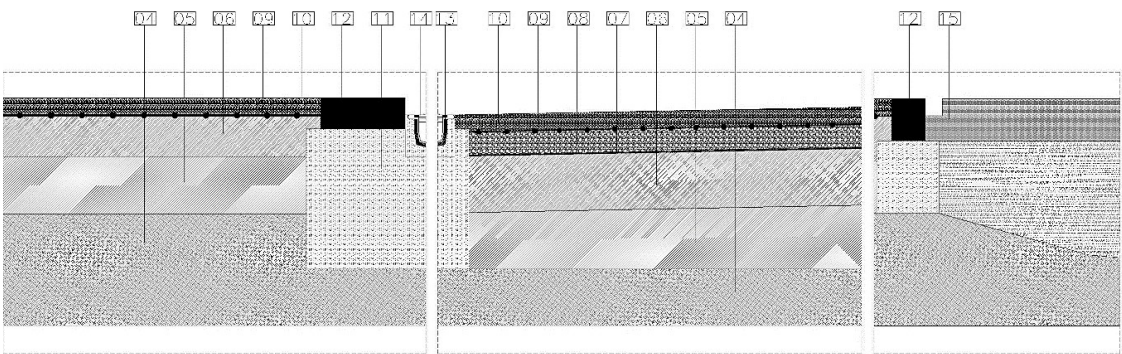


Fig. 25 - Layers of the pavements. Source: Own creation based on the project description, 2020

From a structural point of view, the Passeio da Marginal was divided into two distinct zones. An area where the existing wall has been maintained and another, since it is an area heavily buffeted by the sea, with strong imbalances in the levels of beach sand, in which the wall was demolished and a new one was built. Still in this second area of new wall, due to the fact that the sea attack and the depth of the foundation rock is very different, two different situations were considered. In these situations, the solution was identical, only changing the dimensions. Therefore, the depth of the firm is in one case about 12 m to 13 m and in the other about 6 m to 7 m. For budget related reasons, the walls were not laid directly at this depth, instead an acceptable height was sought to sink directly into the rock. These walls, structurally consist of a wall braced by eardrums of 5 in 5 meters on which a slab (sidewalk) rests. The structure will be supported indirectly on the rock by means of a system designed to discharge vertical and horizontal actions and consisting of Jet Grouting columns with micro piles inside. It should also be noted that, in the area where the existing wall is maintained, a slab supported on the ground and tied to the wall was built in the same way, in order to stabilize the strip between the beach and the streets. This wall was a decisive and defining element of the intervention, provided in granite

stone slab (125x60) with reinforced concrete foundation, connected by means of glue cement adopting a standard dimension of 0.30 cm in height and 0.60 cm in width, in order to allow wide visibility over the sea.



Fig. 26 - Depth of the firm in the new wall situation. Source: (GOP, 2003)
Fig. 27 - Timpani every 5 meters. Source: (GOP, 2003)
Fig. 28 - Timpani sunk directly into rock. Source: (GOP, 2003)
Fig. 30 - Jet Grouting columns with micro piles inside. Source: (GOP, 2003)

## 6. Support infrastructures and equipment

The adaptation of the space implied the study of several types of infrastructure, in addition to the road previously analyzed, changes in the water drainage scheme, public lighting and signaling were foreseen. In addition to the space support infrastructures, new equipment and urban furniture were proposed in order to give the avenue a more up-to-date character.

Given the influence on the configuration of the proposal, it is important to point out the solution for the water drainage system. This consisted of a gutter with a continuous metallic grid, working as a counter guide next to the separator guide of the cyclists' route with the mechanical traffic artery, as well as the parking separator with the respective access.



Fig. 31 - Gutter with continuous metallic grid. Source: (Nicoluau Rosa, Lda)
Fig. 32 - Gutter application work. Source: (Arquivo Municipal de Vila do Conde, 2003)

As for public lighting, and within the scope of implementing a new centrality in the space, only luminaries with two luminous spots were always placed on the side of the building, that is, on the east side interspersed with the trees, with reinforcement in the pedestrian walkways, in addition, on the walls that flank the access ramps to the beaches, built-in elements with reference lighting.

The signs to be installed in the intervention area, went through the horizontal signs and the vertical code signs. However, the vertical Orientation signs were replaced according to the varied needs. To the rest of the vertical signs, essentially of regulation and indication placed at a height of 2.40 m, light signaling elements were added in order to reduce speeds and provide road users, whether pedestrian or car, with more safety.

In terms of horizontal signage, a dashed longitudinal line was implemented on the Avenue to separate the two opposite-aisle corridors for car traffic. At the junctions of the streets perpendicular to the sea, crosswalks were strategically located, in order to continue the pedestrian paths on the sidewalks, while rectifying the radii of curvature in accordance with the marginal avenue, thus aiming to reduce the speed of turns of streets to the sea and vice versa.

In an urban requalification project of this level, one of the relevant issues in the design of public space also involves the distribution of paper bins. For the intervention, along the Avenida Infante D. Henrique and through the main points of passage and stay, cast iron bins are paired with the boilers installed in the

trees and give the intervention a more modern and current look. Along Avenida do Brasil, on the opposite side to the sea, sets of ecopoints in cast iron and on the sea side, simple bins in points of greater affluence.

Still, the application of green elements along the waterfront also aspires to save public resources, since the wooded areas when compared to areas of direct sun exposure suffer less from the contraction and expansion phenomena, reducing wear and maintenance of the areas. paved areas. Therefore, the green elements chosen to play this role were the Metrosidero Excelsa. A large tree with a persistent leaf with abundant flowering of bright red during the months of May to July. The metrosideros work very well as a shade tree and are a good windbreak in the first line of the sea because it is very resistant to saltpeter and wind. Strategically placed on the new parking lines, these trees, more than satisfying the simple concept of an aesthetic element, came to give a sense of proximity to nature and consequently a contribution to the clear improvement in the quality of life of the inhabitants and visitors of the marginal de Vila do Conde.



Fig. 34 - Cast iron bin. Source: Own creation, 2020
Fig. 35 - Simple bins. Source: Own creation, 2020
Fig. 36 - Set of ecopoints. Source: Own creation, 2020
Fig. 37 - Afforestation between parking lots and Metrosidero excelsa. Source: Own creation, 2020

## 7. Conclusion

The creation of the Polis Program has significantly improved Portuguese cities, thanks to its strategic vision at the environmental and spatial level, providing new opportunities for cities. The Vila do Conde Maritime Front became, after the Polis intervention, a relevant example in the qualification of a public space that gains new living areas, new possibilities for mobility and contemplation. The requalification of this space resulted in a great impact on the area, as it benefited the areas that were already a little uncharacterized and deteriorated, providing more appealing spaces. It also came to combat the environmental problems that were occurring and, at the same time, to prepare the city for an increasingly important source of tourism in the local and national budgets. The strategy of this intervention, intended to highlight the role of the sea as a central axis of dynamization. Thus, the architects Álvaro Siza and Alcino Soutinho prove that the judicious use of technologies, materials and construction systems, in addition to a thoughtful design, can play a critical role in the quality of public spaces, maintaining the relationship with the sea and promoting preservation from the coast.

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# Track 6: Urban Policies

TERESA MADEIRA DA SILVA (CO-CHAIR) | CRIA-ISCTE
LUÍS VICENTE BAPTISTA (CO-CHAIR) | CICS.NOVA - NOVA FCSH
CATERINA FRANCESCA DI GIOVANNI | CIES — ISCTE
RICARDO PAES MAMEDE | DINÂMIA'CET – ISCTE

This session focuses on a number of themes on the impact grand projects have on urban policies. A number of questions arise: What is the impact of grand projects on urban planning and city management?; What kind of urban policy is behind big international events like Expo'92 in Seville, the 1992 Summer Olympic Games in Barcelona, EXPO '98 in Lisbon, Expo 2000 in Hanover and others that are to follow?; What is the role of architects and planners in grand projects and urban policies?; What are the urban planning strategies and instruments being used in these grand projects and how are they transforming the cities in which they operate?; What is the contribution of public and/or private management at the big events?; What are the economic, social and environmental impacts of grand projects?; How can grand projects make cities inclusive, resilient and sustainable?

This session calls for the presentation of papers on the following themes:

- Policy assessment

- Urban governance and urban planning

- Urban regeneration policies: strategies and instruments

- Participatory planning approaches

The call of papers of track 6 gathered five contributions presented on 19th February, including one recorded video sent for a panelist who could not participate on zoom.

Due to the vastness of the 'urban policies' topic, the session was characterized by a variety and multidisciplinary presentations, enriched by the diversity of the panelists' backgrounds which let to have different perspectives in the debate about the issues addressed.

Having several points of view from multiply disciplines is fundamental when we discuss any urban issue, and it turns more crucial in the discussion of urban policies

in Grand Projects due to its complexity of social, political, and economic aspects.

Two clusters of presentations have been identified:

The first group aims at studying the governance and the impacts of Grand Projects or mega events. The examples presented are single case-study or comparative cases from Europe and overseas (ID 150, ID 146, ID 58).

The second group does not analyze mega events, but reduces the scale focusing on urban policies on local projects based on public spaces and civic tools for urban struggles (ID 85, ID 74).

The presentation (ID 150) "The governance of grand urban projects: public power and private actors" compares the governance of grand projects across four countries through the management models adopted in Barcelona, Lisbon, Buenos Aires, and Rio de Janeiro. The case studies are Parque das Nações, Lisbon (1998); Vila Olímpica, Barcelona (1992); Puerto Madero, Buenos Aires (1996) e Porto Maravilha, Rio de Janeiro (2009).

The case studies are good examples to explore the topic in a comparative way, highlighting that grand projects play an important role in the recovery of degraded areas, but they can encourage phenomena of gentrification, social and environmental impacts, often favouring a minority of the population by using, directly or indirectly, public resources.

The presentation (ID 146) "The urbanism of exception? Scrutinizing the role of the governmental actors in the realization of the private urban megaprojects in Tbilisi, Georgia" presents the governance and the role of central and local governments of a grand project in Tblisi, showing how the public power became almost a subjugate of the private sector. The case study is theoretically supported by Martin J. Murray and his book "The urbanism of exception", whose main concept is adopted to explain the legitimization of the political and urban planning choices undertaken and, somehow, the truly nature of Grand Projects.

The presentation (ID 58) "Urban regeneration policies and mega-events: the impacts of 1992 Barcelona's Olympics and 1992 Genoa's Expo on urban planning and city management" compares two megaprojects as Barcelona Olympics and Genoa's Expo, investigating the role of public policies and the impacts of the projects. The comparison is interesting for various reasons: they are two waterfront cities; two Southern European cities and two events that occurred in the same period. Even if they are presented as "good practices" of mega events, some interesting consequences appeared from urban management.

The presentation (ID 75) "After all, what are favela museums?" focuses on the conceptualization of the definitions of favela museums. The history of favela museums is intertwined with urban interventions, infrastructural works, and housing programs ('Minha Casa Minha Vida'). The work conducted by favela museums reveals the importance as "a tool for urban struggle" against the city management that mainly prioritizes land speculation and unreasonable evictions.

The presentation (ID 74) ""Uma praça em cada bairro" program: analysis and contribution to the requalification of Lisbon's central axis [2014-2020]" reflects on the impact of "Uma praça em cada bairro", a program promoted in 2014 by Lisbon Municipality, with the objective to transform and enhance public spaces. Focusing on a specific intervention - the "central axis" connecting the Marquês de Pombal square to Entrecampos - the study evaluated the public spaces in this area referring to Lisbon Expo 98 as a paradigm shift in the city to rethink public spaces.

Many issues were addressed in the debate. However, we highlight three relevant aspects came up in the discussion of the session:

Linking urban policies with grand projects: separating urbanism and urbanization.

The urbanization process, formed by social, economic, and political aspects, is different from urbanism, which is a technical domain. Many times, the question of urban growth is not considered in urbanism's point of view because it is not based on the central decision project's organization, even if it is central to understand some urban dynamics.

Public spaces in (grand) projects

Public spaces are fundamental in all types of projects, both mega and local. Some questions arise: Do we consider the uses of public spaces? How to allow spaces to be more usable and accessible to all? How the uses and the project of public spaces have been changed?

Residents and visitors

The topic of tourism was not developed in the presentations, maybe due to the current context of pandemics, but we should not forget that a grand project is a decision planned also for the relevance of the touristic economy, for attracting and bringing more people to consume the city.

Let's take the construction of a stadium, there is big propaganda when one is built, wondering how this can be useful for the citizens and the community.

We should consider the relation between the use of the residents and the use of

the visitors in the mega projects. The importance of social movements and the activists looking at the transparency of the process and the interests of all citizens is crucial since these operations are sometimes not entirely transparent, even though they are sold as projects for all the territory and the population itself.

# 58 Urban regeneration policies and mega-events

## The impacts of 1992 Barcelona's Olympics and 1992 Genoa's Expo on urban planning and city management

FEDERICO CAMERIN
Departamento de Urbanismo y Representación de la Arquitectura, Instituto Universitario de Urbanística, Universidad UVA de Valladolid, Spain
and Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism, Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, Germany

FRANCESCO GASTALDI
Università IUAV di Venezia - Dipartimento di Culture del Progetto

### ABSTRACT [1]

The proposal analyses and compares the urban policies behind the 1992 Barcelona's Olympics and 1992 Genoa's Expo and the impact of grand projects related to these events on urban planning and city management. This work focuses on the relationship between big events, urban policies, and the treatment of the industrial terrain vague in the late XX century urban entrepreneurship.
This work compares Barcelona's and Genoa's urban policies debates on the regeneration of their waterfronts starting from the 1960s up to the 1992 events. They represent the late 1980s and early 1990s most advanced Spanish and Italian experience of big events used as catalysts for large-scale transformation. Authors analyses the following aspects: the urban policies behind the urban regeneration processes occurred in Barcelona's Poblenou neighbourhood and Genoa's Old Port from the 1992 big events onwards; the role of architects and planners in grand projects and urban policies in these cities (in the case of Barcelona, urban planner Oriol Bohigas and his team and various architects involved in the 1992 event; in the case of Genoa, architect Renzo Piano); the contribution of PPP management at these big events; the maintenance, preservation, and the (re)interpretation of the industrial urban heritage by its rehabilitation or destruction-reconstruction; and the economic, social and environmental impacts of these grand projects.

1  By option of the authors this article only included the lecture presented at the conference.

To sum up, Authors pinpoint that both Barcelona's and Genoa's urban policies behind these 1992 events have been conceived as "good practices" of big events in the following three decades to regenerate the hosting cities' old industrial sectors. City's image improvements, hosting city insertion in international cultural circuits and tourism, better living conditions by the creation of new public spaces, and the materialisation of new profit-driven spaces were key factors of successful urban policies for Barcelona and Genoa 1992 events.

**Keywords:** Mega events, Urban regeneration, Urban policies, 1992 Barcelona Olympics; Genoa's Expo

# 74 "Uma praça em cada bairro" program

## Analysis and contribution to the requalification of Lisbon's "Eixo Central" [2014-2020]

JOSÉ NARCISO
FCSH-UNL / ISCTE

MAFALDA SAMPAYO
ISCTE

### ABSTRACT

The traditional role of the urban public space has shifted during the 20th century and in particular throughout the post-second world war. The global trend to adjust the public space to the car traffic and parking needs was observed in Lisbon as in many other industrialized cities. By the end of the century, some projects to value public space through the pedestrianization of streets were attempted without significant impact.

The 1998 World Exhibition in Lisbon created the opportunity to rethink, recreate the city and renovate its public space in a former brownfield area. Despite its legacy, there was a little spillover effect to other public spaces in Lisbon, even when considering the partial reconversion of the riverfront, and the intervention on the Praça do Comércio, in 2007.

This paper reflects on the impact of the program "Uma praça em cada bairro" ["A square in each neighborhood"] started in 2014 by the Lisbon City Council whose main goal is to transform and benefit Lisbon's public spaces. There were over the 150 micro-centralities identified and the interventions were diverse in terms of scale. They include major projects like the "Eixo Central" ["Central Axis"] of Lisbon connecting the Marquês de Pombal square to Entrecampos square and, simultaneously, small public squares across the city neighborhoods.

The methodology used consists of i) the study of satellite images, from 2014 to 2020, ii) the identification of areas allotted to different uses of space (people, traffic, green space), and iii) the quantification of urban elements in the analysis. This paper assesses the results of the "Uma praça em cada bairro" program, through the quantification of the areas dedicated to different functions, against the stated goals to transform and renovate public spaces.

**Keywords:** Cities for people, Public Space, Requalification.

## 1. Introduction

Since 2014, the program "Uma praça em cada bairro" [A square in each neighborhood] is being developed by the Lisbon City Council with the main goal to transform and benefit over 150 public spaces in Lisbon. The intervention on Lisbon's "Eixo Central" (Avenida Fontes Pereira de Melo and Avenida da República) was one of the first interventions and also the biggest one in terms of area to be finished.

Being so, the result and impact of this intervention can represent the objectives, and intentions behind the program "Uma praça em cada bairro" design. This paper assesses the results of the program, in general, following a specific quantitative analysis of its intervention on Lisbon's "Eixo Central" in 2016.

### 1.1. Methodology

The methodology used to assess the Program from a quantitative perspective includes the functional areas' analysis of the public space before and after the intervention. The case study is formed by an axis named by the Lisbon City Council as "Eixo Central" between Praça Marquês de Pombal and Entrecampos, namely: Avenida Fontes Pereira de Melo and Avenida da República.

The functional areas result of the merge of different authors' perspectives on public space's concept and functions: (BERTRAND, 1984), (CULLEN, (2011 [1961]), (GEHL, 2010) and (MERLIN & CHOAY, 2010 [1998]). Starting from these, the functional areas to be studied are:

- Space for people (social pedestrian area);

- Space for cars (roads and parking area);

- Space for bicycles (cycle paths);

- Green space (area with vegetation).

This analysis included the following steps:

- Identification of the case study's area;

- Observation of satellite images, from 2014 to 2020, before and after the intervention;

- Identification of the functional areas, in both periods;

- Quantification of the functional areas, in both periods.

These classes were observed and quantified before and after the intervention. So, the comparison between the results allows this paper to measure the Program's impact on the requalification and revaluation of Lisbon's public spaces.

## 2. Framework

The traditional concept of public space and, particularly, of public square derives from a correlation between its three most important functions: commerce, social gathering, and circulation (GEHL & GEMZØE, 2001). The balance between these functions has been interrupted by the urban expansion, and the growing number and speed of cars (GEHL, 2010).

The public space includes spaces of public domain, non-built and that distinguished themselves from other empty spaces by their functional value (MERLIN & CHOAY, 2010 [1998]). In other words, public space is formed by spaces of free access, open, without restrictions or cost (CARMONA, 2018). It can include multiple spaces to circulate like streets or avenues and to stay like public squares or parks (PEREIRA, 1982). Being the space of contact, gathering, and exchange the public space reflects the city's public life (GEHL, 2010). And by contact, gathering, or exchange we can enumerate multiple dynamics, such as: social, cultural, economic, political, religious.

Throughout the 20th century, many of those activities were transferred to private spaces (GEHL & GEMZØE, 2001). Though we must focus on the impact of the scale change from people to cars demonstrating an arrogance of space when streets became roads and public squares became roundabouts or car parks (MOUGHTIN, 1999).

What is at stake might not be only a functional dilemma of public spaces but its meaning and how we plan and want cities to be in contemporaneity. And with that, it is important to state that public space most times emerges from the conflict basis between different interests and wills (FRÉTIGNÉ, 2005).

### 2.1. A short recap on the investment on public spaces in Lisbon

The importance of the public spaces in the city's image is a result of its longevity and permanence as in the cases of Praça do Comércio and Praça D. Pedro IV / Rossio that remain in the same location since before the great earthquake of 1755 (SAMPAYO, 2012). The history of the city's investment in public spaces has met different approaches and scales throughout time.

In the post-1755 earthquake, a new urban grid was completed within a program that addressed public space's need in a revolutionary way. The project and ideals by Marquês de Pombal to rebuild the center of Lisbon were a milestone in European urban planning but still quite unknown.

From the Plan after the 1755 earthquake to the present days we can highlight some programs, projects, and plans that shaped the public space of Lisbon.

Table 1 – *Spatial plans and projects for Lisbon's public space*

| Year(s) | Programs, plans and projects | Author(s) |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 1758 | Lisbon Reconstruction Plan | Engr./Arch. Eugénio dos Santos and Engr./Arch. Carlos Mardel |
| 1764 | Passeio Público Project | Engr./Arch. Reinaldo Manuel dos Santos |
| 1864 | "Plano Geral de Melhoramentos de Lisboa" | Engr. Pedro José Pezerat Engr. Joaquim Júlio Pereira de Carvalho Arch. J. Possidónio Narciso da Silva Dr. Guilherme da Silva Abrantes |
| 1919 | Rossio Requalification | Lisbon City Council |
| 1932 | Parque Eduardo VII Project | Arch. Cristino da Silva |
| 1938 | Praça do Areeiro Project | Arch. Cristino da Silva |
| 1948 | Baixa Project | Arch. Étienne de Gröer |
| 1949 | Baixa Requalification Plan: Praça da Figueira and Rua da Palma | Lisbon City Council |
| 1985 | Debate for the future of Praça Duque de Saldanha | Archs. Nuno Teotónio Pereira, Augusto Brandão, Diogo Lino Pimentel, Nuno Portas e Pedro Vieira de Almeida |
| 1988 | Chiado Reconstruction Plan | Arch. Siza Vieira |
| 1992 | Praça de Espanha Urbanization Plan | Arch. Siza Vieira |
| 1993 | Preliminar Study for the Expo'98 Urbanization | Arch. Nuno Portas |
| 1993 | Expo'98 Urbanization Plan | Parque Expo S.A. / Arch. Vassalo Rosa |
| 2001 | Rossio and Praça da Figueira Requalification | Lisbon City Council |
| 2006 | Plano de Revitalização da Baixa-Chiado | Lisbon City Council |
| 2014 | Program "Uma Praça em cada bairro" | Lisbon City Council |

Source: Own creation based on (Mangorrinha, 2007).

The expansion of Lisbon's metropolitan area throughout the last decades of the 20th century is connected with the construction of numerous high capacity roads

and the democratization of private car-owning. These policies led to the transformation of Lisbon's public spaces into car traffic and parking areas.

In 1993, the Plan for Lisbon's Metropolitan Area (PROT-AML) enhanced the requalification of Lisbon's eastern riverside area. At the time, this area was an abandoned peripheral area with obsolete industrial facilities. So, the Expo'98 organization stood as an opportunity to transform that area with the public space's plan designed by the architect Nuno Portas.

As an opportunity to create a new city neighborhood with public spaces of quality (BRANDÃO, 2005) the Expo'98 project introduced new functions on Portuguese urban waterfronts: "Aware of this importance, those responsible for Expo'98 set out to tackle certain highly complex concepts: how to "make a city" with a theme traditionally geared towards "making a non-city", integrating the temporary with the permanent, confronting urban problems" (TRIGUEIROS & SAT, 1998, p.13).

Even though it created "new urban demands: green spaces, symbolic architectures, pedestrian zones" (SISTI, 2009, 14), its impact in Lisbon was at the time confined to the exhibition area (in six urbanization plans)[1]. The Expo'98 was an opportunity to re-evaluate public space that Lisbon had been losing for the past decades through the 20th century (FERREIRA, 1998) but within the event's limits itself. With the creation of an (almost) pedestrian-only area the Expo'98 (turned Parque das Nações after the event) included the rediscovery of the Rossio rectangular public square and the traditional pavement know as Calçada Portuguesa (Fig. 1).
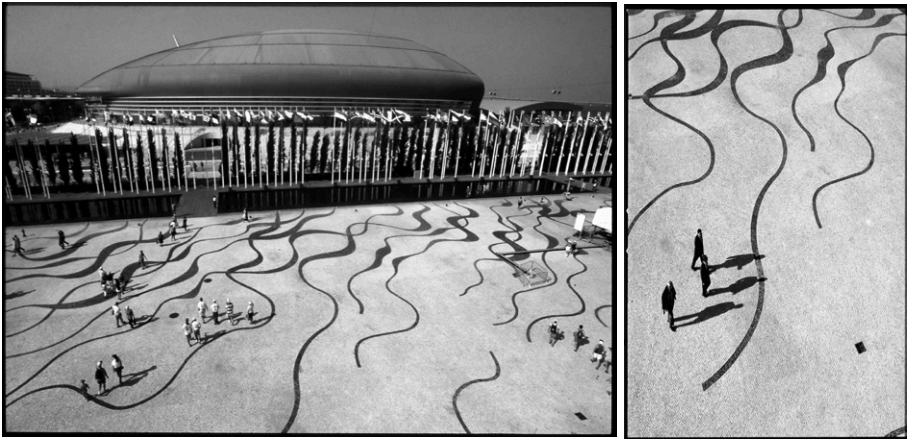


Fig. 1 – Rossio dos Olivais and the new pattern of Calçada Portuguesa. Source: Arquivo Fotográfico Municipal.

1 Planos de Pormenor (PP) [Urbanization Plans] are the administrative and town planning management mechanisms necessary for the legal validation of the division of the land into urban lots and its respective alienation. In the Expo'98 exhibition area there were six plans: PP1 - Central Area (Arch. Tomás Taveira), PP2, PP3 - South Area (Arch. Troufa Real), PP4 - North Area (Archs. Duarte Cabral de Mello and Maria Manuel Godinho de Almeida), PP5 - Sacavém Area (Archs. Maria Manuel Cruz and Ricardo Pareirinha), and PP6 - Tagus and Trancão Park (Arch. Hargreaves e João Nunes).

This experience to generate new riverfront public paces was taken into account by the POLIS projects in various Portuguese cities like Vila do Conde, Coimbra, and Setúbal (PAIVA, 2012). But also replicated in other Lisbon riverfront areas like the Ribeira das Naus project (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2 – Ribeira das Naus. Source: Authors.

**2.2. The Program "Uma praça em cada bairro"**

In 2014 the Lisbon City Council presented the Program of interventions in the public space "Uma praça em cada bairro" to benefit more than 150 public spaces in the city. Its multi-dimensional approach recognizes the contribution of public spaces to Lisbon's quality of life in multiple dimensions: the neighborhood's livability, the mobility pattern, the environmental condition, and the economic and cultural activities (CML, 2014).

The City Council has divided the city into neighborhoods and identified in each of them one micro centrality: a street, a public square, or a public park, for example. This Program follows the idea of a city of neighborhoods emphasized by the Lisbon Strategic Charter 2010-2024 and in the Municipal Local Plan.

At the beginning of 2021, only half of the priority interventions have been finished. Even though, there is also the case of non-priority interventions such as Largo da Memória, "Eixo Central", and Praça de Espanha that have been concluded or are ongoing.

The case of the concluded interventions shows the local strategy for the public space. In particular, the "Eixo Central" formed by Avenida Fontes Pereira de Melo and Avenida da República is an example to be analyzed in this research.

**3. The "Eixo Central"**

The Avenidas Novas area in Lisbon was projected by Frederico Ressano Garcia within the 19th-century expansion of Lisbon (DIAS, 1987) towards the former rural northern area and overlapping the Estradas do Arco do Cego, Picoas, and São Sebastião da Pedreira (DIAS, 1987). This expansion was planned among the "Plano Geral de Melhoramentos de Lisboa" from 1864.

We can argue that the "Eixo Central" was planned in the context of the city expansion but also pursuing new ideas and approaches. This Plan followed Haussmann's ideas and conducted the city expansion to the north plateau. The expansion was guided by large Avenues between Avenida da Liberdade and Campo Grande to urbanize this area. Though, this Plan was mostly focused on the urban grid, using public space to define the blocks. The focus on the urban grid explains the "anarchy" of the area's volumetric.



Fig. 3 – Avenida da República and Avenidas Novas in 1908. Source: Gabinete de Estudos Olisiponenses.

This new urban grid was centered in the axis formed by the Avenida Fontes Pereira de Melo and Avenida da República which were articulated by three circular public squares: Marquês de Pombal, Duque de Saldanha and Entrecampos (Fig. 4). In the case of the first and last mentioned they delimit this paper's case study.
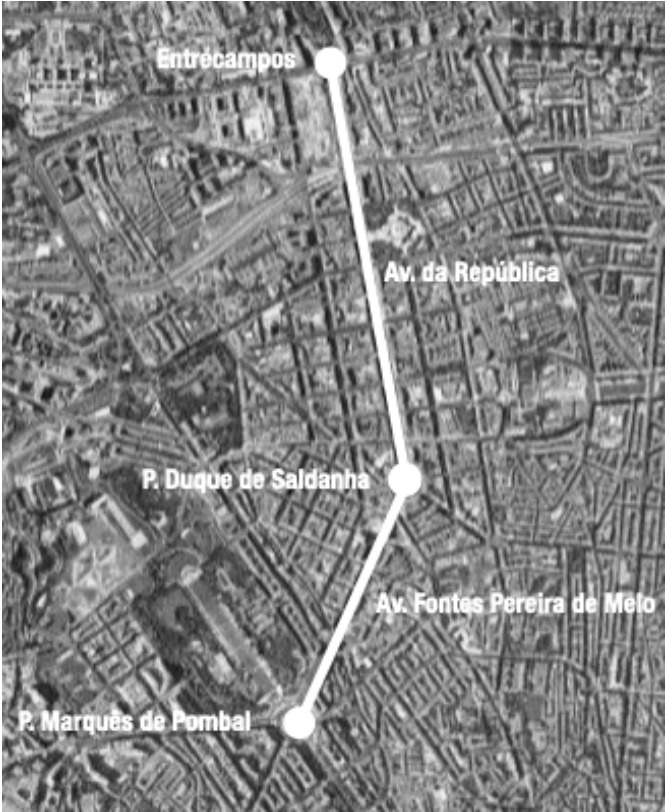


Fig. 4 – Identification of the Lisbon's "Eixo Central" and case study. Source: Own creation on Google Maps.

The Avenidas Novas area and particularly Avenida da República were occupied by *bourgeois* palaces some remaining today. It is a case of coexistence between architectural times and styles from the 19th century to more contemporary approaches (SILVA, 1989).

Despite that, nowadays, this area is particularly important as a significant center for the city's economic activity. This area has changed from an attempt to recreate a *bourgeois* city to offices and shopping centers. And that change has affected public spaces like in the case of Praça Duque de Saldanha and its buildings testify the changes that occurred in this area throughout the 20th century.
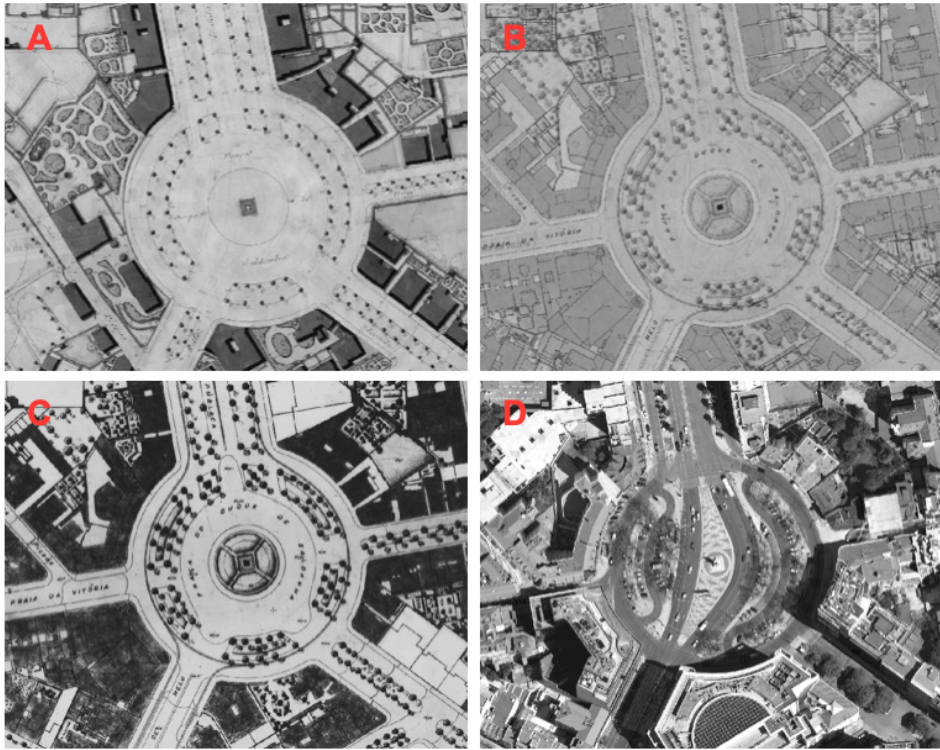
Fig. 5 – Praça Duque de Saldanha in 1911 (A), 1950 (B), 1970 (C), and 2016 (D). Source: www.lxi. cm-lisboa.pt.

These four images reflect the block's growing occupation and the changes in public space. From 1911 to 2016 public space has dedicated more area to car parking and circulation. The need to increase the accessibility even led to the transformation of the roundabout into a boomerang shape where the statue dedicated to Duque de Saldanha still stands.

### 3.1. The Program's intervention

The intervention of the Program "Uma praça em cada bairro" had an extension of 2,6 km between Praça Marquês de Pombal and Campo Grande. The prior studies showed evidence of the need to change the Avenues' profile in terms of public space uses and mobility (CML, 2021).

The mobility pattern associated with car parking and circulation was an essential topic of discussion. The recognition that cars had the majority of public space and also that there was public parking offer at a distance of 300m from the "Eixo Central" pointed that the space for cars had to and could diminish (CML, 2021).

In 2016, almost three-quarters of the public space was allocated to cars (74%). The other quarter was essentially space for people (23%) though there was some green space (2%) in Picoas and Entrecampos.

In fact, with the quantification and analysis of the functional areas before and after the Program's intervention, there was a decrease of 14% within the space for car circulation and parking. This allowed transferring space to other uses such as green (5,5%), bicycles (4,4%), and people (3,7%). This analyzes concludes that space for people had the smallest increase though it represented already 1/4 of the public space's use in 2016.

Table 2 – Uses of space (%) in the "Eixo Central" in 2016 and 2020.

| Functional area | 2016 | 2020 | Variation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Space for cars | 74,3 | 60,6 | -13,7 |
| Space for people | 23,3 | 27,0 | 3,7 |
| Space for bicycles | 0,0 | 4,4 | 4,4 |
| Green Space | 2,4 | 7,9 | 5,5 |

Source: Own creation.
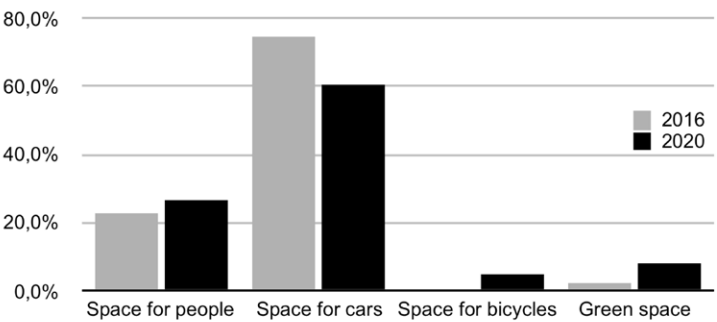


Fig. 6 – Uses of space (%) in the "Eixo Central" in 2016 and 2020. Source: Own creation.

In 2016 there were only green spaces in Picoas and next to Entrecampos. But in 2020 the green spaces are present in all of the axis. Another particular example is the case of Praça Duque de Saldanha. It had some trees spread around the parking area in the public square. The intervention created a "green ring" around the public square that also stretches the division between car-area and people-area.

Another category identified after the intervention was the space for bicycles. Cycle paths were introduced and now connect Praça Marquês de Pombal and Campo Grande along Eixo Central. This can be seen as an incentive to the use of active and green transport alternatives.

The areas dedicated to pedestrians, namely sidewalks, had the shortest increase. But it should be considered that it represented already one-fifth of the total area before the Program's intervention. When we analyze particular areas such as the Picoas and

Saldanha public squares there is a different outcome. In both of these squares, the car parking area was eliminated and made room for other uses. So, the space for people covers now more than one-third of the total area and reinforces the idea of walkability that the Program "Uma praça em cada bairro" planned to achieve.

### 3.2. Diversification of public space's functions

The transformation of the "Eixo Central" is an example of how public policies for the public space had changed. The "Uma praça em cada bairro" intervention contradicted the previous trend to reduce space for people and increase space for car circulation and parking seen throughout the 20th century (Fig. 5). On the contrary, the intervention of 2016 allowed to rediscover public space as a social space, namely allocating more area to walk, meet, stay and consume. But also, if we consider the introduction of cycle paths, and new green and permeable areas. By doing so, this intervention contradicted the almost total monopolization of public space by cars and diversified the public space's uses.

It must be stated that this experience started with the intervention in the Avenida Duque de Ávila (adjacent to Avenida da República) which tested the impact of the public space's transformation in the socio-economic dynamics. With this intervention, active mobility users were favored while car traffic and parking were strongly reduced.

The interventions in Praça Duque de Saldanha, for example, enhance this space's social function. The images before and after the intervention testify to this change. The pedestrian area was expanded and replaced former car circulation and parking areas, easing pedestrian routes, and improving road safety. But, particularly significant, to rediscover the public square and its social function.



Fig. 7 – Praça Duque de Saldanha before and after the intervention. Source: Google Street View.

The transformation of this area rediscovered the diversity of uses and functions of public spaces. It is also a strategy to restore public urban spaces and reestablish its traditional functions: meet, consume, move (GEHL & GEMZØE, 2001). And about

mobility, we must address this holistic perspective that includes private transport, but also public transport and active mobility users, still an exception in the broader Lisbon context.

After the intervention, businesses created sidewalk cafés, and in both Praça Duque de Saldanha and Picoas were installed Kiosks. So, former parking areas were transformed into areas where people can have a seat, a chat, or a coffee inviting people to appreciate the "life of the sidewalk" (Gehl, 2010, 146). All of this wasn't possible without this redistribution of public space's use.



Fig. 8 – Quiosque in Praça Duque de Saldanha. Source: Authors.

### 8. Contributions and the increment of city gaps

The Expo'98 exhibition area's design influenced projects for the waterfront's qualification as much as it stretched new public urban space demands and qualities in Portuguese urbanism for the 21st century. After 2014, the Program "Uma praça em cada bairro" picked those lessons and helped to reintroduce the traditional functions of the public spaces through a new balance between being, walking, moving, and consuming in the public urban spaces.

There has been a reflection on the impact of the Expo'98 setting new standards for public urban spaces and waterfronts. But will there be or what will be the impact of the transformation of Lisbon's "Eixo Central" on Portuguese future urban projects? Will there be more attention in protecting and creating more space for people? Will there be more green spaces? Will there be a spread of cycle paths changing Portuguese urban mobility patterns?

This research displayed the change of public space's use caused by the "Uma praça em cada bairro" Program's intervention. The quantitative perspective and categorization in different spaces (people, cars, green space, bicycles) contributed to state the diversification of public space's use after the intervention.

In Lisbon's "Eixo Central" the space for cars decreased by 14% providing more green, social, and consumption areas. For example, we should state the importance of the growth of green areas from 2% in 2016 to 8% in 2020.

The investment of the Program in "Eixo Central" changed its urban landscape and the uses and functions of the public space. But on other hand, it expanded the gap between its approach for the public space and the areas that are still in need of intervention. Avenues such as Avenida Almirante Reis or Avenida de Roma, also relevant avenues in the city, did not benefit from this or other programs for the public space, and car traffic and parking still maintain a major part of the public space.

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# 75 After all, what are Favela Museums?

MÁRCIA LOPES
ISCTE e Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal

## ABSTRACT

This presentation conceptualizes New Museology and Social Museology as they pertain to residents of the favelas. The first well-known museums affiliated to New Museology created in Latin America emerged in Mexico. Although institutions conceptualized by the government, they aimed to popularize museum processes. It was thought to be possible through management democratization, deconcentration, and territorial decentralization, as well as through the emphasis on social memory and heritage of non-hegemonic cultures. They have been implemented since the 1970s, but in Brazil, this is a phenomenon that began in the 1990s. Particularly favela museums have emerged in the past two decades. While the Colina Museum is in an industrial area squeezed amongst three highways, the Morro Alto Museum is in a favelas complex in hill and hillside sited between expensive neighborhoods in a region of strong tourist appeal, and the Planície Museum was created to fight against favela removal from newly re-qualified areas. Although these museums could be defined through different perspectives, the aim here is to highlight the definitions for favela museums given by one of their administrators. Nice is part of the team of the Planície Museum. To her, the museum is mainly "a tool for struggle" against city management that prioritizes land speculation, unreasonable evictions, and removals of impoverished populations. After analyzing the interview conducted with Nice, this presentation ends by answering the following questions: how do favela population and city management correlate in the issues of urban developments? Have grand projects affected the existence of the favela museums?

**Keywords:** favela museums, urban development, participatory democracy, Rio de Janeiro.

### Introduction

According to data from Data Rio, there are 1,018 slums in Rio de Janeiro, where 1,439,975 people live, corresponding to 22% of Rio's population. Architects who develop urbanization projects for the favelas have proposed to classify them according to physical-spatial criteria. Although controversial in the sense that it cannot grasp all diversity in favelas' morphology, this classification may shed lights on how the city geography affects urbanization and public infrastructure projects and on how the favelas will be invoked by the museums (Gutterres, 2016; Petti, 2020; Portilho, 2016; Silva, 2017; Vieira, 2008). The favelas where the museums are located are a) isolated slums in flat areas; b) slum complexes in flat areas; and c) slum complexes in hills and hillsides. It is necessary to bear in mind that flat areas are transformed and become objects of land speculation more frequently than elevated areas. The next paragraphs compare their physical and spatial characteristics and depict some of the dynamics of their late urbanization in relation to the removals and infrastructural projects.

Planície was an isolated slum in a flat area that originated in 1960.[1] Over the years, the community fought battles for the legalization of the self-urbanization obtaining relative success and recognition of land rights in some government instances. In addition to its endogenous growth, it received families from other slums removed without this representing a considerable increase in its population. It was inhabited by about 600 families and currently only by approximately 20 families, due to a violent demolition process occurred during the preparations of Rio de Janeiro city for the mega sporting events of 2014 and 2016. After suffering great social pressure from public agents, most of the former residents accepted an agreement with the City Hall and were resettled in a housing project financed by the Minha Casa Minha Vida program. The 20 families resistant to such arrangements, after years of struggling to keep their built environment, saw their houses being demolished before being resettled in a small set of houses in the area previously occupied by the favela. Residents are still fighting for the Planície's urbanization plan to be finalized, keeping the community mobilized against the loss of acquired rights.

A Slum complex in hills and hillsides, Morro Alto began in 1910 and became home for more than 10,000 inhabitants over time. The favela complex has not undergone large-scale removals. In the last decade, there were at least two major public infrastructure projects in the area. The first one was the work of the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) for favelas that took place mainly in the period 2007-2012, remaining unfinished. The second corresponded to the implementation of the Pacifying Police Unit (UPP) in 2009. PAC-Favelas created infrastructures for mobility amongst other urban improvements, which also counted as preparations

1  All names are fictional in order to preserve the identities of the participants.

for the mega sporting events. There were removals on small scale, mainly of the residents affected by the works. These dwellers were resettled in apartment buildings built in the existing favela.

Colina is one of the biggest favelas in Rio de Janeiro. It is a slum complex in a flat area emerging in the 1940s. The most recent statistics reveal that it is inhabited by approximately 140 thousand people. Although the favela complex received evicted families from favelas removed from the central region of the city in previous decades, it did not undergo a significant removal process. One of the phenomena that contributed to its emergence was the construction of a highway that attracted mainly migrant workers in 1940. Other two important roads meant to improve city mobility were created in 1978 and 1997, affecting circulation and sociability patterns of a large part of the favela complex. The understanding that this group of self-built houses and sets of apartments and houses created by the government form a commonplace is recent since it officially became a neighborhood in 1994. Public infrastructure works such as landings, settlement of removed families, and construction of schools, health centers as well as other public facilities and equipment have occurred without provoking changes in its status.

Even in Morro Alto, a favela complex of hills and hillsides, there have been infrastructure changes of relative magnitude, mainly projects of the PAC-Favelas. There was requalification in the complex almost a decade ago, but it did not significantly change urbanization patterns. In the other two cases, that is, in Planície's and Colina's cases, the favelas were considerably affected by urban reconversions. For example, the opening of expressways altered traffic patterns considerably affecting sociability dynamics in Colina over the years. The construction of sports centers and other technological equipment have caused removals and eventually the complete demolition of Planície, the small self-urbanization where Nice used to live. In Planície, the former inhabitants were moved to a set of apartments built in an area nearby but lacking public facilities and without legal security. Agreement terms were not fully understood by dwellers and involved the acceptance of other implicit risks such as the effects of democratic successions at the local government level. The resisting families, like Nice's family, were severely repressed by government officials.

### The New Museology and Social Museology: the museum as a "tool for struggle"

The first museums affiliated with New Museology in Latin America emerged in Mexico in the late 1970s (Oliveira, 2015). They were institutions that, although created by public authorities, aimed to popularize museum processes through the democratization of management and administrative deconcentration and decentralization. The projects gradually acquired maturity and local populations improved their understanding, which led to the emergence of the Latin American

network of community museums autonomous from the central government in the early 2000s. In Brazil, these museums arose in the 1990s.

The first known favela museum, the Colina Museum, appeared in 2006 causing repercussions in the conservative media. By that time, newspapers questioned what memory it was that one wanted to preserve from life in the favelas. The museum's proposal came from a group of residents tired of seeing favelas poorly represented in the media and abandoned or brutally managed by public authorities. They conducted historical research of this self-urbanization based on the first dwellers' interviews and other recorders. This work resulted in an exhibition highlighting their sense of mutual help as an important element of the favela cultural heritage. Documents, photographs, and the gathering of oral history statements, collected over two decades earlier, made the way towards creating the museum a further step in the history of the community organization. They accomplished this by tuning this narrative to the city narrative, adjusting the role attributed to favela residents in the city creation, and understanding the favela not as an exception to the housing rule, but as a very common experience of urbanization in the developing world. The museum is an award-winning initiative in social memory and a national and international example of a civil society organization that exemplifies the principles of New Museology and its more contemporary face – Social Museology. It is a reference for the creation of the Memory Spots Program, of the Brazilian Institute of Museums (Pereira, 2018, 2020).

The Morro Alto Museum appeared in the context of PAC-Favelas in 2008 when a group of residents already quite active in the communities advocated the use of PAC social resources for a training project in cultural tourism. The group identifies the favela's location, close to the most tourist neighborhoods, as a strategic advantage that would encourage tourists to visit the favelas, get to know its dynamics of sociability, and have privileged access to panoramic views of the maritime landscape. Besides of amusing the visitors, the tourist activity was designed to stimulate productive chains in the favela. A good example of this is the agreement amongst museum managers and local artisans to developed artistic languages to express the favela cultural landscapes in the *souvenir* production. This project was further driven by resources of the Memory Spots Program, a specialization of the Cultura Viva Program. The Morro Alto Museum differs from the Colina Museum because it is a territory museum or an ecomuseum. The Colina Museum, although created through participatory curation, safeguards collections of objects and works centralized in a building like traditional museums. Nonetheless, these museal experiences are mutually inspired (Brulon, 2015).

The Colina Museum and the Morro Alto Museum, which emerged in the first decade of the century, are civil society organizations with legal personalities. Thanks to that they have obtained funding and technical support, albeit insufficient and discontinuous, from government agencies, such as the Brazilian Institute of

Museums and the state and municipal secretaries of culture. The Planície Museum was created in 2016 and until 2020 it had not yet been formalized as a legal entity. It arose as a reaction to the violent removal process that its community resisted for about seven long years since the victory of Rio de Janeiro was announced to host the mega sporting events Fifa World Cup in 2014 and the Summer Olympic Games in 2016. The next section will deepen how Nice, one of the most active managers and voices in the Planície's community, defines the museum. In her own words, the museum is "a tool for struggle" against urban planning that prioritizes land speculation and unreasonable removals of impoverished populations to places with fewer public facilities and access to mobility structures.

**Nice defines the museum**

Nice, like other members of the museum teams, participated in this study through recorded interviews. The recordings and transcriptions of the sessions were shared with her, who could revise the texts. This material was analyzed using qualitative research software. The word "museum" was one of the most frequently used vocabularies. The next step was to verify what semantics could be attributed to the term. The content analysis returned 194 references to the word "museum". These data were manually re-analyzed, and nine entries were chosen. Subsequently, they will be commented in the light of participant observation conducted during field research.

Table 2 - "Museum" in the interview with Nice from the Colina Museum

| Beginning | Context | Keyword | Context |
|---|---|---|---|
| 29 | of showing its importance. As the Colina Museum, for example, the Planície Museum too, it is another | museum | that demonstrates the importance of the favela. Because the favela must be spoken out and a |
| 43 | our material is pretty much verbal, they are speeches, they are more like photographs, they are videos. So, the | museum | does not have these things. So, who comes to the museum is who really has an interest in |
| 43 | about the people who come here to visit us they are conscious people, conscious people, you know, of the importance of the social | museum | , of the ecomuseum, indeed. They are people who have already joined the struggle, the activism. I think |
| 51 | Then, I think that it is a bit of that. I see it from that standpoint. And the | museum | helps us. Because the museum is safeguarding the memory of every dweller who |
| 69 | it went, because right now I forgot, it went abroad too. It has been in Colombia. So, the | museum | is becoming known, it is connecting out. And this is a lot to us |
| 27 | so we can stop the removals of the families. Because it is an understanding of the | museum | team and mine, as a favela dweller who has undergone a removal process, nobody must be |
| 58 | that the dwellers of this community are the biggest privileged people because imagine yourself living in the | museum | .Sometimes the resident does not even have this notion, but we, right, we have this notion |
| 68 | Gosh, so-and-so, can you come and support us? We are going to wear the T-shirt of the | museum | to do an act there at the City Hall`s door to claim that they put the |
| 91 | that. So, I will not be represented in a museum such as these ones. Right? My museum is a slum | museum | . It is a museum that speaks out about the poor people's struggle for housing, about the difficulties |

Source: Own creation.

Nice emphasizes that the museum is a "tool for struggle". In other words, the concern with the patrimonialization and musealization of the territory is conditioned and at the service of another, essentially social, cause. The museum emerged to remain vigilant against potential attacks that may threaten the community's existence. Therefore, it is in dialogue with the new possibilities of social engagement based on the agenda of culture – which makes a lot of sense in Rio de Janeiro, a city that stands out on the national scene of New Museology and Social Museology due to the greater number of favela museums it houses (Santos, 2017).

In this sense, the museum can also be understood as part of the culture of resilience pointed out by Gonçalves (2017). The author comments that "resilience" is the ability of communities to recover from disruptions (2017, pp. 372-374). The museum is a resource for reassessing history, allowing the community to keep identifying and classifying "normal" and "crisis" situations. It helped the dwellers to reposition themselves after the removal of the families and demolition of their houses, both by documenting and reworking past and current events and by articulating with other communities facing similar processes. Nice comments that the struggle of her family and community has brought her into contact with urban activists and researchers in other Brazilian states and abroad, having visited countries like Colombia and the United States.

> [The Museum] already has good visibility out there. It was once in Portugal, it was in... France... New York. There was another place where Urania went, which I now forgot, it is abroad too. It has also been to Colombia. So, the museum is being known, it is connecting out. (Nice – Director – 10/28/2019, Pos. 68-69).

> We are doing it, for example, we have already been to some communities. When there was that favela event in Salvador, for example, I participated in that event in Salvador. I went to Salvador. I have visited other communities; we have talked about the struggle. I was in São Paulo a short time ago. They did a similar popular project. It is a community ..., it is a community that is struggling to remain in the space where it already exists. (Nice – Director – 7/31/2019, Pos. 74).

As visitation is not always possible, digital resources are deployed to reach interested audiences geographically far away. Therefore, the team seeks audiovisual production that highlights and records nuances of life in the community. In January 2020, there was an event featuring a series of documentaries produced by a partner architect focusing on the lack of integration with the nearest gated communities. In one of these short videos, the filmmaker accompanied Dona Hesíquia, a Planície's resident and a collector of recyclable material, exploring her path cut by high-speed avenues and by distances made to be completed by car. Fences, walls, and surveillance systems protecting the dwellers of the residential towers would make her livelihood impossible, were it not for her constant and already familiar presence (Caldeira, 2000). Nice comments that the museum's collection is audiovisual records such as speeches, photographs, and videos. She says the museum has served as a laboratory in which community managers and supporters seek to develop research and produce curatorial materials. The goal is to use the museum to keep the community mobilized against the loss of rights and towards accomplishing promises that so far remain only on paper. Therefore, according to Nice, the museum is committed to safeguarding the reminiscences and legacies of the former favela's residents.

So, I think that is a little bit of it. I see it from that standpoint. And the museum helps us. Because the museum is keeping the memory of every dweller who left. (Nice – Director – 10/28/2019, Pos. 51).

Because it is an understanding of the museum team and mine, as a favela resident who has undergone a removal process, nobody must be removed, nobody is trash. Home and the house are sacred. They must be respected. And we must have a voice. This museum is that. It is giving a voice because it is in this construction to have a voice. (Nice – Director – 7/31/2019, Pos. 27).

Most of the residents of the old favela were evicted in 2014 after years of struggle to stay. Only few families resisted removal efforts until the end, which in the wide arsenal did not cease to include the uses of force. Walking the routes, it is possible even for visitors to check the procedures carried out by city officials against the permanence of the community. In passages of her interview sessions, Nice explains that once the threat of removal has passed, which happened in 2016, and with the most politicized residents inhabiting their new homes, the musealization of the community territory has changed the existential sense of living. Symbolic values have been added to that land – a history of struggle, victory, and public recognition (Desvallées and Mairesse, 2013; Soares and Scheiner, 2008).

According to Nice, activities orchestrated by the Planície's community and by sympathetic sectors of civil society seek a meaningful experience with democracy, adjusting it to the needs identified in the community, and not the other way around. The popular urbanization plan presented to the then Mayor years earlier was symptomatic of this, and the mobilizations continue happening after the megaevents and the Planície's dwellers resettlement. The last known involved giving more visibility to the community, since isolated between a highway and a lagoon in an area whose distances are not to be made on foot, and far from any other popular housing developments, the small block of houses is lost among vegetation and the recently built Olympic and mobility infrastructures. For this reason, they claimed to change the name of the next Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) terminal station – an achievement reached in 2020. The community understands that anonymity and geographic isolation are risk factors given the insidious Brazilian "amnesia". Knowing that on other occasions promises of non-removal, even endorsed by law, were undone, they fulfill the task of remaining mobilized and visible.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, it is worth considering how the population, understood as favela dwellers, and territory management, understood mainly but not only as local government, are reflected in the late history of the communities and Nice's speech. It is also relevant to analyze how the creations of the museums respond to those dynamics.

As Nice comments, despite social indifferences to the issue of favelas, urban dynamics can only be understood if the binomial city (formal city) and favela (informal city) are correlated. Everyone is involved in the configuration of the current city. Colina was elevated to the status of a formal neighborhood in 1994. The more Colina's residents themselves develop strategies for the unification of these territories – by acquiring more social prestige, gaining purchasing power, and raising more political awareness –, the more they increase their bargaining power. By its turns, such achievements can affect decisions about improvements in urban public facilities insofar as the dwellers develop new assets to also resist land speculation. The museum is symptomatic of the increased political visibility of the population living in Colina. For more than a decade, the museum team has worked through horizontal arrangements with local repercussions and large community acceptance. These gestures are enhanced by sectors of the civil society and public authorities sympathetic to them, feeding a virtuous cycle of living with participatory democracy.

In the case of the Planície Museum, Nice's speech highlights that respect for human dignity should characterize the relationship between affected residents and Rio's City Hall. This did not happen with the families of Planície, in that the community was persuaded through strategies that left little room for maneuver and most of them accepted the removal. Favela is a community, in Nice's words, an instance through which she organizes experiences like hers. It was up to the museum to safeguard the memory of the removal experience and to share it with other populations equally affected by projects of development devoid of respectful dialogue with the local population. The Morro Alto Museum carries the most paradigmatic sense of favela and has known how to cement a daily bond amongst museum activities and communities through the tours, accustoming householders to the presence of smiling visitors. But this path is not without crises. Like everyone in the tourism industry, it was assumed that sports fans would continue visiting the country. The observations came at a time when those hopes had been exhausted. The scenario found was the abandonment of public infrastructures giving access to the complex, the few hostels closing their doors due to lack of customers, and the complex taking on life basically counting on itself. It is historical in the country that development projects do not consider in a dialogical manner what impacts they can have on local populations. It is also not uncommon that such expensive projects end up deteriorating due to the lack of maintenance or because they have not been fully integrated into the daily lives of residents.

### Acknowledgments

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# 146 The urbanism of exception?

## Scrutinizing the role of the governmental actors in the realization of the private urban megaprojects in Tbilisi, Georgia

DAVID GOGISHVILI
Malmö University

### ABSTRACT [1]

This article examines the legislative manipulations in realization of an urban megaproject currently under construction in Tbilisi, Georgia. Introduced to the public in 2014, Panorama Tbilisi with the $600 million budget spread across 270,000m² of land is making significant changes to the downtown of the city and its adjacent natural hilltops. The project claimed to be the largest ever property development in Georgia, involves a long list of "spectacular" developments – luxury hotels connected by ropeways, serviced high-end apartments, A-class offices, the region's largest conference hall – all placed in the historic and landscape preservation zone of the old city. While all project sites are located either in the area where the construction is completely, or partially banned, permits were issued anyways through manipulations of the national and municipal legal framework. Despite the project being owned by the private actor – Georgian Co-Investment Fund – it is the hybrid actions of the government and the project owner that has allowed the delivery of Panorama Tbilisi. In contrast of the globally active role of local governments in conceiving urban entrepreneurial strategies, the national government, instead of questioning the project relevance, has played a decisive role in making the project happen. This paper theorizes the mixed role of both the central and local government in the delivery of the urban entrepreneurial strategies such as the realization of the real estate urban megaproject. Through the content analysis of legislative documents, the governmental meeting records, interviews with various stakeholders, I will explore the role of the governmental structures in the realization of the urban megaproject through the legislative manipulations and modes of governance involved in this process.

Keywords: urban megaprojects, urbanism of exception, urban entrepreneurialism, the Global East.

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1   By option of the authors this article will be published in another journal.

# 150 The governance of Grand Urban Projects: public power and private actors

RAQUEL DE BARROS GAIDEX
Doutoranda Universidade de Lisboa

JOSÉ LUÍS MOURATO CRESPO
Universidade de Lisboa

CARLOS HARDT
Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Paraná

## ABSTRACT

The need for economic growth, especially tourism, leads many cities to develop grand urban projects with the intention of promoting the upgrading of degraded areas that are not very attractive for tourism. The models of projects created to contemplate the different actors involved in the process have a similarity in their urban conceptions, with an iconic architecture and great visual appeal. However, different institutional arrangements are adopted, depending on the objective to be achieved.

In this article, the intention is to analyze the governance relationship established between the public authorities and other actors in structural urban interventions carried out in waterfront areas. Intervention projects in these areas, worldwide, started with the Boston and Baltimore cases, still in the 1960s. In Europe, the London Docklands case was inspired in these cases to transform its port area into a residential and business district. From the case of London, a series of other intervention projects on water fronts emerged in Europe. In Barcelona, the transformation was part of a reconfiguration movement in the city, in the 1980s, and driven by the 1992 Olympic Games. Still in the 1990s, Lisbon transformed a degraded area in *Parque das Nações*, motivated by Expo 98. More recently, in other continents, prominent cases such as *Puerto Madero*, in Buenos Aires, and in Rio de Janeiro, the case of *Porto Maravilha*.

The purpose of this article is to investigate how urban policies adopted by the public authorities contributed to the success of urban interventions, under the focus of governance and institutional arrangements.

In this sense, based on bibliographic research, the article discusses the management models adopted in Barcelona, Lisbon, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro, implemented over four decades, establishing relationships between the management models and the governance adopted in the cases under study.

The results highlight the similarities and differences in the analysis of the models examined, and the conclusions point to the importance and relevance of the knowledge of past experiences, allowing to subsidize new initiatives that are appropriate to the reality of each urban environment.

**Keywords:** urban policies; grand projects; urban governance; management models.

## 1. Introduction

The great cities of the XXI century bring new challenges for its managers. When analysing its socio-spatial occupancy, it can be observed that the depletion of the capacity for expansion of the urban tissue, combined, in some cases, to the problems resulting from the selective investment in certain areas of the cities, contribute to the new approaches given to the production politics and management of urban spaces.

The foundation to the necessity of urban intervention is at the idleness of the already installed infrastructure, on the degradation of public space, or even on the mono-usability of the area. On the other hand, the proposals for intervention are based on the valorisation of the built patrimony, the promotion of the usage and activities diversity, the cultural revitalization and the stagnation of the process of population drainage due to the region neglection.

Along with the aging of certain zones of the city, resultants from the non-utilization or the alteration of activities nature, the need for renovation arises. Given the cities characteristics, many times  old or obsolete urban equipment can give birth to another sort of asset with cultural, artistic or touristic value, that provides new valorisation to an anteriorly degraded area (Cabral, Rato, 2001).

As a response to the image of degradation and emptying associated to certain localities on the cities, specially to historical urban centres, politics of intervention and transformation of the space are developed, known as "urban revitalizations". For its relevancy and actuality, the "urban revitalizations" occupy today a relevant space at the agenda and demands of different actors in big and medium sized cities.

The public power practice a fundamental role, through the establishment of partnerships with the private sector, and through the creation of facilitating conditions for the implementation of projects and attracting the real estate industry, such as the re-urbanization of the public spaces works, the flexibilization of the urban norms and even the alteration of zoning of certain regions, established through specific legislation. However, the role of public power as the protagonist has been suffering changes as other actors have been carrying a decisive part in the process.

## 2. Urban Revitalizations

The politics of "urban revitalizations" constitute a public or private investment in delimited areas of the city, directed to the recovery or creation of new urban centralities in different scales. These transformations aim to promote the renovation or modification of the use that characterized these spaces.

The "urban revitalizations" are perceived as punctual projects of urban intervention that work as resources to municipalities to face the competitiveness among

cities and thus, attract investments. Therefore, to the realization of these dynamics, it would be necessary strategies of transformation of the cultural patrimony to commodity, through gentrification politics. Because of it, the theme of "urban revitalizations" are too associated with the gentrification theme. According to Smith (2006), the gentrification phenomenon represents a restructuration of the urban centres based on great operations of transformation of the living sites, employment, leisure, and consumption at these longstanding localities. Such transformations would produce urban landscapes susceptible to the middle- and high-class consumerism.

Smith (2006) emphasizes that the role fulfilled by the public agents and private space producers that made the phenomenon a remarkable dimension of the contemporaneous urbanism. Being built in urban politics, the gentrification would represent a cooperative and systematic alliance between the public and private urbanism, as well as a crucial strategy to the localities that, from their old centres, would participate of the competitive arenas of the modern global market. According to the author, the gentrification phenomenon has acquired a planning and financial scales without precedents: "The 'regeneration' language deliberately substitutes the simple and honest language of the gentrification. It is exactly because the gentrification vocabulary says the truth about the social change implicated on the city 'regeneration', that it appears coarse for the promoters, politics and financiers [...]" (Smith, 2006, p. 84).

### 3. Grand Urban Projects

At this point, it should be highlighted a new category that has been object of urban studies, that refers to the private form of intervention on cities and that can be, at times, identified with urban revitalization policies. They are called "grand urban projects".

The American denomination "large-scale urban projects" seems more adequate to describe what, in Brazil, is known as "grand urban projects" (GUPs). Still according to the designation utilized in the English language, the term large-scale urban development projects (UDPs) is translated to "grand urban development projects", used on a study case of twelve EU countries (Swyngedouw *et al*, 2002), in which the authors seek a definition.

Basically, two theoretical models seek to analyse the effects of the capital accumulation at the cities, the reflexes of great urban projects and the methods for managing this process: the European chain of strategic planning and the north american urban entrepreneurship. The chain of strategic planning is founded in aspects such as: the participation of the private sector in financing of urban projects, the creation of autonomous entities for the conduction of the process, the introduction of strategic planning, the consensus created in public administration

and utilization of great events as strategy of transformation.

In turn, Harvey (2005) defends that there has been a transformation of the urban management model for urban entrepreneurship: "it seems to have been emerged a general consensus in the whole advanced capitalist world that the positives benefits have to be obtained by cities that assume an entrepreneurial behaviour in regard to economic development".

**Rio De Janeiro**

In Rio de Janeiro, part of the port zone – constituted by the Saúde, Gamboa and Santo Cristo districts – has been target of a rather emblematic intervention policy of great magnitude. Launched in the year of 2009 by the recent elected public administration, the "Port Maravilha" project achieved applicability in a context of inter-federative politic alignment and preparation for the city to host the Olympic Games of 2016, leaving behind a historic of systematics and a number of non-succeeding proposals of transformation of the port region. Formally, the policy has been enabled through a Consortium Urban Operation (CUO), a complex instrument and very polemic foreseen in the City Statute (BRASIL, 2001), embracing an area of approximately 5 million of square meters. In this operation, the construction and a few services of the region were delegated to the private initiative, through the celebration of a Public-Private Partnership (PPP), lasting at least fifteen years, and that figurate as parts the Porto Novo Consortium – composed by the enterprises Odebrecht, OAS and Carioca Engineering – and, on the other hand, the *Companhia de Desenvolvimento Urbano da Região Portuária do Rio de Janeiro (CDURP)* – public company of mist capital created for the purpose of managing and supervising the CUO. Evaluated in about 8 million of reais[1], the intervention achieved financial viability from the emission of Additional Potential of Construction Certificates (APCCs) in the region of the City Hall and has consolidated by selling the totality of the certificates emitted. On a single-lot auction, the Real-Estate Investment Found Porto Maravilha (FIIPM), controlled by the *Caixa Econômica Federal (CEF)* acquired APCCs and sealed the prioritised buying right of a few public lands located in the region, whereas the Real-Estate Investment Found of Port Region (FIIRP), controlled by CDURP, has acquired the guarantee of the amount of resources necessary for the operation. The transformations on the port region involved a combination of infrastructural works with the purpose of implanting a new urban pattern in that city portion, and the installation of equipment turned to the leisure, culture, commerce and tourism. Besides that, the operation has also opened space to the installation of a great quantity of real-estate ventures on the area, were these oriented to the absorption of the high demand for commercial spaces and offices in the central regions of the city or to the production of habitation in various standards (Carlos, 2010).

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1 *Real* is the official currency of Brazil.

### 3.2 Barcelona

On previous years to the Olympic indication, there were important interventions developed in Barcelona, foremost on public space, notable for the will to reconstruct the city and the quality of the involved projects. With them, there is an attempt to a certain method of intervention on the city that will characterize, to the present days, the Barcelona urbanism. In projects motivated by the Olympic Games of 1992, stand out those of its four principal areas and the construction of a road belt, Ronda, that involves the city along with its limits. Of the four areas, most known as the Vila Olímpica, built to lodge athletes, the Olympic Ring over Montjuic, planned to accommodate the equipment of bigger capacity, such as the Stadium and the Palau Sant Jordi (Saint Jorge Palace). The organization of tasks related to the Olympic Games was entrusted to the Olympic Organizing Committee of Barcelona 1992 S.A. (COOB'92). Barcelona Holding Olímpic S.A. (Holsa) integrated the activities of the Spanish State and the City Council of Barcelona. Holsa was the main construction company and it was destined to build most of the 78 new kilometres of roads and the Olympic village.

Converted to a residential district afterwards, the Vila Olímpica was an important step to the access from the city to the sea, until then cut by the barrier of industries and railroad infrastructure. It was the first of a sequence of plans and projects developed to redefine the seafront along approximately 3km, until the east limit, near the mouth of Rio Besós.

The Vila Olímpica is the first step to the reconversion of the seashore to the Sant Martí District. After the Olympic Games, there was a broad diffusion of images and reflections about its ordination as urban tissue and as the newest district of Barcelona.

It is from 1993, no long after the celebration of the Games, that the planning of the east quadrant of Barcelona begins, with plans that are all approved in 1996: Maritime Front, the Sea Diagonal, the prolonging of Diagonal Avenue foreseen by Cerdà and also the reconversion of the railway corridor of Sagrera. (Molet, 2012). This period has converted Barcelona in a reference of planning.

### 3.3 Buenos Aires

Since the end of the decade of 80, the area of 170 hectares in the vicinities of the *Casa Rosada* that comprehends the *Puerto Madero* region had been suffering the abandonment and disuse. It was then conceived a project as part of a broader development strategy in all of the city center, that also included alterations of the norms about soil usage, the reconditioning of buildings and the construction of habitations of social interest in traditional areas. The lots that were property of the federal General Administration of Ports, but the city government, as well

as the federal government had jurisdiction over the planning of the zone. With the means of simplifying this mode of government, there was the constitution of a public entrepreneurship for managing the project, which actions divide themselves equitably between to the national and the city government. In 1989, the federal government transferred the property of this port sector to the new society, the *Corporação Antíguo Puerto Madero (CAPM).*

Once transferred the plots of lands of the federal government, the CAPM work constituted in developing a plan for that sector, defining a self-financed financial model, taking care of improvement associated with the project, commercializing the lots and supervising the process of development of deals with the deadlines and guidelines stablished by the City Hall Director Plan. The difference to what occurs with others similar entrepreneurships, in other parts of the world, that generally count with public financing or credit access, the CAPM would not receive any public resources beyond the transference of the lots and would generate its own rental income for covering the operational costs.

The development occurred in four stages. At the first stage (1989-1992), the CAPM sold the old properties and used the profit to cover the initial costs of the project. An arrangement was firmed with the architects' society for promoting a national competition of ideas to the project. Three teams were awarded and worked together on the preliminary project, that preserved many historical buildings of the port, given them new functionalities. At the second stage (1993-1995), the original proposal from the winners of the competition was developed, which consisted in the development of 1,5 million of square meters of built surface, comprehending commercial activities, cultural centers and medium-sized activities that could accommodate within 16 renewed port deposits.

During the third stage (1996-2000) the most part of public works was made and the project costs increased, along with the land selling. The profile of the investors has evolved to a pioneer group formed by small- and medium-sized companies to large entrepreneurships that invested in products of verified effectiveness. In 2001, there were few public lots for sell and the company possessed sufficient liquid assets for concluding the constructions. On the fourth stage (2001-present) there were economic turbulences due to the fiscal crisis o f2001, and the land selling ceased. In 2003, the country has restructured the external debt, at the same time that the CAPM sold lots that sufficed the revenue to complete the necessary constructions for the conclusion of the project. As the available lots in Puerto Madero have became scarce, investors recurred to areas around the city center, as investment alternatives (Garay, 2013).

Despite the success of the project, for many observers, the social results were not satisfactory. There are critics about the CAPM actuation, that had limited itself to articulate the interests of private parties, ignoring the policies designed for the

benefit of the city habitants. However, the economic residences and other elements that would have guaranteed the diversity of the zone's residential demography were not part of the tasks attributed to the CAPM. Various programs with that objective were planned as part of the broader strategy for the city center, but they never materialized, causing the isolation of Puerto Madero as an elite development area.

### 3.4 Parque Das Nações

The realization of the *Exposição Mundial de Lisboa* – Expo '98 – served as a pretext to carry out an operation of urban and enviromental reconversion, in the oriental zone of Lisbon, of reference in Portuguese panorama.

The idea of Expo '98 initiated in 1989, and between 1989 and 1992 there were important decisions taken for the concretization of the proposal. One of them was the election of the eastern part of the city as location, and the objective of binding the event with the urban revitalization of an old and abandoned industrial district of the town. This elected area was situated on a river front around the Olivais pier, part in Lisbon municipality and part of Loures municipality. Once chosen the location, the work developed simultaneously in different directions. Four of them were decisive: 1) the establishment of an adequate legal and administrative mark; 2) the production of an urbanistic plan and the exposition of its correspondent design, planning and financial program mark; 3) the local preparation (selling negotiation and land expropriation of different proprietaries and lessees.) for producing and starting the projects of existing installations and infrastructures relocation and for the necessary dismount, demolishing and decontamination; and 4) the functional integration through the highways and transportation systems (Cabral, Rato, 2001).

In 1993, an organizing entity was built, the Parque Expo '98, anonymous society of exclusively public capitals – embraced by a private statute due to the extension and the complexity of what would be its acting scope -, on which has been placed the executive responsibility of the event and the associated project. The company was under the State tutelage, being represented by a Commissariat simultaneously design.

The government enabled the Parque Expo society with full and exclusive powers of planning and licensing on the total area of development of Expo '98, the *Zone of Intervention* (ZI). The Parque Expo has internally developed an Urbanization Plan for the set of the 350 hectares area, approved in 1994 for a period of 10-15 years. To the ZI, six detailed plans were consecutively developed, through direct adjudication or as a result of contests by invitation to different architecture bureaus. The same procedure was followed for entrepreneur buildings (Cabral, 2005).

The economic-financial strategy of the project, being set on a "zero-cost" logic, aimed as a final result an equivalency among expenses and receipts. In that way, the operation costs that were beyond the ones co-financed by community programs – *European Fund for Regional Development (FEDER) and Cohesion Fund* –, would have to be covered by the operation's own receipts. With the polemical budgetary slippage, given in part due to management errors, and the receipts of the event's ticket office, below the expected, there was a necessity for the intervention to become a great real-estate operation, supported by a strong marketing campaign, in a way to attract the private investment necessary to provide for the additional costs. This has led to, with unrolling of the operation, some of the initial presumptions had to give place to this "accounting logic" of corporate management, featured by Parque Expo.

### 4. Management Models

An adequate management of a project is so important as the city project itself. For that matter, here it is analysed the management models adopted on the exposed examples. As a rule, the preferential models are the public-private partnerships. In this process, four kinds of actors participate and articulate: the public administration, that promotes the transformation of the area, through the regulation of the actions by administrative acts (laws, decrees, etc.), and with public investment. Beyond administration, there is a public-private partnership itself, acting through an entity created for that specific finality, with the mission of managing the project, executing the planned actions, patrimony management, etc. Other actors are the private agents, whether they are landlords or real-estate promotors, that act like implementation agents of activities on the sector, through investments, seeking economics gains. And yet, the organized civil society, as the association of residents, that has as an objective the preservation of the neighbourhood identity, protection against real-estate speculation, acting by popular mobilisation.

Table 1 – Management Models

| Name | Parque das Nações | Vila Olímpica | Puerto Madero | Porto Maravilha |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | 1998 | 1992 | 1996 | 2009 |
| Area | 5,44km² | 1,5km² | 5,03km² | 5,0km² |
| Legal-Administrative Model | Public-Private Partnership | Public-Private Partnership | Consortium | Public-Private Partnership |
| Actors | Municipal Government<br><br>Anonymous Society of public capital | Municipal Government<br><br>Anonymous Society<br><br>Investors | National Government/Buenos Aires Municipality | Municipal/Federal Government<br><br>Mixed-economy Society (CDURP)<br><br>Caixa Econômica Federal<br><br>Private Consortium |
| Mobilization of resources | Public resources | Public and Private resources | Public resources | Public resources |

Source: Own creation

## 5. Conclusions

The process of implantation of great urban projects still provokes discussion, although it has been utilized for almost half a century. There are contrary opinions to its utilization, considering that it favours a privileged minority to the population, as it also utilizes public resources. Another line of opinions considers that it plays an important role in the recovering of obsolete areas and consequent development of areas that the municipal government, alone, cannot recover. The recurrent critics is the difficulty, many times signalled as lack of politics will from the municipal administration in inserting the population in the discussions of decisive processes referent to the implementation of large-scale projects. This observation is even more assertive when it is taken to consideration that great part of the resources at stake are originated of municipal coffers, product of taxes collection paid by the same population. Beyond that, other referred effects are the increase of the property prices, a low presence of habitations of social interests on the local and the forfeiting of the original identity of the neighbourhood. And yet, the possible social impacts must be taken to consideration, such as the gentrification (resulting from the increase of prices) and also the Ambiental impacts, that tend to be significant.

Therefore, although the advances under the aspect of recuperation of degraded areas and city development, these questions remain unsolved, and must be object of future studies in the sense of developing an effective capacity of intermediation between policies and society, seeking to reduce the negative effects of great urban projects.

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# Track 7: Urban Competitiveness And Social Challenge

SANDRA MARQUES PEREIRA (CHAIR) | DINÂMIA'CET - ISCTE
MADALENA CORTE-REAL | DINÂMIA'CET - ISCTE

The 21st century is being marked by the intensification of urban globalisation and an increase in international competitiveness between cities which conditions them to develop "winning" and attractive strategies for investment. Tourism, urban rehabilitation and temporary city-use are fundamental pillars of these strategies. These are almost always framed by other actions and parallel approaches, namely: i) the reconstitution of the physical/material and the symbolic image of the city and investment in its dissemination at the national and international level; ii) the adoption of models of urban management inspired by New Public Management (NPM), which imports the logics of private management for the public sector, in what D. Harvey called "urban entrepreneurship". However, the benefits and costs resulting from these strategies are unevenly distributed, calling into question the functional, geographical and socio-economic balance of contemporary cities.

This session calls for the presentation of papers that present analysis around this theme, preferably focused on specific case studies that are theoretically and methodologically grounded. Priority will be given to the following themes, which can also be addressed in the light of the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic:

- Place branding/marketing

- Tourism and its urban impacts

- Social and spatial segregation

- Gentrification

- Privatization of Public Spaces (Pops)

With their specific strategies, cities enter in the increasingly difficult arena of international competition for talent, resources and projects. By valuing and marketing their local assets, namely the cultural and historical capital, territories are redefined and gain a new perception of meaning often at the expense of local population resulting in gentrification processes.

In terms of theoretical framework, research tends to look at these phenomena from the dominant Anglo-Saxon hegemonic literature perspective dominated by the paradigms of Harvey and Smith. In this sense and considering various projects worldwide, the need to question the adaptability of these models has to be encountered taking into account the different realities.

Notwithstanding global trends and against generalizations from case studies of central countries and global cities the importance is highlighted of looking at national and local singularities resulting from environmental, political, historical, spatial, socioeconomic and cultural factors as well as forms of conformation and resistance. It is necessary to deepen the local specificities and analyse the actors that are present, as well as practices and identities.

# 43 The spatial change between migrations and religions in the capital city of Taipei

CHIH-WEN LAN
Fu Jen Catholic University

## ABSTRACT

Globalization accelerates the flow of peoples. As migrants in a foreign country, people may face such problems as struggling to adjust to their new local environment and feeling isolated. Participating in people with the same national origin may serve as a potential solution in reducing feelings of isolating, especially with regards to religious ceremonies and practices for closing bonds with others in their community. Religion is an important for social trends. The establishment of places of worship is a core symbol of social and spatial connection.

Taiwan is a country of multiple, diverse belief systems and religions. Various religions and belief systems are scattered throughout the country, proving a high degree of tolerance and openness for religious diversity. Due to geographical and political factors, the majority population of Taiwan has shifted from the Austronesians to the Southern Han-Chinese people. Until the present day, the majority of the religions and belief systems in Taiwan are Han-Chinese in origin. In recent years, globalization and increased migration has brought different religions and belief systems to Taiwan. Religion and belief systems in Taiwan have gradually become more and more diverse.

Taipei is Taiwan's capital city and is home to many diverse populations of people, serving as an indicator of change and positive social trends in Taiwanese society. With regard to migration and the social trend towards globalization, what is the impact of changes to religious spaces?

This research aims to draw comparisons between traditional Han-Chinese and Non-Han-Chinese religions with regards to differing spatial and temporal concerns, in an effort to explain the character of diverse religious spaces in the capital city of Taipei, and to provide potentially innovative research methods to better understand the social nature of religions and belief systems in the capital.

**Keywords:** Religion, urban space, migration, Taipei.

## 1. Introduction

A capital city is usually a place with a complex and diverse population with the most immigrants from different cultures. When a city planner makes city plan, it is crucial to know the composition of the populations, the definition of different cultures and spaces which is difficult to define. Therefore, knowing the spatial character of culture and trend in a capital city is important for city planner.

## 2. Research purpose and objective

The method of defining a culture is diverse. Defining a religion-belief location is one of the methods which helps to find the center of a culture and the trend of the population movement in city space.

The research offers a method to define the cultural area and its trend by locations to help the city planner to understand cultural space and to make culturally deep urban design and planning.

## 3. Taipei city, capital city as study object

This research examines the change and social character between different religion spaces in the capital city. An openness and tolerance for different religions is appropriate for religion variety research.

According to the Pew Research Center, on the subject of global religious diversity in 2014, Taiwan stands as the no. 2 of religious diversity[1]. The 7th first investigation of Taiwanese social change reported by questionnaires in 2016 shows that Buddhism is 18.7%, Taoism is 15.9%, folk beliefs are 43.7%, Yiguandao (a kind of Buddhism) is 1.5%, Islam is 0.1%, Catholicism is 0.7%, Christianity (Protestant in Taiwan) is 5.0%, no religion is 14% and others are 0.4% in Taiwanese populations[2]. It shows that Taiwan is a place of tolerance and openness for all religions where a temple can have several different god figures. The mosque and church are situated next to each other in the same area. Its capital city, Taipei, represents the character of openness for religions and diversity. Knowing the different spatial characters of culture, Taipei is an appropriate example to do this research.

## 4. Research method

### 4.1 Collecting data

Taipei Department of Civil Affairs (abbr.: DCA)[3] is in charge of making the registry database. According to DCA, the work of religion registration and census is by religion law, but is not obligatory.

Since 2018, the religions in DCA data include 283 temples (including foundations), 181 Protestant Christianity, 8 Catholicism, 1 Tenri, 1 Islam, 1 Baha'i and 1 Judaism[4]. Through the list, it is obviously that the Han-Chinese religion is the main belief in Taipei whose change indicates a trend of religion in Taipei.

### 4.2 Han-Chinese and Non-Han-Chinese religions in Taiwan

According to the DCA, the religions were divided in following categories: temples, corporation churches, foundations, and not registered. Most so-called traditional religions and beliefs[5] in Taiwan are mixed with Confucius, Daoism and Buddhism.

As to the monotheism religions, like Christianity or Islam or others which do not come from Chinese person or myth are categorized as Non-Han-Chinese religions.

For comparison, the research will divide the religions and beliefs in two groups: Han-Chinese religion and Non-Han-Chinese religion and belief.

### 4.3 Time: establishment time or nowadays situated time?

The research will show not only compared location maps between Han-Chinese and Non-Han-Chinese religions, but also the chronological religion trends on map.

The Han-Chinese beliefs in Taiwan come from south main land China over a hundred years. They are migrant religions in Taiwan in some definitions. Those religions may trace back to the original time of establishment and place when the religion and belief first came to Taiwan. However, during the time, the original established place/address may not be the same as the nowadays address if the religion has changed place. Especially the lower-grade gods' place may easily be changed[6] by forceful urban plan, by natural disaster or by the god's wish to move. The gods of Han-Chinese religion and belief have different levels and have

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1  https://www.pewforum.org/2014/04/04/global-religious-diversity/ (8th Aug. 2020)

2  https://web.archive.org/web/20170723011535/http://www.ios.sinica.edu.tw/sc/cht/datafile/tscs15.pdf (8th Aug. 2020)

3  The list of registered religions in Taipei, website: https://canet.civil.taipei/tp90-1/mygod/ (Supported by Taipei City Government, Department of Civil Affairs) (3rd July 2020)

4  The unregistered religions are over thousands which can not be categorized by DCA. Because the research needs to make clear comparison between religions, the unregistered religions are not considered in this research.

5  Before coming the Han-Chinese migrants, the main residences in Taiwan were aboriginal who are 3% of all Taiwan's population and live mostly outside Taipei.

6  For the Polytheism Han-Chinese religion and belief, different gods are different grades.

different functions. The higher grade of god, like Mazu[7], as sea goodness, situates mostly in original arriving Taiwan place. The lower grade god, like Tudigong[8], a local safeguard, whose locations changed sometimes.

Under these circumstances, if the time definition depends upon the original arriving Taiwan time, the data is unreliable, because many religions can not offer the precise arrival time in Taiwan, and the religion location may change place.



Fig. 1 – The problem to define the established religion time. (Author, 2020)

Therefore, the research uses other reliable data: the current address-- to trace back to the last located time. "The time of the religion in this final place" is the point to define the amount time in this location.
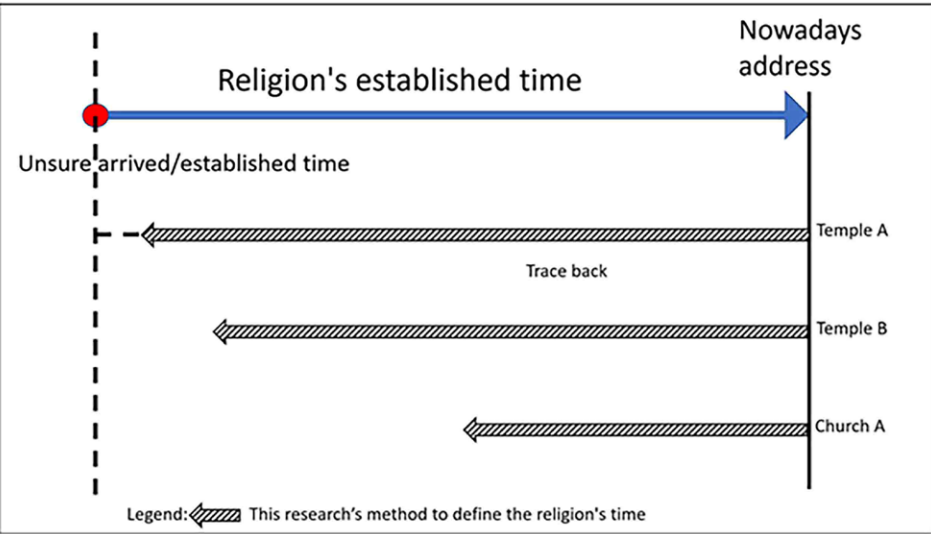


Fig. 2 – The method that the research defines the established time. (Author, 2020)

7   Mazu is goddess who guard the seafarers.
8   Tudigong (god of land) is land god who is in charge to guard the land.

(1)   Challenges

Using this definition for the time and space may meet some inaccuracies:

First: if a historic temple changes location, the time definition cannot reflect the long history of the temple.

However, it is not often that one sees that a temple changes places, especially the higher-grade gods' temples. Because higher-grade gods have meaning for the settlement and the solidarity of local folks.

Second: a lot of religions may register at the same time, following the religion law.

The registered religions provide their establishment history in the database. From the history, the location history can be traced back in time, not depending on the registered time.

(2)   Time span

Taiwan's history combines with immigrants. Since the 18th century, the history of religion combines the history of Han-Chinese migrants. For finding the chronological change of Han-Chinese religion, the study divides time into several spans: before the 18th century, 1800-1899, 1900-1949, and 1950-1999. Taiwan's Japanese colonial period is from 1895 to 1945, about 50 years. The time span is divided into every 50 years after 20th century.

Non-Han-Chinese religions in Taipei are relatively young in Taiwan's history. In order to see the chronological religion change on map, the research divides time spans into: before 1949, 1950-1969, 1970-1989 and 1990 until now, every 20 years.

Even the time span between the two religion groups is not the same, for knowing the change of the two religions, the change can be seen and interpreted.

## 5. The character of religions in Taiwan

### 5.1 Han-Chinese religion as folk belief

In this research, the definition of Han-Chinese religion and belief are combined with Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism as multi-god worship which has no strict organizations and doctrines. It may be rather more a folk belief than a typical religion. The ceremony was supported by volunteers or adherents who need help from the god or were ever helped by the god wanted to thank the god. Most folk belief temples provide services to attract more followers. The adherents want

to solve their real-life problems (finding a job, getting marry, passing the exams, having babies, getting better family relations, recover from illness...etc.) and ask the god's power to solve the real problem. They are like family, neighbors or a wish responder. The Han-Chinese religion and belief are deep in people's ethical values and show the deep culture of normal people.

## 5.2 Non-Han-Chinese religion

The Non-Han-Chinese religion was grouped into many different religions. Most of the Non-Han-Chinese religion in Taiwan are Protestantism/Christianity. In the 17th century, the Spanish made the missionary in north Taiwan, but the influence was limited and it has no followers now. The remains of early churches in Taipei may trace back in end of the 19th century which was built by Canadian missionary George Leslie Mackay (1844-1901). He built many churches and had many followers. Gradually because of international trade, the Taiwanese tea business man Li Chunsheng (1838-1924) believed in Christianity and built churches. This meant that the Taiwanese accept a Non-Chinese religion gradually and naturally. In mainland China, after the civil war between 1927-1949, many Chinese, or so called mainlander[9], fled to Taiwan. Some of them are religion staffs and followers. The mainlanders were mostly Protestantism or Catholic (Chen, 2008), compared to the Ben-Sen-Jen/native people who came to Taiwan before 1945 and had Japanese education.

### 6. The review of religion and belief in the capital city

W. P. Lin (2020) thought that the city's religions were brought by immigrants from their hometowns. The religions in big cities have a strong hometown character, like festival time, hometown network connections and social supports. Connecting with the hometown is important cultural character for the Han-Chinese people. Even when they immigrate to the other places, they don't forget where they come from and want to visit their hometown again to pray for their ancestors. Hometown identity is an important social cohesion.

For the urban planner, religious spaces are mixed facilities and public spaces for schools, hospitals, communities, network and social welfare. Religions have many social functions but the government management is relatively weak in Taiwan (S. X. Huang: 1992). Taiwanese are in awe and respect the invisible world (or god) which leads the face that management between land use and religious is done effectively. The religious registrations are in charge of religion and customs division of the city government, civil affairs which seems not tightly related with the city

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9  In Taiwan the diaspora Chinese were divided two groups roughly. The Chinese who came before 1947 (after WWII) were called Ben-Sen-Jen, local Chinese province (especially from Fujian and Guangdong province of south mainland China) people. The Chinese who fled to Taiwan after 1947, especially came with Chiang Kai-shek military were called Wuai-Sen-Jen (the people outside Fujian and Guangdong province) or mainlander in general.

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development departments. The leak should be connected because the religious registration is doesn't only know the number of religions in a city but also the city database for social facilities, economic activities and society spatial planning (S. X. Huang: 1992: p. 131-132).

Because of globalization, many international cities have faced the trend of immigrants and city spatial issues for a long time. Hence, the cultural and spatial issues are more complicated and have a lot of related researches comparing them in Taiwan. However, helping the integration and reducing the cultural spatial impacts are the main issues for city planners. Mazumdar (2013) pointed out that the immigrants in America bring not only the hometown religion but also change the urban landscape.

There are many related articles about religion and urban planning, the phenomena and the trend, but a less specific topic is to compare different religions' spatial trends in a city. It is hard to know every religion's spatial trend in a city.

Therefore, the research will focus on the religions' locations and the change of location to find the relation between religions' locations and city development trend and to interpret the spatial character through religions' locations. This is long-term research toward the planning goal: society harmony, well living and sustainability.

### 7. Historical background of religion and belief in Taipei

#### 7.1 Before the Japanese colonial period in 1895

Before the 18th century, there were Austronesian people (aboriginal) and several Han-Chinese in Taiwan. The aboriginal people's belief is a belief based in nature. Some changed their belief to Christianity after the coming of western missionaries. The missionary work in north Taiwan was difficult. Until the international business blossomed in mid-19th century in north Taiwan. The local people have broad vision to see the different culture and accept different religions gradually. The local Taiwanese who believed in Non-Chinese religion had more contact with western people, are business men, middle class or people who change religion because of marriage. (Wang, 2016)

Han-Chinese brought their original religion and belief to Taiwan over a long sea journey. The most popular belief figure in Taiwan for Han-Chinese is Ma-Tzu (mother goddess) who represents sea goddess. The population of Han-Chinese in Taiwan is almost 97% whose religion and belief dominate deep in Taiwan's society

#### 7.2 During the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945)

The Han-Chinese religion and belief combined with Confucianism, Taoism and

Buddhism which are similar to Japanese religions. Japanese respect Confucius, but they also have Buddhism in Japan, even though it is not totally similar with Taiwanese Buddhism. The religion policy during the Japanese colonial period was that people should not be forced to stop following the Han-Chinese religion.

However, the Japanese did not allow all local religions and belief ceremonies. As the anti-Japanese movement continued, the protestors' meeting places were mostly in Temple. This was a big threat for the Japanese. Especially after the Si-Lai-An incident[10] in 1915, the Japanese strictly prohibited religious activities, only Confucius and Buddhist religious activities could be conditionally held.

### 7.3 The religion after 1947

In 1947 Chiang Kai-shek failed in the civil war against Mao Zedong, and brought militaries and mainlanders to flee to Taiwan where they demolished many Shinto buildings. Chiang converted to Christianity. Most mainlanders in Taiwan are mostly converted Christianity. Huang concludes that the mainlanders were eager for a spiritual home and found the main thinking of Christianity fit their needs (suffering). The Christianity worships tightly linked the fled people in the foreign land, Taiwan. (Huang, 2005)

## 8. The figures of religious locations in Taipei

### 8.1 Han-Chinese religion and belief

The research divides time into several periods: the first period is before 1799, the second is between 1800-1899, the third is 1900-1949 and the last part is 1950-1999.



Fig. 3 – The Han-Chinese religion and belief location from 18th century until now. (Author, 2018)

There were already several Han-Chinese religions located in Taipei along Tamsui and Keelung river. The temple building is also a symbol to recognize the place for sailors.
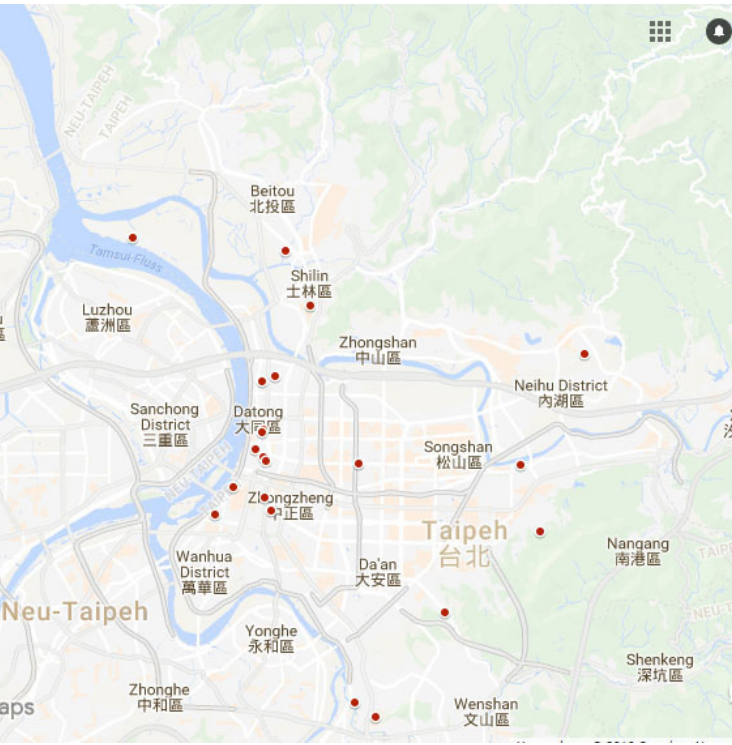


Fig. 4 – Located in 1800-1899 Han-Chinese religion and belief until now. (Author, 2018)

10      Si-Lai-An is a Taiwanese temple where was a Taiwanese meeting place for uprising against Japanese.

This period shows the expansion of Han-Chinese religions, which are mostly located along the river but some few religions are located on the edge of the old city center.
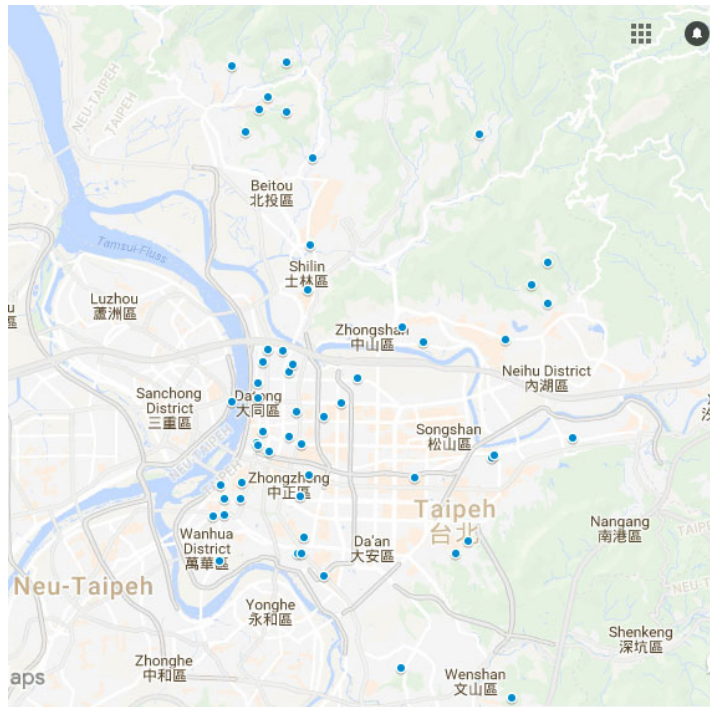


Fig. 5 –  Located in 1900-1949 Han-Chinese religion and belief until now. (Author, 2018)

Between 1900-1949 was the Japanese colonial period. Even though the Japanese did not allow traditional religious ceremonies, the Han-Chinese religions still increased and located mostly in the area of old settlements along the Tamsui and Keelung rivers.
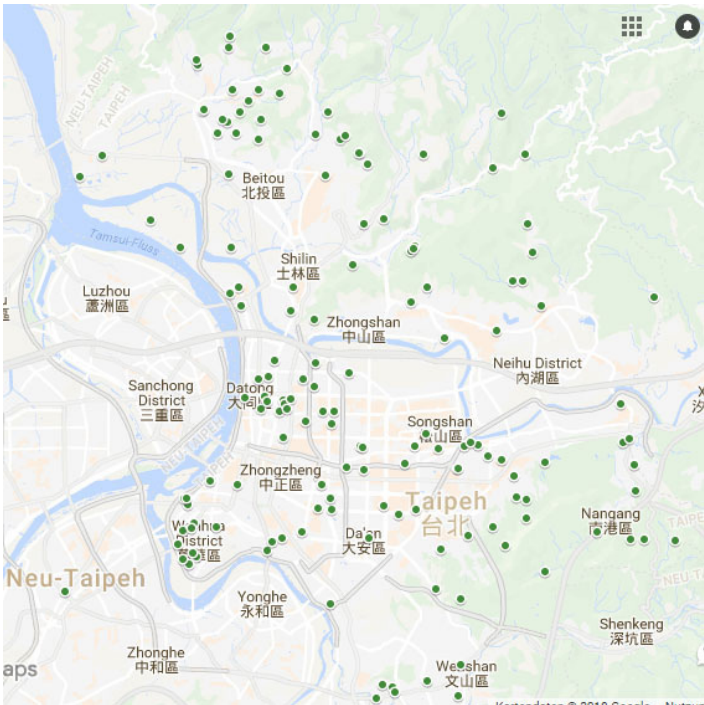
Fig. 6 –  Located in 1950-1999 Han-Chinese religion and belief until now. (Author, 2018)

The Han-Chinese religion and belief covered almost all areas of Taipei. In the most residential districts, like the Beitou and Shilin districts[11], the Han-Chinese religion and belief greatly increased.

11        Since 1968, the two areas were included Taipei municipal districts.

## 8.2 The position of Non-Han-Chinese religions

### 8.2.1 *The locations of churches*
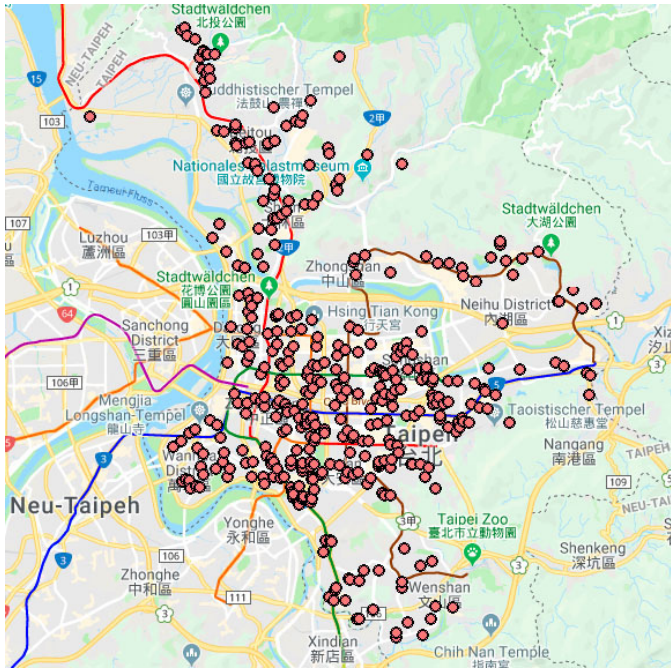


Fig. 7 – The overview locations of churches in Taipei now. (SheetHub Early User Group,2018)[12]

The locations of churches are mostly in the old city center. If the location map covered the metro line map, the locations of churches show a conspicuous relation to the metro lines.

### 8.2.2 *The locations of Non-Han-Chinese religions*
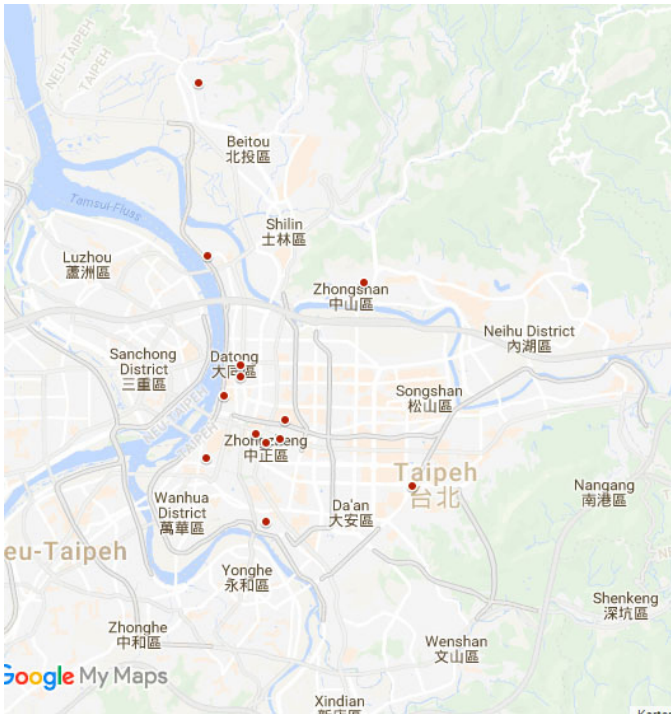


Fig. 8 – The Non-Chinese religion located before 1949 (From Ching dynasty until Japanese colony) until now. (Author, 2018)

The old settlements in Taipei are along the Tamsui river. The most Non-Han-Chinese religion are located depending on the location of the old settlements.
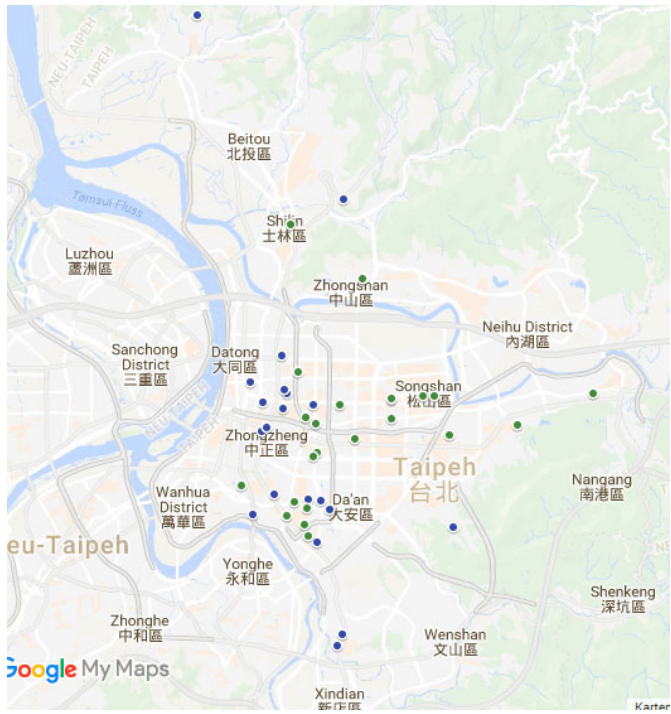


Fig. 9 – Non-Han-Chinese religions locate from 1950-1969 until now. (Author, 2018)

Between 1950 and1969, Taiwan was under the martial law by Chiang Kai-Shek power. The Non-Han-Chinese religions were located mostly in the city center; Zhongzheng district was the center of Japanese government offices. Chiang Kai-Shek overtook those government areas after the Japanese left. Zhongzheng district, in which locates many government buildings are located, is in the south area of Taipei in which lives mostly mainlanders.
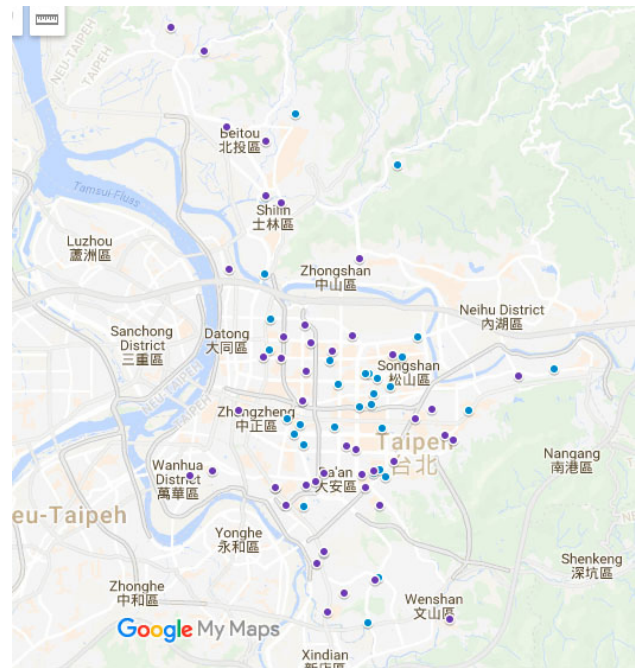


Fig. 10 – Non-Han-Chinese religions locations from 1970-1989 to the current day. (Author, 2018)

In 1970-1989, the number of registered Non-Han-Chinese religions increased. The extend area is from city center, the Zhongzheng district to the Songshan and Da'an districts, in which the population increased since 50s.
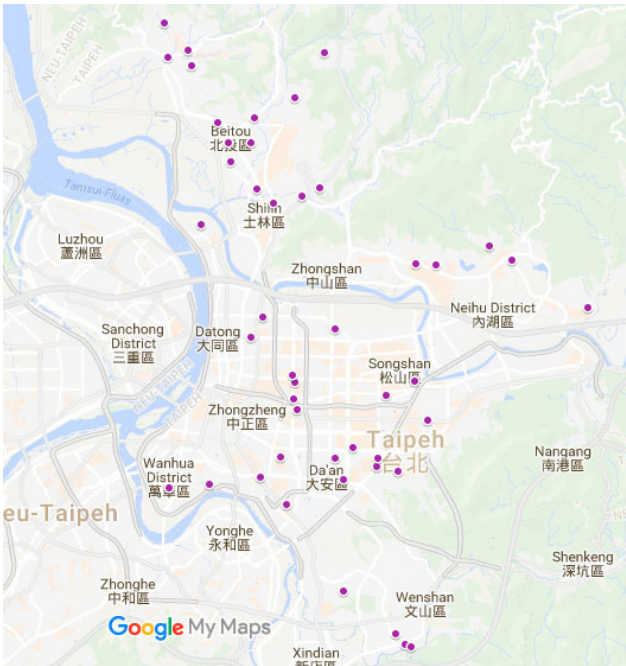
Fig. 11 – Non-Han-Chinese religions locate after 1990 until now. (Author, 2018)

The change on the religion location map in 1990 increased not as rapidly as compared to the 1970-1989 one. The religion locations extended gradually in the new areas, Beitou, Shilin and Neihu districts; like Han-Chinese religions, even their extension point/ form is different. The locations are mostly along traffic lines.

**8.3 Location comparison between Han-Chinese religion and belief and Non-Han-Chinese religion**
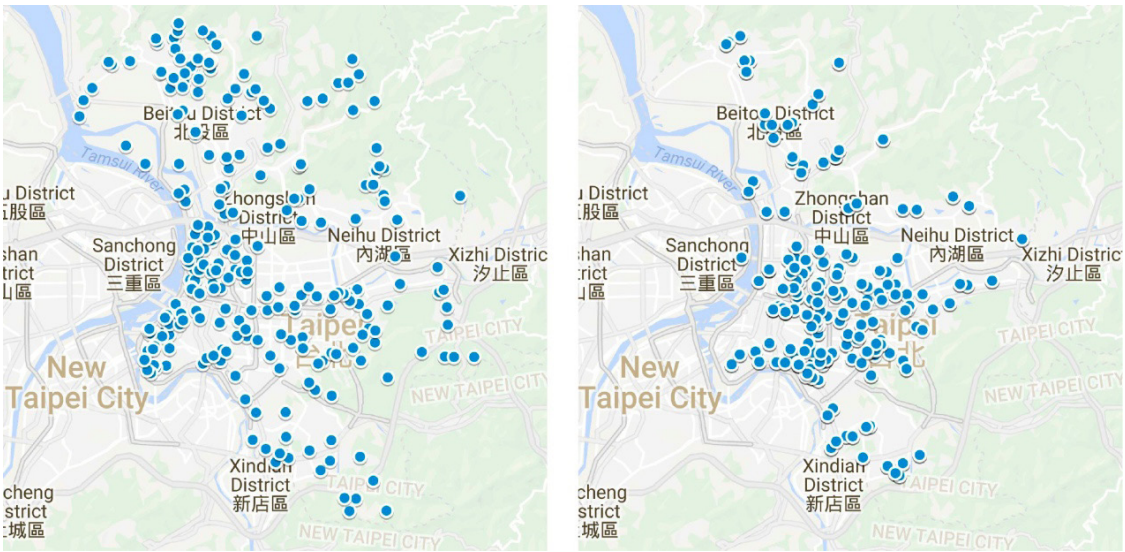


Fig. 12 – The locations of Han-Chinese religion and belief (left) and Non-Han-Chinese religions (right) nowadays. (Author, 2018)

According to Chiu and Yao, the followers of Non-Han-Chinese religions, especially Christianity, in Taiwan tend to be middle-class people whose professions are government officers, teachers and military personnel who are mostly mainlanders, rich and able to buy lands in city center (Chiu & Yao, 1986). In the south area in Taipei, Da'an district, live mostly mainlanders; therefore, the intensive location points of the Non-Chinese religions in new areas coincides with this result.

## 9. Conclusion

### 9.1 Different religion systems on the map

The Han-Chinese group is wide spread throughout the Taipei area. Including the city border, there are still Han-Chinese religions and beliefs. The followers come to Taipei should join in a group to establish religion and belief of the place to connect them with the new place and develop their network quickly.

On the other hand, the positions of Non-Chinese religions are situated mostly in Taipei city center. This implies that Non-Chinese religion followers' may be middle class and not tightly close with the local culture by. Their network is connected by familiar people, a close community.

Overlapping the population trend map and religion map, the research method coincides the movement and religious culture of population. Especially through the location of religions can the integration situation of an increasing population areas be seen; this helps the city planner to know the diverse population in t area to help them appreciate urban design.

### 9.2 The change of Han-Chinese religion and belief

Because of the movement of populations, the meaning of the local community circle in capital city is not as tight as it was before. For sustainable management, many Han-Chinese religions and beliefs provide services like cultural tourism or psychological service, such as selling unique souvenirs or offering spirit medium service that the people can use to communicate with dead people[13]. The meaning of location for religions may transform. This trend should be observed.



Fig. 13 – The boy holds the god figurine during ceremony means to pass on messenger god figure. (Taipei Dao-Jiang Ling-An Association/ Chiu Shiao Jie, 2020)



Fig. 14 – Many young people participate in the worship of Miao-Zang (a branch of Buddhism). (https://www.rulai.org/master, 2018)



Fig. 15 – The temple has to move because of urban plan. The red board shows that they need financial supports and want find possible new places. (Author, 2020)

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13      A popular Taiwanese film: *The Teenage Psychic* shows the phenomena.

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# 51 Representations and landscapes of Lisboa94 and Expo98:

## Re-inventing 90's Lisbon through its screened image

LUÍSA SOL
CIAUD - FA, University of Lisbon

### ABSTRACT

During the 1990s, Portugal sees its territory being redefined by deterritorialization and reterritorialization processes. The first caused by the dismantling of its colonial empire after the 25th of April revolution in 1974 and the second instigated by the country's accession to the European Project in 1986. This territorial redefinition mirrors the end of an era marked by a "semi-peripheral" social, economic and political gap by a nation that had lived symbolically as an island during a forty-year-old dictatorship.

In that same decade, Lisbon hosts two major cultural and urban events – Lisbon 1994, European Capital of Culture and the World Trade Fair Expo98 also in Lisbon -- with the intention to celebrate and reduce, conceptually as well as theoretically, the distance between Portugal's peripherical location and Europe's central position. Thus, signaling that Lisbon was not only European but also a part of a cosmopolitan and globalized world community. By way of illustration, the Lisboa94 slogan was aimed at *Europe* "Imagine a capital. And Europe within it. Imagine Europe. And its whole culture. Lisbon Invites you."; whereas the one created for Expo 98 alluded to a global multiculturalism, on a big scale: "At Expo '98, people from all over the world will come together to learn more about what unites them: Oceans, a heritage for the future." These two events not only allowed for the enhancement of the city's image and rebranding, but also, and above all, for an overall regeneration of Lisbon.

With this in mind, this paper will explore how screened images helped to shape a new city. Concurrently, it will demonstrate how symbolic and identity appropriation, as enhanced and projected by the *media,* is reflected both in the city and in its architecture. Based on a time period when Lisbon and its architecture were widely broadcasted, this paper aims at finding out the role of the screen in Lisbon 1990's re-invention and in its landscape regeneration.

**Keywords:** City, Screen, Image, International Urban Events.

## 1. Introduction

At the beginning of the nineties, Portugal is a country re-defining itself and implementing a set of measures initiated in the 70's post-revolutionary period. It is a time of consolidation of a former empire emerging from an economic crisis that had two International Monetary Fund interventions (in 1977 and 1983). The evident aspiration for a European cosmopolitanism after joining the European Economic Community in 1986 contrasts with a country that is geographically peripheral and still has many signs of rurality. The nineties are the period in which the country proposes to dilute these and other contrasts that transform Portugal, in the words of Boaventura Sousa Santos, into a paradoxical and semi-peripheral society (Santos, 1999, p.30).

This peripheral or insular distance manifests itself in the economic, social and even chronological discrepancy between Portugal and the center of Europe, but it also interacts with some proximity to European dynamics. Membership of the European Economic Community was the fast track that dispelled this gap, reducing, conceptually and theoretically, the distance between the Periphery that was this limit of the Iberian Peninsula and the Centre that was Europe: "integration in the EU tends to create the credible illusion that Portugal, by integrating itself with the center, it becomes central, and the dominant political discourse has been the great agent of the social inculcation of the imagination of the center: to be with Europe is to be like Europe" (Trindade, 2016).

The nineties, therefore, aims to confirm and to place Portugal in Europe. In the year of the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the April 1974 Revolution, Lisbon is promoted as the European Capital of Culture – **Lisbon 94**.

This event, symbolically, is the celebration of the new political and geographic condition of the country. In the prosperous nineties, our capital not only aspires to be "European", but also to strength its position in the Economical European Community (EEC); "Imagine a capital. And Europe within it. Imagine Europe. And its entire culture. Lisbon invites." says the event's slogan.  Lisbon invites Europe and the World to this great and new "map" that is Portugal in Europe.

A budget of 8.5 million escudos, more than half a million spectators who attended more than 800 cultural events, the increase of 26% in the growth in the overnight stays of foreigners in the city that hosted 104 international meetings and congresses that gave rise to 1400 articles in the foreign press are some of the numbers mentioned in the article of 31/07/2014 of the Diário de Notícias "1994 - Lisbon Capital of Culture" about the twenty years of the event.

In the article "Dressing for Success: Lisbon as European Cultural Capital", Kimberly da Costa Holton refers that 1994 was a whole year of celebration in the exercise of the European Capital of Culture, which represented a unique opportunity to reorient and reinvent the city's image: "In preparation for this national festival, Lisbon 94 organizers outfitted Lisbon in a variety of new customs through the rhetoric of promotional discourse and the transformation of Lisbon's urban space. Costume', in this sense, stands for the signifying practices that together endeavored to revamp Portugal's national identity, cultural image and geopolitical position as a member state of the European Community" (Holton, 1998, p.173).

The fact that Lisbon "dresses up", in Holton's words, to star in *Its* party and *Its* consecration, is the accomplishment of that surface that corresponds not only to the *desire* but also to its realization in the form of "consumption".

Desire implies contextual relations that lead to the creation of certain territories, namely the desired object or element and the respective audience that recognizes and legitimizes it. "Lisbon Invites", above all, because the guests are that audience to which it wants to show itself as a Capital, European and of Culture. The slogan says: "Imagine a capital. And Europe within it. Imagine a Europe. And all its culture" meaning to address this audience, creating an expectation, but also, creating a territory and an imaginary so that this audience can occupy it, consume it and finally make it happen.

Pedro Gadanho refers to the mid-nineties, as the period in which "architecture became the target, in the generalist press, of a consumption associated to the creation of lifestyles and identities" (2010, p.33). Between the eighties and nineties, architecture and the city became a support through which desires are conveyed. It is in this period that a certain "rediscovery of architecture as a commodity, as a luxury good, has conquered other lifestyle and fashion media, but, in a more relevant way, has also transferred to (...) the research of cultural trends" (Gadanho, 2010, p.34).   Gadanho calls this situation the "Wallpaper effect", where architecture figures alongside other cultural productions "that contribute to the omnipresence of visual culture and, of course, material culture that hides "behind the obsessive circulation of its images." (2010, p.34)

The first media campaign for the L94 was a series of images showing unoccupied chairs, of various forms and shapes, located in diverse sceneries of the city, evoking Lisbon as an immense stage. Each chair was a protagonist for different images, all of them with no people; the river bank, a staircase, an empty stage. One of the slogans that accompanied these images was "To be everywhere". The campaign was very poorly received, and the advertising agency in charge received numerous phone calls asking what those chairs meant and why were their backs facing the river.

Under the pretext of dressing up successfully, Lisbon wants to maintain its

relationship with the river and the sea, with the *journey* and its glorious past, but to erase the peripheral and melancholic prejudice of that same past.

L94 was the opportunity not only to regenerate the image and branding of the city, but above all, the possibility of the city to actually regenerate itself. A situation that the organization did not want to see tarnished by an unsuccessful campaign right from its start: "The [...] campaign drew upon visual clues invoking the mythic melancholy of Portugal, a nostalgia for the past viewed from the shade of a semiperipheral present. Portugal, however, had spent years of forced isolation on the continent's edge, and an empty chair placed in the middle of a shadowy void was not the type of image makeover L94 organizers had hoped for." (Holton, 1998, p.177)

The reinvention of the city and the country in the nineties is implemented with the strength with which many public infrastructures, rehabilitation of buildings and of cultural policies are carried out. Also, through the way these changes are presented and how both, the country and city, presents themselves.

Although the regeneration of Portugal and Lisbon had been punctual and not holistic, the image that passed of itself was the one of a cosmopolitan city capable of an urban atmosphere and a cultural offer closer to central Europe.

The mediatization of architecture is related both to questions of imaginary and, precisely, of identity, and it is in this context that Gadanho states that "The social and cultural projection of architecture stood out from the works and protagonists traditionally legitimized by the architectural field and offered itself to another type of symbolic appropriation and identity. I'm the clothes I wear, I'm the objects I possess, but I'm also the architecture I inhabit and appreciate." (2010, pp.33,34)

The medium is what is in-between, and the most obvious way to "dress" the city for success. The medium is the "dress" itself, the element that most quickly and easily transports the city to that *beyond*, which in the words of Giuliana Bruno, is the fullfilment of a *becoming,* where the author herself draws a parallel between the medium and the textile and/or the dress: "emphasizing the etymological root of medium, which refers to a condition of "betweeness" and a quality of "becoming" as a connective, pervasive, or enveloping substance." (Bruno, 2014, pp.04,05)

The image framed and conveyed by the medium is the clothing that enables the process of reinventing the city. In other words, the city is, above all, what is seen in the image, the way it is presented.

In this context, it is relevant to mention that the only work of urban intervention within the L94 was the recovery of the building facades between Rato and Cais do Sodré. The whole street front of this axis was recovered and the facades

were colored. According to Giuliana Bruno, "The surface, like the screen, is an architecture of relations. It is a mobile place of dwelling, a transitional space that activates cultural transits. It is a plan that makes possible forms of connectivity, relatedeness and exchange" (2014, p.08). Just the screen, the facades are also a place which allows for regeneration, both consist of "surfaces", or "a space of real dimension and deep transformation" (2014, p.08).

The reinvention of the city started with L94 would be to continued, in the following four years, with Expo 98.

Holton refers to the unfinished and provisional costume of Lisbon 94 as part of a journey of national self-discovery that would culminate in Expo 98 (1998, p.191). In fact, if in 94 the city's rehabilitation had been more surgical, punctual and focused on cultural and artistic regeneration, the approach to Expo98 was more holistic, plural and "commercial".

While Lisbon 94, mostly addressed to a more restricted target audience, was a big event, though not "massive", Expo98 was meant to "reach everyone" and in that sense it was a whole project and a whole bigger journey. The chosen theme - "The oceans - A heritage for the future" is an allusion to the past.

On one hand, the "ecological approach played well with the regenerating design of urban intervention." (Figueira, 2012, p.153) Whlist, the whole image and branding of the event refers to the oceans as the way, and Lisbon as the *destiny* of the people of the world.  The ocean theme evokes, at that time, and naively, the glorious and overseas past of the country, projecting a sustainable and conscientious future of ocean resources.

The televised announcement of the event, filmed underwater in an ocean, was composed of individuals from various ethnicities and cultures, with regional clothing and dances from their homeplaces. It was a compliment to difference, multiculturalism and a globalized future (in a pre-post-colonial approach) with the oceans as a backdrop: "At Expo'98, people from all over the world will meet to learn more about what unites them: the oceans, a heritage for the future. In Lisbon, in one thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight. Expo'98: Come dive into the Future", says the official broadcasted TV advertisement of the event.

Expo'98, unlike L94, was the pretext for building a new part of the city, developing and increasing the transport network to that forgotten area of Lisbon. It was also the possibility of building a considerable number of exceptional buildings, designed by architects who expanded their name, known, at the time, only within a restricted elite. José Manuel Fernandes mentions that in the nineties, " the Expo led many Portuguese to look differently to some of its architectural creators". (Gadanho, 2010, p.102)

The Expo98 is one of the consecrations of the mediatization of architecture in Portugal. Not only will Lisbon be contemplated with a city wing characterized by sophistication, modernity and a series of iconic buildings, in a kind of scenario that until then "was only seen on television", but the whole Expo98 was actually experienced as if it were on television. Suddenly, "what was seen on television" was perceived as something close, recognizable and within reach of being visited by everyone. In this regard, Pedro Gadanho states that: "Beyond the intensity of the media coverage that surrounded it, Expo98 itself had a symbolic projection diffused by the daily interactions, publicity and all the atmosphere of collective participation that was generated around the event. In this context, architecture also experienced a diffuse and omnipresent projection: as an exceptional scenario, as a matter of city construction, as a powerful affirmation of an architectural class that was then experiencing a moment of internal accomplishment". (2010, p.120)

The television reality, gained a life of its own and spread to the everyday life. The city and architecture were its scenario, being an active part of this phenomenon. The desired atmospheres represented on the screen were greatly enhanced by the street, the house, the building or the monument, where one was, or where they were filmed. The city on the television screen passed, strategically and assiduously, through devices such as video clips or advertising, becoming easily recognizable and familiar after a while. Gilles Lipovetsky and Jean Serroy warn of the expanded logic that cinema has created: the star-system. "The small screen does nothing but reproduce that system, speeding up the launch of TV celebrities, multiplying the equivalent of stars, though infinitely less mythical or brilliant than those of the great screen of glorious times. The era of hypercinema does not mean only a new aesthetics; it occurs at the moment when the system of media vedetism invades other territories, other media, other images: it is time for the expansion of the cinema, for the contamination of the small screen by the spirit of cinema". (Lipovetsky, Serroy, 2010, p.213)

In 1998, a city-symbol, open and available to all, takes shape under the aegis of a World Expo, where the country can project the reality it most desires from itself and for itself. If the Portuguese World Expo was the corollary of a Great, Imperial, Sovereign, "Proudly Alone" and Expanded Portugal, Expo'98 presents itself as a meeting place in a globalized world, changing the place of the *Lisbon-of-Discoveries* to the *Lisbon-that-wants- to be-discovered*, optimistic with globalization and with "diving into a Future where the People meet". In other words, if the Portuguese World Expo celebrated the voyage of *Departure*, Expo'98 celebrated the voyage of *Arrival,* in the words of Jorge Figueira, "Where this [the Portuguese World Expo] was celebrating about the Portuguese empire, Expo'98 wishes to prefigure a European Portugal". (2012, p.160)

The construction and staging of the event resulted not only in images, advertisements, reports and news, it was possible to go there, be there and be part of these same images, advertisements, reports and news. It is the possibility for the Portuguese city to incorporate in itself, the television reality that in the previous decades entered our homes though TV. The festive city allowed this submersion, this succession of events, images, surprises and sensations placing the viewer closer to what videoclip was: an ephemeral city, embeded in a marketing speech, seductive and capitalizable.

More than staging a city to go to the screen, it's creating the possibility that anyone can be part of this city, it's being there, it's making the desired city on the screen, palpable: "The reasons for the impacts of Expo98 had on the quality of the media presence of architecture should be sought, not so much in the mediated reality of the Expo, but in how its access has provided a different architectural reality, tangible and palpable". (Gadanho, 2010, p.121)

It is a form of mediatism to reach us, fifteen years after it happened in the Anglo-Saxon universe. This arrival, effective with this interval of time, is made in a cleaner way, already with a logic of the *Wallpapper*[1] effect.  The aesthetization of the city and its promotion to a consumer good, put it at the level of fashion trend and other areas of cultural expression guaranteeing its omnipresence in the visual culture and, consequently, the material culture that hides behind the obsessive circulation of images. (Gadanho, 2010, p.24)

The transposition of the world, the city and its architecture to a more performative and mediatic universe is the move from the mundane to its image. What remained after Expo98 was, precisely, this scenic-image materialized and promoted to a consumer good and life style: "And, as expected, on the day after a city appeared; a city where the view of the river, the safety and the exceptional equipment, are the ideal scenario for the "good life". From the luminescence of the universal fairs, the perfect scenery was passed to the point of view of urban marketing and real estate activity."(Figueira, 2012, p.155)

Aquamatrix, the multimedia show by the Portuguese artist João Paulo Feliciano closed every day the Expo98 program. It consisted in an "end of century, multimedia, technological show about the history of our civilization with a key of how we can look to the Future, from an individual but not individualistic perspective" (Feliciano, 1998).  This multimedia show was composed of a succession of images projected in a 30-meter-high egg evoking a past and a present with the projection of a promise of the future. Paraphrasing Jacques Rancière, Giuliana Bruno describes the screen as the material configuration of what happens when the visual meets thought, and an effective way to inhabit mundane reality. (2014, p.13)

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1  According to Pedro Gadanho, "The appearance of the British magazine *Wallpaper* in the mid-1990s marks the consolidation of a diffuse effect through which architecture became the target of a consumption in the general press associated with the creation of lifestyles and identities." (2010, p.33)

Bruno approaches the screen as the surface, the actual place where encounters are mediated in the form of projections, transmissions and transmutations, where life is reconfigured and can be transformed: "is a site of reconfiguration of the life of media and consider how this surface space affects our lives. The language of the screen has become an actual material condition of our existence, for its geometry is not only ever-present but also manifold". (2014, p.07)

And it has several different layers. Bruno mentions how this intermediate support requires a reflection of the visual, from a material point of view, taking into account that it implies looking at the images as enclosures, and with texture: "A visual text is also textural for the ways in which it can show the patterns of history, in the form of a coating, a film, or a stain. One can say that a visual text can even wear its own history, inscribed as an imprint onto its textural surface. [...] In visual culture, surface matters, and it has depth." (2014, p.05)

In a globalized world, "The Oceans" are, in this case, the liquid metaphor for what unites the people of the whole world. The event where this people meet, in order to know better what unites them, is itself a "showcase", a world exhibition "on display", diffused everywhere, in that place - the screen - which is also a place where the people of the whole world meet.

And in this sense architecture is the element that determines the "conditions of possibility" of inhabiting, allowing an immersion experience that is, literally, the possibility of inhabiting the image and re-invent a whole new city through the way it is shown.

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# 60 The reproduction of the beautiful city by the 2014 World Cup

## Tourism advertising campaign and the intensification of social and racial spatial segregations

HENRIQUE CUNHA JUNIOR
Professor Programa de Pós-graduação em Arquitetura e
Urbanismo. UFBA- Salvador: Bahia-Brazil

### ABSTRACT

Fortaleza is a city in northeastern Brazil with almost 3 million inhabitants, with a population density of 7,786.44 inhabitants / km² and with a population of almost one million slum dwellers, the largest of which is black. The largest slums in the country are concentrated in the city of Fortaleza, registering an area of intense urban violence and extreme social vulnerability of the population. Urban mobility is one of the major urban problems in the city. Fortaleza is nationally and internationally known for its beach tourism which led to the slogans of beautiful Fortaleza and Fortaleza city of sun and sea. Due to the geographical position, the sunstroke is very intense and the sea green has created an interesting landscape for the tourist industry. The sun and the sea are elements of tourism marketing in this city. The urban conformation of Fortaleza in the last 50 years is defined by the real estate interests of the tourist industry through public policies of the Brazilian state. All public policies carried out as a result of tourism resulted in an increase in social inequalities and due to the displacement of populations. The works for the 2014 World Cup followed the same profile as previous policies. The biggest urban development of the World Cup was the installation of a line of light vehicles on rails, connected to the airport, the bus station and the hotel region. Benefits and advantages for the city were announced, they used populism and the national passion for football and invested in failed ventures, of intervention in areas of poor population. The works have not been completed and the benefits when urban mobility is criticized. A significant part of the resources has been wasted and the social consequences are enormous involving the displacement of more than 2000 families.

**Keywords:** City production; Tourism and urban segregation; works of the world cup in Fortaleza: Black Neighborhoods in Fortaleza

## 1. Introduction

Fortaleza is a city in northeastern Brazil with almost 3 million inhabitants, with a population density of 7,786.44 inhabitants / km² and with a population of almost one million slum dwellers, the largest part of which is black people. In the city of Fortaleza are concentrated the largest slums in the country, registering an area of intense urban violence and extreme social vulnerability of the population. Statistics are presented in the final article. The city Fortaleza stood out as the 6th most populous Metropolitan Region in Brazil, with 4,074,730 million inhabitants, it is part of a large metropolitan region that aggregates 19 municipalities and all with low levels of social development. These are data from the IBGE Census, an organ of the federal government of Brazil.

Fortaleza is nationally and internationally known for its beach tourism which led to the slogans of beautiful Fortaleza and Fortaleza city of sun and sea. Due to its geographical position, the sunstroke is very intense and the sea green has created an interesting landscape for the tourist industry. The sun and the sea are elements of tourism marketing in that city. After 1970, the urban conformation of the seafront of the city of Fortaleza was regulated by tourism policies and the real estate consequences of the same.

Intense investments in tourism have characterized the city's urban policies since the 1970s and have produced the real estate value of the coastal region and followed by a policy of removing the populations of fishermen and small street traders from the beach region (Matias, 2019). Large neighborhoods distant from the traditional urban center and the beaches were formed in the continental interior of the city, within campaigns called new housing policy, producing urban neighborhoods with extremely strong spatial segregation with bases on a social and racial parameters. In view of the seriousness of the situations created by the dynamics of beach tourism and the urban segregation of populations, social movements were formed, the most significant of which being that of the "Palmeiras urban area", where most of the research that generates this article is concentrated. In the 1980s and 1990s, residents stayed in canvas tents and precarious housing for years on end. Fortaleza is publicized as a city without black populations and a great historical and urban ideology supports this policy of systematic denial of the existence of blacks in the city.

In the city of Fortaleza, urban expansion due to the sign of tourism and providing good facilities and tourist landscapes entered a deep crisis at the beginning of the first decade of the 21st century. It was the exhaustion of an urban tourist policy model aggravated by reports of trafficking in women and exploitation of minors.

The World Cup of football represented a great possibility of reactivating the tourism real estate market and the urban reorganization of the city with the promise of new constructions and mainly a large football stadium and a new international airport. The public works programs and the electoral programs were organized for four years that preceded the world cup around an intense marketing of exploitation of the cup. The advertising climate created presented an extremely optimistic economic and social scenario of the flow of tourists that would represent the world cup for the city of Fortaleza and region. The prospect of opening new services and jobs around the world cup to the city of Fortaleza was exaggerated and overestimated. Many federal and state government programs have considered training personnel to work in the year of the World Cup. The consequences of the process were several. One was the great activation of the real estate market for the construction and sale of apartments. Another was the vacations for the construction of the pantry. In addition to the remodeling of the area of a radius of 3 kilometers around the stadium called Arena Fortaleza, urban areas were evicted for the construction of a surface metro line, connecting the airport to the city bus station and the region of the hotels on the waterfront maritime area.

The tourism effect as an urban policy that occupied the coastal areas is internalized by the stadium, airport and the new transport system. Therefore, the great works due to the world cup moved the whole city and affected at least 500 thousand people following the same pattern of previous reforms. Space segregations are multiplying and reorganizing for four intense years that precede the 2014 world cup. The results are that the works have not been fully completed to date, due to intense corruption and improvised forms regarding urban decisions. The article summarizes what urban policies around the 2014 world cup represented, as a reproduction of the slogans of the beautiful city and the city of the sun and the sea. The social consequences regarding the dynamics of spatial segregation of the population based on markers of social class and black population (Souza & Cunha Junior, 2011). Used as a guiding concept of the research is that of Black Neighborhoods and urban spatial segregation (Cunha Junior, 2019) and methodology of urban routes to verify the facts (Silva & Cunha Junior, 2019). The article is a consequence of lines of research carried out at the Federal University of Ceará and the graduate programs in urban geography and education, with a focus on urban dynamics of black populations and black neighborhoods.

## 2. Conceptual theoretical model and work methodology

We are working within the conceptual models of systemic complexity and transdisciplinary studies (Yade, 2015), (Cunha Junior, 2019 and 2020), (Matias, 2019). We are fundamentally concerned with spatial segregations in territories with a majority of black population and we study urban phenomena from the perspective of the black population and the social movements of the black population. We assume the existence of social issues that emerged due to the way in which the abolition of criminal slavery took place in Brazil in 1888. Abolition carried out without any form of social support for black populations and considering the

modernization of the country associated with the purification of race, that is the Europeanization of Brazilian society through immigration policies and policies to disqualify black culture and black workers. The twentieth century is the century of consolidation of the abolitionist and republican project, being the century of Brazilian urbanization and industrialization, as well as the consolidation of structural anti-black racism in Brazilian society. The Afro-descendant methodology is a methodology based on the social history of the black population, focused on the urban space and focusing on localities, distinct from the concepts of universal science and scientific results. It is based on the premise that in the urban space, social inequalities in Brazilian society are produced and materialized. Considering capitalism in Brazil as structurally racist, we can call it racist capitalism and consider it as a specific way of producing Brazilian society. Whereas in slave-based societies, racism produced a singular form of racism distinct from other societies.

It complements the formulation of the research and performs urban routes, the method of walking through the research sites and noting the singularities, constitutes an effective way of observing reality by visiting the localities and by the constant criticism of what is seen in the urban landscape. Process that is complemented by consulting the literature and documentation on the topics studied.

### 3. Expansion of strength between 1970 to 2019

Brazil is a country of continental area occupying a value of 8,510,295 km2. This is equivalent to almost the whole area of Western Europe, estimated at about 10 180 000 km². The 1988 Brazilian Constitution recognizes a geographical grouping in five major regions of a historical and macroeconomic nature. The map in figure 1 shows the five regions. The metropolitan region of Fortaleza is located in the northeastern region of the country and is considered one of the poorest regions with the highest concentration of black population in the country. In the Northeast region, only 32% of the population declared themselves as white in the last census of 2010 (IBGE, 2010). The Brazilian statistical census is carried out by home visits and the data is collected through interviews and self-declarations.
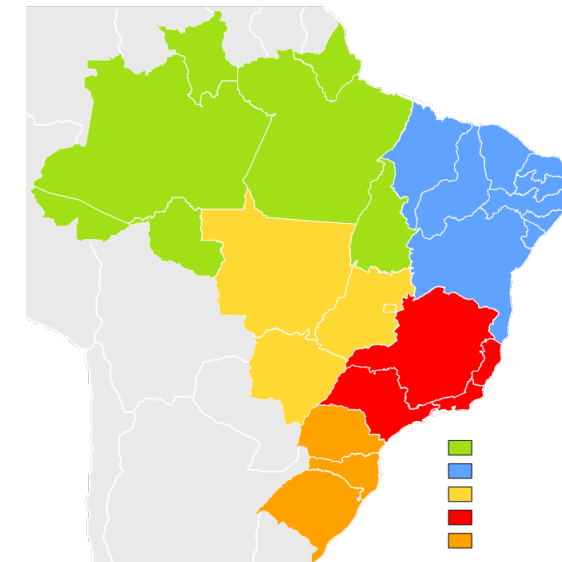


Figure 1: Map of the geographic regions of Brazil.

The Brazilian population experienced its highest growth rate between 1950-1960, growing in that decade at 36.7 and also being the decade with the highest rate of growth of the urban population 72.0, while in this period only 36.2% of the total population was urban . Between 1970 and 1980 it established the milestone of the majority of the Brazilian population living in the city. In the census between 2000 and 2010 we have the mark of 81.3% of the population being urban with a total growth of 12.3%. From where we can conclude that the Brazilian population has a great growth and the urban populations also grow rapidly. What characterizes Brazilian cities and in particular the city and the metropolitan region of Fortaleza is the great population growth of the so-called Brazilian urban peripheries.

The city of Fortaleza is part of a metropolitan region of Fortaleza comprising 19 municipalities: Aquiraz, Caucauia, Cascavel, Chorozinho, Eusébio, Fortaleza, Guaiúba, Horizonte, Itaitinga, Maranguape, Pacajus, Pacatuba, Paracuru, Paraipaba, Pindoretama, São Luiz do Curu , São Gonçalo do Amarante and Trairi and with one of the highest rates of urban population growth in the country. Following the demographic census from 2000 to 2010, the metropolitan region of Fortaleza grew at a rate of 1.68 per year while the city of Fortaleza 1.34 per year, followed by the regions and cities of Salvador-Bahia (1.37 and 0, 92) and Belém-Pará (1.29 and 0.84) (IBGE, 2010). Therefore, Fortaleza grew the city and the metropolitan region above the Brazilian average. However, it is considered one of the regions with the greatest social inequality in the country. The metropolitan region of Fortaleza has a diversity of geoenvironmental regions called coastal plains, coastal plateaus, wet mountains and hinterlands, comprising a territorial area of 7,434 km² and with a population of more than 4 million inhabitants. The region of Fortaleza is considered one of the poorest and most unequal in the country. In this region, 42% live on less than half the national minimum wage, which today corresponds to less than 120 euros (Aldigueri, 2017).

The definitive distribution of the city in extremely poor, poor, middle and wealthy regions dates back to 1970. It was in this period that the national tourism policy was born, thinking of exploring the tourist potential of the beaches. During this period, there is very strong funding from the Brazilian state for tourist hotel developments. With great appreciation of the coastal areas. Given the valorization of coastal areas in the city of Fortaleza, fishing communities and port workers communities are gradually expelled from the coastal fringe, being removed to housing estates far from the urban center and to areas of occupation without title (Matias, 2019) . In this process, two layers of poverty were formed, one of the housing estates, where fixed-income workers, even if on low wages, are able to adhere to official plans for their own homes. Many are unable to pay benefits and carry out lengthy court proceedings and continue to inhabit real estate. Housing complexes that often existed only the demarcation of the land and the population lived camped in tents for more than a decade (Matias, 2019), (De Jesus & Cunha Junior, 2020). However, sometimes having the property and deed of ownership and at other times only the possession of the land. The second layer of considered as an invaders and occupants of land, legally without the possibility of title of possession.

The ideological practice of the beautiful city slogan is carried out by two urban movements over a century. The first movement of the first half of the republic where the urban reforms in Fortaleza are guided by the French standard, called the "La belle époque" reforms (Belmino, 2011). Followed by the reforms of tourist infrastructure such as the idea of Fortaleza Cidade Bela (Paiva, 2011), (Aldigueri, 2017). They are ideologies that create the city with ideas of urban beauty and urban landscape and that make the reality of the conformation of the official and regular city invisible. The production of the social conflict is carried out between the royal fortress and the beautiful city fortress. Researchers from the Department of Geography at Universidade Federal Ceara offer a good analysis of the relationship between tourism marketing and production in the country's fifth largest metropolis, highlighting the dialogue between the reality of urban poverty and the intense investments in the coastal zone (Castro et al., 2017).



Figure 2 – Map of the Metropolitan area of Fortaleza.

Figure 3 shows the geographical distribution of Fortaleza neighborhoods. Table 01 shows the average rents by neighborhood of the city. The coastal side neighborhoods like Meireles, Aldeota and Mucuripe, the richest, with an average income above R $ 2700.00.  Those from the inner city of Conjunto Palmeiras, Parque Presidente Vargas less than R $ 300.00. Being in the coastal region, the only poor neighborhood is Pirambu with an income of R $ 340.00, being a neighborhood that resists the onslaught of urban reforms to extend beach tourism over the entire coastline. However, even among the wealthy neighborhoods, there are pockets of poverty and the main part of the works related to the 2014 World Cup was practiced on one of these pockets.



Figure 3 - Map of the neighborhoods of Fortaleza.

Table 01 - Distribution of population income by neighborhoods in Fortaleza. Neighborhood Average income "reais", the Brazilian currency. Neighborhoods average income figuring Best income Worst income. Values for the year of 2015.

| Neighborhood Name | Average income in Brazilian currency in 2012 |
|---|---|
| Meireles | 3659,54 |
| Guararapes | 3488,25. |
| Aldeota | 2901,57 |
| Mucuripe | 2742,25 |
| Fátima | 1756,11 |
| Bom Jardim | 349,75 |
| Pirambu | 340,36 |
| Parque Presidente Vargas | 287,92 |
| Conjunto Palmeiras | 239,25 |

Source: IPECE, 2012. Elaboration: Araújo, 2015.

Brazilian ruling class society denies the existence of structural racism in Brazil. Most university researchers, part of the population so called white folks, follow the same pattern of denial of the existence of racism in Brazilian society. There is and persists the ideology that in Brazil there is no racism due to mix of races in the Brazilian social formation. The idea that Brazilian society was built on the basis of harmonious coexistence between social groups formed by black, indigenous and European populations, classified as Brazilian "racial plurality" that prints a complexity in the process of producing an identity of the black population in particular but at the most general level of national identity (Munanga, 1999). The idealization of the national identity is represented by the European reference of white population. Civilization is European and the other social actors are considered to come from an uncivilized world. This factor has another implication: the erasure of black identity, the social denial of miscegenated populations.

It happens in the Brazilian reality that the underemployment and low-income working class population is mostly black and occupies in the urban areas the territories of greatest social vulnerability and, therefore, of less urban infrastructure (Cunha Junior, 2019), (Kilsztajn & Ali, 2005).

In Fortaleza the constitution of the population is no different from the rest of Brazil where the majority of the poor population is of African descent, part of the black population. However, the ideology in the local society prevails that in Ceará there would not be an important black population because there was neither intense slavery nor labor-intensive agriculture with those from sugar cane and coffee. They fail to consider that cattle raising and the use of cattle derivatives created a sector for the employment of the enslaved black population. Only recent university research has shown a black presence in the state of Ceara and stet of Piaui. The idea that in the state of Ceara there were no blacks is present in the population and makes it difficult to understand social conditions as an inheritance from criminal slavery and social structures mediated by structural anti-black racism (Matias, 2019).

### 4. Works of urban infrastructure of the world cup in the city of Fortaleza and the promise of a better city for all.

In the original project of Fortaleza as the host city for the 2014 FIFA World Cup, three were the main points of the proposal for great work. The first was the transformation of Plácido Aderaldo Castelo Stadium into "Arena Multifunction Castelão". With a very strong expansion of access roads between the region of the beaches and the stadium, as well as the parking areas around the Arena. Through advertising marketing, the concept of a football stadium has been transformed into that of an "arena" with the implicit meaning of a mega stadium. The second and most important one regarding the dimension of intervention in the city as well as budgetary resources was the continuity of the work on the Fortaleza Metro

(METROFOR). The city of Fortaleza showed an enormous extension of unrestricted growth in many urban areas of housing, commercial development and roads on large stretches of asphalt without any concern with urban planning, producing a huge problem of urban mobility. Transportation is carried out by buses and small vehicles with 10 to 12 seats. Means of transport other than expensive are totally inefficient. A worker who receives a national minimum wage spends an average of 10 to 15% on transportation. Since the average income of 50% of poor families is less than a minimum wage, transportation costs are very high. University workers and students spend an average of more than two hours a day on long and lengthy overcrowded bus trips through the city. The Fortaleza metro started building a line in 1992, followed by successive interruptions and not completely finished until 2010. The cup works promised the integration between different modes of transport, expansion of the metro lines, with full integration between transport , the South Metro Line, the Western Metro Line and the Light Transport Branch on rails between the Parangaba - Mucuripe terminal. This branch connecting the airport to the bus station and the beach region, occupying and expanding the bed of an old cargo railroad, was the most controversial project due to the expropriation of more than 2000 families. The revolution in the city's means of transportation, which was supposed to occur, proposed that Metrô and the integration system carry around 700 thousand passengers per day, scheduled for 2014. The South Line connects Carlito Benevides Station, in the municipality of Pacatuba, to Central Station Xico da Silva, in the Center of Fortaleza, over 24 kilometers. The construction of the West line connecting the cities of Fortaleza to Caucaia. In this stretch, where there is already a diesel train system, improvements would be made to the permanent track, rolling stock and stations. The 19 km subway line works, 16.8 km in surface and 2.2 km in elevation, with the execution of 14 subway stations; the construction of viaducts to eliminate level crossings; and electrification of the line.

The third major project was the completion of the expansion works at Fortaleza Airport that had been stalled for more than a decade.

Of this set of works, little has been concluded for the World Cup. Regarding Arena Castelão and the system to expand access roads. The metro to the south line was also completed, with other projects still unfinished and some are even started as the west line of the metro, connecting the cities of Fortaleza and Caucauia, being one of the major metropolitan axes..

### 5. The conclusions on the great works of the 2014 world cup and the Brazilian form of racial segregation.

It has become a Brazilian standard and in a certain Latin American proportion of public infrastructure works to be carried out with long delays, with budgetary instability due to the renegotiations of the projects (where the large deviations in

materials, money and corruption work) and results when the improvement questionable urban life (Cunha Junior, 2020: 101-106). This pattern of execution is associated with the deficiencies of the projects. Projects when the real priority, the assessment of impacts on the population. This historical pattern of carrying out public works is repeated in several governments of the right and left parties. So it was not a big news for the population the failure of the major works planned for the 2014 World Cup in Fortaleza.

Urban mobility is one of the major social and urban problems in the city of Fortaleza and the metropolitan region of Fortaleza. The cup works did not help in the solution. Even if urban mobility systems have been completed, they are not on the axis of major city transport problems. Even the choice of transport mode was focused on tourism, for greater mobility of tourists between the Bus Station, Airport and the hotel regions. Fortaleza does not currently have a train station or an important passenger port. The connections were between the points of greatest tourist flow. Even so, the works are not fully concluded and the systems are fully operational.

The population movement for the works was great. Elaboration of social maps of territories in conflict with the works carried out due to the 2014 World Cup. The target audience is in three communities in Fortaleza (CE): Poço da Draga, Montese and Castelão, where the residents suffered threats of eviction and removal.

Housing received great prominence in the discussions about public investments for the World Cup in Brazil due to the number of families that would be removed from their places of residence to allocate the large projects of 14 host cities. With only 4 or 5 host cities, the world cup in Brazil could have been held. The highlight of the construction works before the World Cup was that a large part of the affected families lived in areas of occupation, without title, places of great interest to the real estate market. In many places it was a population that had long been under pressure to withdraw, so governments and real estate capital saw the 2014 World Cup as an opportunity for quick intervention, as all discussions were rushed, as inconsistent projects and within a climate of extremely strong political propaganda about the importance of the cup and euphoria of the population associated with the idea of a victory for the national team in Brazilian fields. Football being the national passion has always been a tool of constant political use and the world cup was a culmination of this formula of the marketing alliance with political power.

For the city of Fortaleza, an excellent assessment of the expropriations and the inserted destination of the population displaces only the area along the tracks is the recent book by Pedro da Costa published by the University of Brasília (Costa, 2020). The area where the transport modal foreseen to connect the airport, bus station, beaches and hotels, VLT Parangaba-Mucuripe, has displaced 1,000 inhabitants. a work that has not been fully concluded to date and whose operation is in terms of economic viability, since neither the airport is connected to the work. In

the city of Fortaleza, 2,786 housing and commercial properties were expropriated because of the works for the World Cup. Of this total, the project that produced the most social impact due to the expropriations was the Light Vehicle on Tracks (VLT) railway line called Ramal Parangaba-Mucuripe, including 2,185 properties. When compared to the national numbers of expropriations for the 2014 World Cup, we deduce that it was the project with the greatest social impact since it corresponds to 16% of the total expropriations carried out across the country. Throughout the country, 13,558 expropriations were carried out. These official figures, despite being high, are questioned and considered underestimated by the favela social movements. Although there was a commitment to relocate residents to new homes, there was an excessive delay in the construction of housing units on land close to the sites affected by the works. As there was also the loss of non-resettled families who received very low social rent and gave up waiting for government actions. Another factor is that families tired of waiting for the good solution have agreed to opt for apartments already ready for housing - in housing estates miles away from their old houses. In short, the problems continue to the present, with unsatisfactory solutions.

Fortaleza is historically a city characterized by great social inequalities. A significant part of the social inequalities are being maintained by the tourism policies of the beach cities, the beautiful Fortaleza and the economic strength of tourism (Castro et al., 2017). These factors of tourism and urban intervention in favor of tourism faced a cycle of economic crisis between 1995 and 2005. The initiatives for the world cup that started in 2010 implied a rekindle of euphoria by investments in tourism. The promise of carrying out the works of the World Cup and the World Cup itself produced a small cycle of great real estate speculation. The World Cup works promised a remodeling of the city and the solution of urban mobility problems, as well as the reactivation of tourism. However, none of the promises was consolidated in reality, having, however, great social weight and an obscure balance of useless public spending. The spatial segregations of black populations only gained important increments with the construction of the 2014 World Cup works. Although there is no consistency of official data on the effects of the works on the black population, we have that from the perspective of black social movements that more than 70 % of the population affected by the works is black or mestizo.

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# 63    Still selective after all these years?

## Revisiting the megaproject of Parque das Nações in 2020

MARIA ASSUNÇÃO GATO
DINÂMIA'CET - Iscte

### ABSTRACT [1]

In the summer of 1998, the eastern part of Lisbon hosted the last world exhibition of the 20th century. The inclusion of the Expo'98 venue in 330 hectares of an urban megaproject would allow, from the perspective of those in charge, to bear the costs of the Exhibition and transform that territory, which has always been peripheral and undervalued, into a new urban, multifunctional and distinctive centrality.

This new residential, cultural, leisure and business complex was given the name of Parque das Nações and its singularity was due both to its dimension, projection and construction from scratch, as well as to its speed (about 10 years) and some urban and architectural solutions presented. Therefore, Parque das Nações has received from its promoters the designation of *Cidade Imaginada* (Imagined City) and in reality, this megaproject continues to have an exceptional character in the country, which is being used in different ways by different "audiences" and users and, above all, by its residents.

Previous works (Gato, 2014a; 2014b) have shown that belonging to Parque das Nações not only meant enjoying the exceptional advantages of a socially selective space of high economic and symbolic value, but also access to the negotiation of social and personal identities, according to the meanings transferred to the lived space. Some years have passed and, in view of the substantial administrative changes that have occurred on the territory, it is necessary to revisit Parque das Nações for a current analysis of the spatial, social and symbolic effects of such changes on the lives and social identities of residents.

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**Keywords:** Parque das Nações, Mega Projects, Expo 98, Social selective space.

# 78 Touristification of spaces and urban lifestyles

## São Paulo Square, Lisbon

ANA CRAVINHO
ISCTE-IUL

TERESA MADEIRA DA SILVA
ISCTE-IUL

### ABSTRACT

Over the past decade Lisbon's historic city center was marked by extensive transformations, notably the loss of residents and traditional commerce followed by gentrification trends. While the former led to a drain of the city's assets and a consequent degradation of its buildings, the latter attracted new stakeholders increasing building's rehabilitation and prompting the growth of commercial and residential typologies for tourism purposes. Currently, with the COVID-19 pandemic, new challenges arise that change the previously mentioned dynamics.

In a global context these dynamics were associated with factors such as the instability of the financial sector, migratory flows and the emergence and development of new technologies which together with the instability of social relations make the relocation of social interaction to multiple places a reality. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, these factors have contributed to the increase of the real estate and tourist pressure, as a result of the occupation of buildings for temporary residence or local accommodation, the mobility of large tourist flows and the growth of nightlife activities, untying the city, its identity and unique memory. But during the confinement period, deriving from it and from the lack of tourist flow, Lisbon has seen an emptying of its public space.

This essay identifies how the "new" stakeholders, especially tourists, contribute to lifestyle and spatial transformations, looking into the particular case of São Paulo square and its surroundings - where the new urban uses, associated with tourism and leisure, demand a livingness and identity of a city in conflict with its territorial and social dynamics. Furthermore, this study contributes to the elaboration of flexible urban strategies that address both top-down and bottom-up demographic change, disclosing how the new dynamics can redefine the city and mitigate its fewer positive effects.

**Keywords:** city, São Paulo Square, touristification, gentrification.

## 1. Introduction

São Paulo square presents us with an unfortunate microcosm for the economic and demographic trends at play in Lisbon today. This long-standing conduit of transport, commerce and culture can represent an example and a warning as to the dangers of over uncareful economic planning. The question we are looking to answer is the following: has this square always been this way and does it need to remain so? This essay will identify some of the ways in which touristification has augmented new urban lifestyles in the districts where it is most prevalent. Furthermore, this essay aims to rethink the urban model with the objective of creating sustainable cities that are in tune with their citizen's needs. With this objective in mind, we open with a geographically and historically framing of São Paulo Square in the context of the city of Lisbon before defining touristification and related concepts, and finally moving on to an analysis of the dynamics that are in play in that contemporary urban tiltyard that is São Paulo Square, advancing our own reflection on the societal consequences.

## 2. São Paulo Square – Brief historical context and framing

São Paulo Square belongs to the civil parish of Misericórdia and is located in Cais do Sodré, South of Bairro Alto, close to Mercado da Ribeira, the Time Out Market Lisbon and near to the train and underground stations of Cais do Sodré and to the funicular of Bica.



Fig. 1 – Aerial view of Cais do Sodré, highlighting in yellow the location of São Paulo Square.
Source: Google Maps

References to the São Paulo area can be found in travel literature from the 17th and 18th centuries. It is here mentioned as a meeting place for foreign merchants who were established in Lisbon and also to a majority population with connections to maritime activities, initially fishermen, and then later the bourgeoisie who maintained interests in colonial commerce. Nevertheless, it was only at some point between 1566 and 1568 that the civil parish of São Paulo came into being. The name given to the civil parish and to the square, São Paulo, originates in a church with the same name located on that precise site. This church was presumably constructed in 1412 and before the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, had been one of the most majestic churches Lisbon possessed, (Cuiça, 2017).

Before the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, public spaces in Portuguese cities were extremely diverse in shape, size and orientation in that urban mesh, either emerging in association to singular buildings or located marginally and peripherally to the city centre. After the earthquake and with the reconstruction of the capital according to the innovative Pombaline style, a new concept of public space came to be introduced. The space of the square came to be understood as the stage for cultural and political activity, shaped with this specific purpose and in order meet this function it becomes the key element in organization of the cites sprawl. More than an organising net of urban activities, public space also acquires its own autonomy and livingness as an outside collective space, conceptualised for social encounter.

After the 1755 Lisbon earthquake and the construction of São Paulo Square and its central fountain in the early 19th century, the square became a quintessentially Portuguese public space. Its integral function was that of organising the social conurbation of the city around human activities, for instance, the gathering of Catholics attending São Paulo Church and the need for a fresh domestic water source from the squares central fountain. Despite the absence of street furniture that would encourage prolonged stays, lingering was made possible by the presence of a few kiosks and the steps of both the fountain and church, which together enabled a consistent use of the square. In this way, São Paulo Square becomes defined as an aggregate space which facilitated the encounters of diverse actors, fostering their interaction in terms of geography and associated social contexts.

With the development of industries, the construction of roads and the increasing concentration of population, the life of the city proliferated and expanded. Likewise, the renovated São Paulo Square took up a new role with commercial a purpose. At the beginning of the 20th century, the square was superseded as a place of encounter and meeting by these commercial exchanges which become the hallmark of the square's dynamic appropriation.

Figs. 2 and 3 – São Paulo Square at the beginning of the 20th century. Photograph 2, Joshua Benoliel (1907). Photograph 3, Paulo Guedes (n/d). Source: Photographic Archive/Lisbon City Council

Over the course of the 20th century, the city of Lisbon became all the more urbanised, hosting a greater number of populations and demographics, however this area was no longer utilised for residential purposes. Cais do Sodré has always been associated with the maritime activities which influenced the predominant commerce of the area, with most of the shops specialised in sailing and fishing equipment and uniforms as well as bars mainly frequented by sailors. In this context, this area of the city had a high rate of delinquency, primarily associated with social interactions which promoted prostitution and transgression, something that we could mark as the beginning of the slippery slope of degradation and gradual reduction of economic activity that the area has experienced since, (Monteiro, 2018). By the end of the 1970, the area faced what would be another turning point when it saw an increased number of nightclubs and bars which attracted younger visitors. These nightclubs promoted the consumption of vintage, bohemian and

decadent, as a new form of social distinction, (Nofre, 2013). Indeed, Cais do Sodré "…times of sailors and cabarets, conflicts and brawls, associated with the phenomenon of prostitution, becomes an old-fashioned image… [developing into] the stage of demonstrations of cultural nature, of new artistic movements and with an attendee population of a social strata, group age and, especially, cultural background, extremely different from those in the 60's and 70's"[1] (Monteiro, 2018, p.57).

Over the past few years, partially due to the implementation of an urban planning focus on leisure activities, the area has a successful cohort of restaurants, coffeeshops and other spaces dedicated to entertainment. Definitely, Cais do Sodré was repositioned as one of the city hubs for cultural and entertainment for nocturnal practices. Many of the pre-existing spaces that were once dedicated either to prostitution, as an example the pub *Bar Pensão Amor*, or to maritime activities, as *Bar Sol e Pesca*, have been adapted to the new tendencies towards consumption "…transforming Cais do Sodré into a mandatory place for visiting and fruition of Lisbon's night, namely by tourists and foreign students"[2] (Monteiro, 2018, p.57). Since 2011 and with the support of the Association of Merchants and Friends of Cais do Sodré, this area of the city was invested with several regeneration projects which allowed the area to rebrand under a new dynamic, transforming it into a place of "… no doubt nocturnal life activities, through the traffic closure in Rua Nova do Carvalho, popularly renamed as *Rua Cor-de-Rosa*, (…) producing a rise in the number of consumers"[3] (Monteiro, 2018, p.58).

Currently, due to the pandemic, public spaces are emptied as a consequence of consecutive national and local lockdowns, and a lack of tourists, the main actors for places which focus is entertainment and leisure. In Cais do Sodré, an area with few residents, this emptying has revealed the fragilities of these recent urban policies and the deficient way in which revitalisation and rehabilitation of Lisbon's city center has been undertaken.

### 3. Touristification of urban spaces and lifestyles – São Paulo Square

From 1970 onwards, and in line with what was happening in other European cities, Lisbon transitioned to post-industrialism and deindustrialization, essentially through the mechanism of this shift of attention into economy and leisure. Since 1990, regeneration strategies have been focusing on confirming Lisbon as a top destination on the international map of tourism, soliciting foreign investment by showcasing the city as ideal destiny to international visitors, students, and other migrant populations from Europe who want to live somewhere lively but with accessible living costs, "In such a post-industrial context, the future of most cities would depend on them being desirable places for consumers to live in or visit and,

1  Translated by the authors.
2  Translated by the authors.
3  Translated by the authors.

accordingly, revitalizing urban cores usually involves the rebranding of cities as spaces of leisure and pleasure" (Cocola-Gant, 2018, p.3).

At the beginning of the 21st century we are confronted with a fragmented city, where different areas of the city have been repositioned as global, advertising themselves as integrated with the new logics of spatial functionality and appropriation that we encounter in a digital era. One example of this are the buildings that were once industrial but have nowadays been transformed to cultural hubs which reflect this notion of Lisbon as a mobile and connected city which is eager to challenge other European capitals. The development of new technologies and the decontextualization of social practices alongside Lisbon sharing the GMT time zone with London, Europe's financial center, has helped to create the ambiguous community of creative and remote workers responsible for the recent growth of Lisbon's population city. Gradually, those who inhabit the city merge with the ones linked to the new commercial approach of space, namely, producers, merchants, retailers and clients, as well as those attracted by the new aesthetic and by the dynamic narrative which has been pushed and made possible by the mobility of contemporary life.



Figs. 4 and 5 – São Paulo Square and surroundings, December 2018. Source: Authors.

The financial crisis of 2008 has accelerated this demand based on foreign investment and tourism which is broadly considered to be silver bullet for stimulating the city into swift economic growth. During this period numerous public policies were implemented with the objective of attracting second home residence buyers and other European Union investors, for example the provision of low interest loans. In 2012 with the liberalization of the real estate market saw the dawn of the so-called golden visas, which also offered basic citizenship benefits for international investors from outside the European Union.

In the past few years, the increase of tourism in the city of Lisbon has elevated the economic development beyond expectations with enormous contributions deriving from investment in conservation and the regeneration of the city's historic center. As a result, the city has been witnessing a rising in property appropriation for touristic purpose, such as shopping centers, hotels, short-stay accommodation, restaurants and other nocturnal activities which has been seen to come at the cost of the displacement of the remaining local residents. Thus, tourism is one of the direct causes of this flight of resident population, who don't have the economic power to face the increase of property cost and are forced to the outskirts of the city. What the city is left with are processes of globalization, gentrification, exclusion and social segregation.

A recent study concluded that in 2010 the civil parish of Misericórdia had 13 registered establishments of short-stay accommodation but by the end of 2020 there were 3.589 properties with this designation, (Turismo de Portugal, 2020). Unequivocally, this sharp increment demonstrates the importance and influence that tourism has been having on real estate speculation in the civil parish of Misericórdia. It is crucial for the life of the city that we understand how this increment was made possible, as a direct result of the displacement of local residents, by the means of recycling old factories and by repurposing derelict spaces attributing them new usages and functions.

Alongside the described displacement of local residents, the recent trends indicate a new demographic flux with the arrival and settlement of new populations to the area, who are not characterised as tourists and whose occupation of the area is not seasonal producing a mitigation to the former tendency. Amongst these populations who settle in the territory are international students, migrants and younger generations who are generally more affluent than the locals that they replace and whose tastes bring further cultural and socioeconomic transformations. The former is reflected in the observed changes to the commercial typologies of the civil parish, which are described by (Salgueiro, 1992, p.400) as "... a particular movement of invasion of the former neighbourhoods by sophisticated commerce and services."

This process of touristification is undoubtably the predominant phenomena of

socioeconomic transformation for many areas of the city with touristic "potential", leading to the creation of short-stay accommodations, the implementation of support structures, the inflation of real estate and the consequent shift of the profile of resident population. According to Cocola-Gant, touristification is responsible for three forms of displacement: "...residential displacement, commercial displacement and place-based displacement. (...) In this regard, displacement is economic, but also cultural and it has to be linked to the introduction of new lifestyles that undermine the use value of neighborhoods as residential spaces" (Cocola-Gant, 2018, p.2).

There is a definite worry that the introduction of new urban lifestyles might place at stake the authenticity of spaces and the right of everyone to the city, "... as new opportunities and territories are being explored and brought into the network of places to be or visit, they risk the transformation and loss of their uniqueness" (Gravari-Barbas, 2017, p.14), as well as transforming them irreversibly, this might affect "...long-term residents (...) lose the resources and referends by which they define their everyday life", (Cocola-Gant, 2018, p.15). Those local residents, who choose to remain, end up experiencing several forms of socio-spatial segregation and exclusion. Under this perspective, "the gap between the purchasing power of visitors and local residents leads to a market pressure on both housing and services that makes places increasingly unaffordable for the indigenous populations" (Cocola-Gant, 2018, p.8).

Without doubt some of these transformations have a positive impact in the territory, for example, as an enabling factor in urban revitilisation furthering investors to succeed in fast economic growth, promoting inclusive social and cultural differentiation and promoting working opportunities. However, the diversity of its contemporary actors poses problems that generate conflict. As described by (Nofre, 2018, p.9): "...the role of international and national university students in producing, reproducing and consuming new urban, youthful, hedonist nightscapes has a central role in the process of rejuvenation and socioeconomic revitalization of formely run-down neighbourhoods," but in the specific case of the civil parish of Misericórdia "...the expansion and commodification of youth-oriented nightlife in central areas has involved the rise of critical problems regarding the coexistence of residential communities and alcohol-fueled nightlife entertainment undermining community livability during night-time hours" (Nofre, 2018, p.1).

Over the past few years further public interventions were enacted which have been contributing to the touristification of this area, introducing new usages and modes of consumption. Since the end of 1990, Lisbon's City Council has been supporting the expansion of nightlife entertainment, mainly by prioritizing the attribution of licenses to infrastructure related to the commerce and leisure industries. For instance, in October 2015 the county approved a positive 12 month communitarian intervention project, named SAFE!N. This project's objective was to improve

public health and safety conditions in public and private spaces in Cais do Sodré and its surroundings during nighttime: "...the Project aimed to engage and empower different social actors – namely neighbours, venue owners, municipal police and representatives of the civil parish – to foster further implementation of new initiatives of co-participative governance of the urban night in Cais do Sodré" (Nofre, 2018, p.13).

Despite the efforts of Lisbon's City Council to reinterpret the territory, conflict between demographics has been a constant, mainly the complaints are raised by the most elderly and relate to the impact of nightlife activities. For example, producing excessive noise and environmental pressure, the sale of illicit substances, vandalism, security issues, circulation and parking difficulties. International migrants can be seen to be distinct from local residents, in behavior, language and/or values and these cultural differences produce positives and negatives which can include the further polarization and fragmentation of urban environments.

In a city where tourism is seen by the central government as a silver bullet to redefine and renovate its economy and as a decisive factor to foster creativity and international competitivity, it should be of equal priority that we develop mechanisms which enhance the positive aspects of tourism and minimize their more negative consequences. On the positive side, tourism offers unique economic development opportunities, namely by creating working positions, infrastructures, sustainable business models supported by the new technologies and also offers the possibility of promoting our rich heritage worldwide. It has to be borne in mind that new populations arriving to the territory contribute to rejuvenation through this diversification of population, in contexts that can be of integration and sharedness, where a rich and plural cultural offer comes to contribute towards social and geographical cohesion.

At the beginning of 2020, São Paulo Square and its surroundings were an area where touristification was at its most intensive which was visibly struggling with the different usages that had been imposed on it. The square was segmented and disputed by the different actors who came to populate it. According to (Comissão Europeia, 2011, p.36): "A cohesive city is not necessarily a city with complete equality and a homogeneous population, but a city where everybody is welcome and each one's integrity respected," however, for such principles to be achieved it is necessary to strike a balance.

After March 2020 due to the pandemic and consequent lockdown, the afore mentioned scenario is not currently as severe as it has been. Unfortunately, this evacuation has not been a positive one. The square is mostly silent, a silence only broken by the punctuation of the few residents who persist and by the merchants, who in an attempt to minimise economic losses, remain open. Many of the places designed for commerce and leisure are vacant and look as though they will remain so for some

time. Many more are predicted to close in the uncertainty of a future that is dependent on the duration of a pandemic which we still do not fully understand which is further eroding the encounter, interaction and the meeting of individuals in public space.



Figs. 6 and 7 – São Paulo Square and surroundings, May 2020. Source: Authors.

This and many other vibrant public spaces like it have been stripped of their social lives and to a certain extent their meanings. The Covid-19 pandemic has made people see public space differently, yet how can this newfound appreciation be employed for long term social good? São Paulo Square is a demonstrable clinch point for a city that has bet everything on tourism and has suddenly found itself faced with a new reality.

The pandemic and the consequent impact on all sectors of the economy, particularly tourism, has shown that a strategy based on rapid regeneration policies is a hostage to fortune, based on a forecasting of "black swans", a metaphor for events which come as a surprise, have a major affect and become inappropriately rationalised as being indispensable after the fact and with the benefit of hindsight (Taleb, 2018). Prospective ways forward could be the implementation of progressive housing policies, with accessible rents for younger populations, providing the civil parish with

facilities specifically designed to the needs of these actors, such as kindergartens, playgrounds and the provision of other types of equipment targeting towards supporting the older population, such as care homes, day centres and clinics.

Going into this "new normal", the implementation of tourism directed taxes could be considered as a strong measure which would counteract the negative impacts of tourism in a targeted way, to be used for example, in the cleaning of public spaces that suffer disproportionally from the social problems, tourism can produce, as well as a redoubled information strategy which would promote this awareness amongst tourists. These strategies can also be implemented together with corporate sponsorship and be executed co-productively with the bars, restaurants and nightclubs in order to implement better consumption practices and social cohesion.

The adoption of involving, inclusive practices to the civil parish's residents may be the key to change, reprogramming the relationship between resident and visitor as less one sided and encouraging the residents to engage actively with the changes which will inevitably occur. The fostering of an increasingly participative and involved resident population would go some way to achieving a better balance between residents and visitors. Lisbon needs to plan more homeostatically and understand the centrality of places like São Paulo as effective organs contributing to the city's health. The focus should be on improving our capacity to design, implement and evaluate public housing and tourism based on a holistic vision of the city and society, where the strengthening of local municipal power as a regulatory agent for the city's tourism development can be at the root of the development of urban social movements defending the right to housing and to the city.

### 4. Final Considerations

São Paulo Square and its surroundings have been the object of profound social and economic changes from the time of its construction right up until today. To better understand the complex reasons behind such changes, it is necessary to restate that the original site of São Paulo, part of one of the core centres of the city of Lisbon - Cais do Sodré - has a unique identity which has always resisted the establishment of a significant resident population due to its bohemian character and its long standing reputation for transgression and excess. This is not a new problem but perhaps the current climate can give us an opportunity to approach it in a new way.

Although tourism boosts urban regeneration, a city that is exclusively dependent on this sector will always be at the mercy of variables outside of its control, as the pandemic has shown. Covid-19 presents us with a chance to rethink our "new normal" and adjust our urban model, investing in greater economic diversification and more sustainable and better targeted support for the needs of its citizens. Measures should be taken to retain and capture assets in the neighborhood, and through the design and implementation of local urban regeneration processes,

and the introduction of principles, practices and policies to prevent eviction and displacement of residents, we can put in place the concrete measures and initiatives to ensure the "right to housing" rather than "gentrification by tourism".

To enhance and value the memory and identity of a space, through interaction, respect and innovation among the different actors is the main challenge if we want a city to be attractive, dynamic, competitive, plural and proud. A city which promotes new senses of belonging, giving back the function to the subject as stage of interaction, encounter and creation of social practices.

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## 99 White elephants in southern europe

### Urban Development and Social Change in the context of the 2008 financial crisis and the pandemic

DIMITRIS POULIOS
National Technical University of Athens

#### ABSTRACT

Up until the early 2000s, the Mediterranean urban landscapes were praised for being the best examples of successful urban transformation and inclusive growth. The case of Barcelona was considered a "Model" that combined urban competitiveness, social cohesion, and participatory governance mechanisms. Other cases, like Athens, though lacking behind in terms of urban transformation, were commented on for their low segregation and informal urbanization.

Mega-Projects and Mega-Events as a starting point for wider urban interventions lay at the core of Southern European success stories, along with a governance model that promotes city competitiveness and urban boosterism. However, we argue that the circumstances have been changing rapidly since the breakout of the economic crisis of 2008. Cities were not only lacking the financial resources to continue such urban initiatives, but also public support.

On the contrary, more and more cities are moving away from the urban boosterism agenda of the previous decades. This shift from Grand Projects to "Grand Challenges", comes with a focus on social cohesion policies and the improvement of the quality of life for citizens. This new urban policy situation coexists with more "traditional" urban competitiveness strategies that were the initial response to the crisis situation.

We present these changes through the cases of Barcelona and Athens by exploring urban policy responses during the last decade.

**Keywords:** urban policy, social cohesion, urban competitiveness.

### 1. White Elephants and urban change in Southern Europe

Since the early 1980s, urban regeneration initiatives through Mega Projects and international events have been lying at the core of urban policy in European cities and across the globe. Mediterranean urban landscapes in particular followed this trend with great success, with Barcelona being a "Model" case of urban renewal.

However, in the mid 2000s, these approaches started to show signs of decline. Public funds became more and more scarce, real estate interests favored more speculative approaches and the balance between competitiveness and social cohesion started shifting in favor of the former.The crisis and the real estate bubble of 2008 led to the end of this contemporary "Belle Époque" of urban regeneration, with the "freezing" of many large-scale projects and development initiatives. Failed urban development projects became the portrait of the financial crisis.

As a reporter from The New Yorker commented in 2013, "debt doesn't look like much. It has no shape or smell. But over time it leaves a mark". Debating about the case of Spain, Nick Paumgarten observed that it was there that it "manifested itself, first, as empty buildings, stillborn projects, and idled machines. The country now is a museum of doomed developments – a white elephant safari" (Paumgarten 2013). The collapse of the real estate market was not the only reason behind the critique of urban regeneration strategies. For many, pro-market urban boosterism approaches, flagship projects designed by star-architects lay behind local economic failure and the recession. In Athens, the underused and abandoned facilities of the 2004 Olympic Games became in the public debate the "monuments" of excess and irresponsible public spending. In Barcelona, cultural facilities and tourism promotion strategies were linked to the housing crisis. In Valencia, the City Council even took legal action against Santiago Calatrava, the architect behind Ciudad de las Artes y las Ciencias de Valencia, for the high upkeep of the facilities. All over Europe, city councils and governments were facing enormous difficulties dealing with the costs of operating and supporting large scale cultural and public infrastructure.

**What is even more surprising, despite these circumstances, is that Mega Projects and large-scale urban regeneration initiatives continued to be the "common sense" of urban policy making in most of the cities even after the obvious failures and the market collapse.** PPPs and real estate development were a key part of urban policy trajectories after 2008. However, this neoliberal vision of crisis-led urban transformation did not remain unchallenged. Dealing with the effects of the crisis, the poverty, the social inequalities and unemployment also led to a return to social cohesion policies. Under the pressure of social movements, city councils and policy makers, explored policies that battled urban segregation, enhanced the access to affordable housing and improved the quality of public spaces and civic facilities. In our view these initiatives introduce new ways

in envisioning urban transformation in an era of great uncertainty broadened by the pandemic conditions.

Our approach is based on field research in Athens and Barcelona from 2014 to 2019. On the following chapters we will elaborate more on what we understand as being a paradigm shift in urban policymaking.

- We begin by looking into the first urban policy responses after 2008 that continued in the footsteps of the previous norms and tendencies of urban competitiveness.

- Then we present city-wide social cohesion initiatives and urban development strategies in the fields of housing, public space access and social inclusion.

- Finally, we make some comments concerning theory, supporting our view that we are moving in a transition era where different value-metrics are introduced in policymaking, challenging the ways we conceptualize "Mega Projects" and what is valuable for cities and citizens[1].

### 2. The crisis and the continuation of the urban competitiveness agenda

In an effort to understand policy shifts during the recession that followed the 2008 market crash, Peck, Theodore and Brenner posed the following question: *why is it that mainstream late neoliberal urban-policy formulations appear to be so tired, so prosaic, so anemic, and yet still continue to represent the doxic 'common sense' of urban policymakers around the world?* (Peck, Theodore, and Brenner 2013, 1095). And they were right. For many analysts and scholars, despite the crisis and social unrest, market-led urban policies maintain an indisoutable hegemony (Aalbers 2013; Peck, Theodore, and Brenner 2013; Harvey 2011). What is observed after 2008 is a continuation of urban boosterism and competitiveness remedies (Bayırbağ, Davies, and Münch 2017). Some would even argue that the process of neoliberalization is deepening (Brenner, Peck, and Theodore 2010; Davies and Blanco 2017). One explanation could be similar to what Harvey (2010) refers to as "politics of denial", criticizing the dominant economic thought. Policy makers were unable to accept "failure". Nevertheless, what holds true for most of the cases is that the neoliberal thought is so embedded in urban governance institutions that urban competitiveness, branding tools, PPPs, lean government, and other policies are taken for granted.

**This was evident in the case of Barcelona.** In 2007 Jordi HereuiBoher, who had

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already replaced Joan Clos, won the municipal elections. At the same time, according to a series of indicators, the city was developing in the general context of its "success". It rated first among the cities in Europe as far as quality of life was concerned, sixth as a global tourist destination, fifth most attractive city in Europe to found a business etc (Observatori de Barcelona, 2011; PEMB, 2010). All the above worked as a confirmation to the leaders of the city that the choices made so far had been towards the right direction, and that, despite certain protests, the model of development of the city did not show any signs of being shaken.

In this context it does not come as a surprise that the crisis was considered to be an external factor and that its roots could be detected at the policies of the Spanish Government. The faith and consensus around the model of competitiveness of Barcelona were so strong that it functioned as an example to imitate. Hereu's proposal for the resolution of the problem of the economic recession was depicted in the slogan: *"Against the crisis, more Barcelona"*. Other city institutions shared the same opinion as well. As Josep Carles Rius, member of the Association of Catalan Journalists, mentions:

*The other message that I delivered to the City Council is that the fight against the effects of the crisis must be compatible with the leadership of future projects, projects that make a city more creative, more educated, more competitive, with more self-esteem, more self-confident. In short, stronger to face future crises and to project to the world with more strength.* (Hereu, 2010). This opinion was also reflected characteristically in "Barcelona Vision 2020", the new Strategic Plan in which it is highlighted that the success of the city depends on a common vision and "faith in the brand" (PEMB, 2010: 21).

In general terms, up until 2012 the strategy chosen by the city through its Municipality, the Generalitat, and other institutions did not manifest any characteristics of breakthrough. We also claim that, beyond the level of public discourse, little did the crisis affect the shaping of urban policies.

Attracting visitors and investments through Mega Projects and international events continued to be the core of the City's strategy: In 2010, Barcelona started preparing a bid for the 2022 Winter Olympic Games. The process was halted by the Trias administration in 2011. After a long stagnation period, the Sagrera high-speed station redevelopment project started moving forward after 2012.

The urban competitiveness agenda intensified during the Trias administration (2011-2014). The projects that the administration pursued, encouraged the intervention of the private sector in the space and a policy of urban growth. Indeed, those policies were compatible with the liberal views of CiU that did not *"comply with the view that demonised businesses and business people"* (Vives Tomàs 2017, 25). That was clear in the proposal concerning bigger projects such as the

new neighborhood of innovation in the *Blau@Ictinea* port or the *One Ocean Port Vell* project. The latter concerned the concession of the project of the Port Vell Marina to a privately-owned group in order to expand it and create spots for super-yachts (Castro 2017; Castro et al. 2013; Bernardos and Costa 2015). These initiatives focused to a great extent on the Tourism sector where there was an attempt to reinforce and expand the activities. Characteristic towards this direction was the amendment of the use plan in the Old City (*Plan de Usos de Ciutat Vella*) in 2013 in order to be able to welcome new uses for tourism (Baquero 2013; La Vanguardia 2013).

Great effort was made to transform Barcelona into a Smart Cities paradigm internationally. The organization of mega-events like the *Barcelona Mobile World Capital* or the *Smart Cities Expo* that attract thousands of visitors every year were part of the agenda, along with a vast program of Smart City oriented policies and regeneration projects like the *Smart City Campus*.

**In Athens**, the conditions of the crisis, the fiscal reforms and the agreements between EU and the Greek Government significantly influenced the trajectory of urban policies. Crisis restructuring in Greece led to several institutional breakthroughs and reforms in spatial and development planning with a goal to attract investments and generally to allow private initiative to intervene in space with some flexibility. This rationale was generally encouraged by austerity policies and manifested through a model of privatizations of public property. **Hence, an important part of urban policy sought the redevelopment of public land and assets, through large scale interventions and projects with the involvement of the real estate industry and star-architects**. In Athens such projects as the redevelopment of the former Hellinikon Airport area through the creation of a 3,000,000 sqm new district in South Athens are characteristic of this process. The area, based on a Master Plan by Foster and Partners, will be fully developed in the next thirty years, with a mix of uses from tourism to housing, with a Casino, Shopping Centers, and a Metropolitan Park.

However, privatizations were not the only way the private sector was involved, **as many philanthropic foundations took part in urban regeneration initiatives; in fact, the most important large scale interventions were funded through donors**. The lack of funds and flexibility of the public administrations led to the search of alternative resources in order to kick-start and fund urban interventions. This was the case of the Redevelopment of the Faleron Bay and the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Cultural Center (SNFCC). In 2009 the Stavros Niarchos Foundation made an agreement with the Greek Government to fund the construction and operation of the new National Opera and National Library of Greece facilities in Faleron Bay. The foundation also supported the formation of an integrated Masterplan for the whole area designed by Renzo Piano. SNFCC opened to the public in 2017.

Similarly, the Ministry of Environment and the Onassis Foundations collaborated for the redevelopment of the Athens Center in the project *Rethink Athens*.

**In both Athens and Barcelona, this initial urban boosterism agenda had limited success and implementation.** The conditions of the economic crisis led to significant difficulties in funding large scale urban interventions. Projects like *Blau@Ictinea* and Smart City Expo in Barcelona did not move past the concept design phase. In Athens, ten years after its initiation the promising privatization program has led to limited interventions. Apart from SNFCC that was funded by a philanthropic institution all other urban regeneration initiatives are struggling. Part of the failure should also be attributed to the limited public support. In contrast to the Grand Projects of the past decades, in this era of austerity new large-scale urban interventions do not have the consensus of the public opinion. For many these initiatives aim only at the speculation of the private sector or are not necessarily useful in times when cities need to tackle pressing social issues. These views have also led to the creation of alternative urban development scenarios.

### 3. Alternative urban development scenarios towards social cohesion

The consequences of the recession and the austerity policies created circumstances of polarity and crisis in the political system of Spain and Greece both at a national and local level. This fact activated local communities, the political parties and the social movements, and urged them to take initiatives. **We cannot understand the shifts in the trajectory of urban policy if we do not link them with these wider social and political changes**.

The cases of Athens and Barcelona are indicative of a period of global "disorder" (Rodgers, Barnett, and Cochrane 2014; Eckardt and Ruiz Sanchez 2015; Featherstone 2015; Wissel and Wolff 2017; Hadjimichalis 2011; Arampatzi 2017; Walliser and Andrés 2013) that has led to changes in the political scene in Europe and other places in the world. This process resulted in the emergence of a "new activism", as mentioned by Walliser and Andres (2013). This new type of activism attempted to constitute the basic network against austerity policies by simultaneously building solidarity organisations and promoting a different lifestyle model (Bayırbağ, Davies, and Münch 2017; Walliser and Andrés 2013; Featherstone, Strauss, and MacKinnon 2015). In the case of Barcelona, a coalition of activists supported by left parties managed to assume power of the City Council in 2015. In Athens, a coalition supported by socialist, left, and green parties also won the election in 2010 after decades of conservative governance in the Athens City Council.

The political change brought a new political culture. The development of movements in cases such as Barcelona is believed to be evidence of the formation of this "*new political culture*" through political action (Eizaguirre, Pradel-Miquel, and García 2017; Blanco, Salazar, and Bianchi 2019). The weaknesses and limits of

these ventures highlight what Eizaguirre et al. (2017) claim: that the most important challenge is how to formulate a new urban citizenship agenda "*in a global city where anyone can control the resources*" (Eizaguirre, Pradel-Miquel, and García 2017, 426).

This new urban citizenship agenda comes with a different vision of what urban change is and what grand projects a city needs.

In Barcelona, according to Josep Bohigas, Director of Barcelona Regional, the new city government linked urban development initiatives and large-scale projects directly with speculation, holding at the same time the view that the physical transformation of the city, the "Barcelona-Model" went very bad. The same applies to projects in the fields of culture which are only understood as means to attract more visitors and tourists.This rejection of a past of urban boosterism and tourism promotion is accompanied by the return of the social dimension in urban policy. In our view this is a different concept of what a Grand Project could be. As Josep Bohigas puts it: "We still do Mega-Projects […] It is true that they stopped big things but (the Municipality) works on little things closer to the citizens. But as you do many and you draw them all together, they start to bring the bigger picture" (Bohigas, 2019).

The example of the housing policy initiatives in Barcelona during the last decade is close to a new kind of Grand Project in terms of funding, mobilization and impact to the city.

The efforts to battle the housing crisis and the bubble in the rental market began after 2011. During the period of Trias governance, housing policy would be based on five basic axes: (a) restriction of the loss of housing in population groups that were in the poverty line, (b) expansion of the public land that concerned housing projects which was the goal of *Pla Empenta*, (c) expansion of Social Housing *Pla 100x1000*, (d) promotion of measures to enhance the housing quality, accessibility, energy efficiency etc. and, finally, (e) opening up a channel of communication with organisations of civil society.

The aforementioned program would also be reinforced by securing the necessary funding. More than 100 million euros would be invested, an amount of money unheard of for the city. Under the governance of *Barcelona en Comu* (2015-2019) the policies would continue, as the Mayor herself had made housing a personal challenge.

At the core of that policy lay the construction of new housing units. In 2015 the Municipality had at its disposal 6,000 housing units. Already since 2017 a program to construct 4,000 more had been active, and its goal was to have 13,000 new housing units by 2022 (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2017). The Municipality

retained the biggest part of their management through the Instituto Municipal de la Vivienda y Rehabilitación (▢▢▢▢▢), but they also pursued collaborations with institutions from the private sector. In the case of Barcelona, the engagement of the private sector in various ways (PPPs, associations, NGOs) in social housing was basically one of the most interesting facts. A Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) called "Housing Metròpolis Barcelona SA" was founded at the level of the Metropolitan Area, 50% of which was owned by the Municipality of Barcelona itself and AMB, and 50% by a private company. The goal of this company was to construct 4,500 rental units and then manage them for a decade. Housing associations had also shown interest and were handed land owned by the municipality for a period of thirty years. What is more, the Municipality formed collaborations with institutions and NGOs such as Habitat 3 which operates in the housing sector, aiming to create a more accessible housing stock.

In the case of Athens, the social consequences of the recession and the austerity policies were the focus of Municipalities' initiatives since 2010. It was something that emerged through a necessity (Kaminis 2019; Stratigaki 2019; Evmolpidis 2018). After 2011 the Municipality was faced with a situation where "social needs are urgent, and continuous" (Municipality of Athens, 2015, 9). Handling extreme poverty, lack of social housing, employment policies, health and social care lay at the core of urban policymaking.

The intense problems and the lack of funding due to budget cuts would lead the Municipality to the search of alternative resources mainly through European funding schemes, but also through collaboration with civil society organizations, philanthropic foundations, NGOs and the private sector. The Municipality created the coalition "Athens – Capital of Solidarity" with more that ten civil society organizations in order to participate in actions by the Fund for European Aid to the Most Deprived (FEAD). In general, civil society mobilization as a mechanism of solidarity and crises management would become a vital point of urban policy. In 2013, Athens created the platform "Synathina", an online networking portal for citizens actions in Athens. Describing the initiative, the Mayor of Athens, George Kaminis would comment: *"Athens has acknowledged the role of civil society and has embraced citizen initiatives in decision making process. In an era of austerity, we wanted to create a tool that will gather citizen capabilities offering solutions for improving quality of life in the city"*[2].

The platform until 2019 would include more than 3,000 initiatives and the Municipality would receive the Mayors Challenge Award in 2014 from Bloomberg Philanthropies.

2   Bloomberg Philanthropies. Synathina a public platform for engaged citizens
https://mayorschallenge.bloomberg.org/ideas/synathina-a-public-platform-for-engaged-citizens/ (last accessed: 27.5.2019)

### 4. Grand Projects and the need for a paradigm shift

As the cases of Barcelona and Athens demonstrate, cities during the previous decade of economic recession were faced with new challenges, different from the era of urban boosterism and regeneration of the previous decades. Management of crises – environmental like climate change, economic like the 2008 recession, and social and health crisis like the current pandemic– lie at the core of urban policy making in all the cities around the world. **However, the most important element in the process of seeking solutions is to comprehend that contemporary urban problematic demands a holistic reinterpretation and requalification of the values and urban trajectories that cities followed the past decades**. Mega Events and large scale urban development projects were part of the solution for the renewal of urban landscapes in the post fordist era. Through this process since the 1980s, cities managed to change their image, improve the quality of the urban environment andrenew their social and cultural infrastructure. It is also true that these grand projects were -in some part- excessive or created opportunities for speculation, but they also contributed to urban and social change. However, today we sincerely doubt that this model is resilient and sustainable. The "White Elephants" and failed large scale urban development initiatives in cities across the world as well as the difficulties in the maintenance of mega projects are evidence that a shift in urban trajectories is more than necessary.

Cities should move the focus from Grand Projects to "Grand Challenges": what is important and necessary. Housing access, high quality public and open spaces, pedestrian areas, social inclusion-community participation, social infrastructure and services are elements of a contemporary competitive city. This is a different vision of city-making that focuses on people. For the Director of Barcelona Regional, Josep Bohigas, this process in more necessary than ever. As he comments for the case of the housing problem:

*My friend Alex Himenez said this famous phrase that we say it now everywhere "if the city were a paella, the housing would be the rice". So we are doing paellas but we don't talk about housing at all. We are doing very nice cultural centres, very nice public spaces, but we have forgotten the most important thing to talk about. And that is housing [...] What was most important were the people living behind those walls that we didn't take care of [...] And this is the biggest problem of the Barcelona Model, not attending the issue of Housing.* (Bohigas 2019)

This new vision also requires a change in philosophy and hierarchies, a renewal of our understanding of the problems. Referring to climate change, the economist Mariana Mazzucato (2018) argues that the first step is to understand the problem and the fact that green infrastructure needs a vision for a "green life". She supports the view that *"this requires a social commitment to new, less physically materialist approaches to the way we live"* (Mazzucato 2019, 208).

We have to add that these conditions also demand a different commitment from those that frame the theoretical debate, from urban studies and urban policy scholars and academics. Research and innovation in these fields of study should also change trajectory. A better understanding of recent urban and social changes in the context of the crisis and the pandemic is needed. Case studies that promote alternatives in policy making and citizen practices are also important.

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# 108 Porto Maravilha Project 10#years

## Megaevents, urban entrepreneurship and social challenges

SIMONE AMORIM
DINÂMIA'CET-IUL, ISCTE

### ABSTRACT

Porto Maravilha Urban Operation (PPM[1]) is the largest urban revitalization project ever led by Rio de Janeiro city. Launched in 2009, it transformed the port region, through a set of revitalization initiatives, especially in the realm of leisure and tourism, directly interfering in forms of urban use. A bold plan of more than 5 billion dollars destined to revitalize the industrial port district, creating an attractive destination for the waterfront and triggering the development of the entire region. Much of Brazil's African heritage stemmed from this region. Setting for social struggles and cultural events, stage for great historical protagonists, it is a unique part of Brazil. Its streets, houses and churches reveal much about the formation of Brazilian identity. Over the past decade, PPM has set itself beyond the reproduction of its international precedents, going far off its speculative project of planned gentrification by a neoliberal State, driving important impacts on cultural heritage and history. Operating a discourse of replacing symbols of a remarkable past, it grounded its strategies in order to build a new history based on the spectacle, bringing together elements of a controversial conception of culture, in everything inherent to the project of the commodity city underlying the operation. Regardless, it came across tough groups, whose confrontation trajectory gives one of the most important characteristics to the place: social engagement. This communication aims to present strategies adopted by collectives, artists, intellectuals and residents of the region to block the attempt to overlapping the history and culture of that territory, by that city of tomorrow created in mega events context. Specially, to illustrate how distinct conceptions of culture contest the history of a territory: the centrality of cultural dimension in the city-enterprise either the culture of the spectacle as a core element of this urban operation is far different from the cultural heritage of that territory and the expected legacy of PPM.

**Keywords:** Rio de Janeiro, 2016 Olympic Games, 2014 World Cup, Urban Operation.

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1   According to Portuguese language initials, which it is widely known.

## 1. Porto Maravilha Project: a decade later

As the largest urban intervention ever carried out in Latin America, the Porto Maravilha Project has operated, in the last decade, one of the greatest transformations the city of Rio de Janeiro has experienced in its entire history. Urban transformations, but also symbolic whose expressed intention was to project the city to the world. The city then was experiencing a climate of pre-Olympic euphoria for the future ahead. In that scenario the City Hall started "a broad program of urban interventions, which would significantly change the appearance of much of the urban fabric still related to uses that were once port (mostly warehouses), enabling the renovation of neighborhoods"[2] in the surroundings of a region that had been systematically neglected by public authorities for many decades.

It is important to locate the PPM in a global 'metonymic' context that transmuted cities in former places of business into the business itself:

> The financialization process of the economy, the flexibilization of the production process, the crisis of the central states and the national scale and the development of new transport and communication technologies are part of the repertoire to which these aspects of the valorisation of the local and urban scale have resorted to present the new insertion of metropolitan spaces in the economy and social theory. (...) a process that produced the urban-metropolitan space as the last frontier of capitalist accumulation. (Carlos et al, 2015, p.22)

Through a set of initiatives aiming to restore and revitalize the region, especially for leisure and tourism purposes, directly interfering in the forms of land use, the operation was developed based on three pillars: urban revitalization, real estate and economic and Social development. A bold plan of around 5 billion dollars, whose most important component was the replacement of an elevated expressway along the waterfront with an underground tunnel to improve the connection between pedestrians and the waterfront. An operation that demanded the creation of a tailored governance exclusively designed for the management of the largest enterprise that the city would go through, involving the mobilization of policies at all scales of public administration in the country (Amorim, 2018).

Among the main goals it was do expected[3] the arrival of large companies, new tax incentives, the growth of the population and the economy, etc. Projections of demographic density were made (a jump from 32 thousand to 100 thousand inhabitants in 10 years) based on the improvement of housing conditions and a whole

strategy for the recovery of urban infrastructure, transport, the environment and historical and cultural heritage. In the view of its enthusiasts, Rio de Janeiro projected itself in the 'search [for] ways to adapt to new demands, reinforcing its natural vocations as a cosmopolitan city and symbol of the country, with the aim of making it a unique experience' (idem). In spite of the fact that these 'new demands' have never been sufficiently discussed with the population, even though several popular forums have been systematically organized throughout the development of the project.

However, the atmosphere of euphoria with the project was not confirmed in the years after its development, and it would not resist at all intact at the end of the decade. Scholars (Broudehoux & Mendes, 2019) are categorical in concluding that the Porto Maravilha Project was a long shot, which has resulted, so far, in a resounding failure: 'OUCPM [Porto Maravilha Consortium Urban Operation] contributed to the deepening ruptures and socio-spatial inequalities in the port region and to intensify the ethnic conflicts there (idem, p.369).

The PPM was a failure from the economic point of view its legacy was a set of 'white elephants' whose economic development potential never materialized, as can be seen in CEPAC (Certificates of Additional Construction Potential) episode. The political and economic crisis experienced not only in the city but also in the state of Rio de Janeiro, from the middle of the first decade of the 21st century, ended up transforming the CEPAC negotiation into a nightmare to investors and the suspension - indefinitely - of the hopes of revitalization of the region. Since the entire burden of the project was shifted to the public sector, in order to save the private sector (Giannella & Mian, 2019, p.44):

> (...) the negative effects of the crisis on capitalist profits have led local governments to create new legal - and also illegal - channels for investor access to state resources. This goes hand in hand with other forms of expropriation, such as the use of workers pension funds, the FGTS[4], for speculative purposes, the reduction of workers rights and removals. To contain and suppress reactions against these expropriations, the government of Rio de Janeiro and the federal government have expanded repressive legislation and strengthened the State's control apparatus. (Gonçalves & Costa, 2020, p.130)

But it was above all a huge political and social failure, as it was configured as a perverse space of exclusion, further accentuating the processes of gentrification underway across the city. In gentrified spaces within the city-enterprise-culture logic, as observed in the PPM operation, the city is 'polished' in all its gears and the inclusion and exclusion criteria run from the trader to the space consumer (Mendes et al, 2019). What happened at the port region during its development

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2　Antonio Correia, Architect and urbanist in Rio de Janeiro City Hall. Revista Porto Maravilha, nr.1, 2010, p.7. Available at: https://www.portomaravilha.com.br/uploads/revistas/e4a9a9faf91836f5c586225108b4431a.pdf. Access January 2021.

3　www.portomaravilha.com.br Access January 2021.

4　Brazilian initials of the workers pension fund: *Fundo de Garantia de Tempo de Serviço*.

was a process of violent exclusion and replacement of the region's inhabitants. Agents set aside, separated both symbolically, either for not handling the language of conduct in these spaces, and not identifying with the shape of the latter, as well as physically, through barrier and surveillance elements (idem):

> In order to recall the strategy of other times, the government now needed to argue that the new removals from the city hall would be different from the removals of the past because they would be carried out with the full participation of residents and respect for their rights. The term "democratic removals" was coined in June 2010. (...) The breaking of the "taboo", with the indispensable help of the press, was what made possible one of the most violent periods in the history of removals in Rio de Janeiro. (Azevedo, Faulhaber & Baltar, 2015, p.36-37)

In this sense, the Porto Maravilha project has shortened the city to a free trading zone for its socio-cultural assets and its history to the condition of commodities' much more than a mere reproduction of recognized precedents. It is, above all, a speculative project of planned gentrification in which the neoliberal state has materialized, in the privatization of a large urban sector, accomplices of previously selected entrepreneurs' (Broudehoux & Mendes, 2019: 15). The expert assessment is that the capitalist state model that was seen in this experience was unprecedented. "Even the Catalan planners, who so fervently promoted the Barcelona model among Brazilian planners, consider that things have gone too far." According to them, the market should benefit from the city and not the other way around (Idem).

What we saw over the period is that the State assumed all the investment, the private ones the profit and society the burden of the operation and a legacy of violence and disrespect for human rights, which dragged it down the drain of history, along with the countless removals carried out in the areas now valued, the possibility of renovating a city that has long been neglected in successive urban development plans. In this sense, the PPM can be understood as the symptom of a type of change in the political situation that Brazil would experience over a whole decade, following a democratic, participatory experience with a strong emphasis on social policies, for the current authoritarian and uneven period.

### 2. The culture of entrepreneurial culture: mega events

Despite of the diversity of aspects mentioned in the justifications for undertaking such large investments, in a city with serious and urgent social and urban problems; the operation triggered by the PPM, made use of the cultural bait as a symbol of the strategic package that would raise the city to the level of a global city. From the managerial point of view of CDURP (Brazilian initials for Urban

Development Company of the Porto Region of Rio de Janeiro)[5] the port region, by vocation, has always been a cultural area. During the works of urban requalification of Porto Maravilha, the civic cultural movement gained even more strength and expression. As a consequence, it produced new local economic and social dynamics through the occupation of public space and a new way of engaging in the city.

Otília Arantes (2012) linked the phenomenon of the centrality of culture in new urban managements to Peter Hall (1995) idea that, since the 1970s, cities have cemented the American ideal of transforming themselves into machines of economic growth. Referring to the English urban planner, the Brazilian points out that since then, conventional planning, the use of plans and regulations to guide land use seemed increasingly discredited. Instead, planning ceased to control urban growth and began to encourage it in every way possible and imaginable. For Hall (Idem, p.407), the planner became more and more confused with his traditional opponent, the entrepreneur. For Arantes, today, culture is not the other or even the counterpart, 'the neutral instrument of marketing practices', but it is the decisive part of the business world and it is like big business, whether they are large investments in cultural equipment or preservation and restoration of something that is raised to the status of patrimony, the strategy confers a dimension associated with the condition of bait or advertising image (Arantes, 2012):

> Thus, there was a metamorphosis of the "cultural", whose post-materialism, at first reactive, became proactive, not to say cooperative, as it aestheticized and concentrated on the expressive values of a social order that claimed in its favor having dethroned the primacy of relations of production in the name of relations of "seduction". (...) culture and economy seem to be running towards each other, giving the impression that the new centrality of culture is economic and the old centrality of the economy has become cultural (Idem, p.46-47).

The attraction of international mega-events has been at the centre of the marketing strategy of municipal management since the design of the revitalization plan for the port area. When it was launched, the city hosted a calendar of mega-events and projects for the requalification of spaces, which, over a decade, conferred a 'high seasonality', ensuring the attraction of international tourists and the heating of the economy, there was a euphoric atmosphere, never fully realized by its population, which proved insufficient to promote the improvement of the quality of life in the city, based on the new resources attracted. At that time were held: the Pan American Games (2007), the launch of the Porto Maravilha Project (2009), the Military World Games (2011), the Confederations Cup (2013), the World Youth

5   Available at: https://www.portomaravilha.com.br/conteudo/outros/Caderno%20técnico%20de%20eventos/Caderno%20Técnico%20de%20Eventos%20-%20Versao%20Final%20Final.pdf?_t=1565877540. Access January 2021.

Day (2013), the Rio Art Museum (2013), the FIFA World Cup (2014), the Museum of Tomorrow (2015), the Olympic Games (2016) and the recognition as the world's first Urban Cultural Landscape by the UN (2016). In Brazil, cultural and creative activities currently represent 2.64% of GDP, generate one million formal jobs, bring together 200 thousand companies and institutions and grew between 2012 and 2016 at an average annual rate of 9.1%, despite the recession. Creative activities represent 3.7% of Rio de Janeiro's GDP (FIRJAN, 2016), the second highest percentage in the country and above the national percentage. However, the neoliberal perspective imprinted on the city's modernization project, from the attraction of mega-events, circumscribed the scope of investments, further intensifying urban segregation in the city.

A summary of the legacy of mega events strategy (Ribeiro & Bignami, 2020, p.8)[6] points out that the FIFA World Cup 2014 and the Olympic Games 2016 served as a plan to accelerate the process of city's neoliberalization by generating a series of demands to enable institutional reforms and urban interventions. These interventions can be observed mainly in the Barra da Tijuca region, port district and South Zone. To emphasize the economic and social legacies and justify the interventions, the city called the various projects foreseen in these areas of Olympic projects. The Olympic project aimed, to a large extent, to reconfigure the existing centrality patterns in the city with interventions in the three areas above mentioned. In the South Zone, the government sought to further strengthen the centrality of this area; in the port area, he took the Olympics as an opportunity to revitalize the old port and the historic centre; and in Barra da Tijuca, it tried to transform the area into a new centre through massive investments in the real estate sector. The problem of massive investments in the mega-event strategy, in addition to what we will point out below, regarding the risk of taking the formula out of context, as can be observed in this case, is that it is exclusively public, the decisions regarding these investments do not go through a broad democratic discussion, involving all social segments, and putting the city project that is being built on the agenda, while the return on this investment is almost always privately appropriated.

According to the dossier 'Megaevents and Human Rights Violations in Rio de Janeiro' (2014), prepared by the Popular Committee of the FIFA World Cup 2014 and the Rio de Janeiro Olympics 2016, in the case of the Olympics, 'from the $ 5.6 billion provided by the Responsibility Matrix, the municipality declares that $ 4.18 billion would be derived from the private initiative, through Public-Private Partnerships, and that $ 1.46 would be derived from the municipal public budget. However, this information does not take into account the cost of the government's counterparts in the scope of these partnerships, which also occurs in the forecast

6   On the impact of the FIFA World Cup 2014 and the Olympics Rio de Janeiro 2016 in Brazilian cities and from different aspects in relation to their legacy, see the survey "Metropolization and Megaevents: the impacts of the works of the Cup on Brazilian Metropolises", carried out by INCT - National Institute of Science and Technology and Metropolis Observatory, coordinated by Professor Dr Orlando dos Santos Jr, presented in the referred book.

of private resources from the social legacy, budgeted at $ 10.3 billion '. The same document points out that there are several elements to affirm that the Olympic project has as one of its main characteristics the transferring of public resources to private agents, whether in the contracting of major works, or in the establishment of various types of public-private partnership (p.132). Economically:

> [...] the consensus around mega-events as a strategy for economic and social growth emerged from a diffuse notion of local development coupled with strategic planning. [...] official reports and economic literature prove that the investments associated with mega-events do not contribute to the reduction of regional inequalities, since the concentration of spending in the dynamic areas of the country tends to retain the multiplier effects within its own borders, the opposite of what is expected when the investment is made in less dynamic regions. The discussion about mega-events cannot be captured by the proud spirit that floods the press, and should be replaced by a weighted analysis of the costs and benefits involved in this strategy. Despite the fad of the occasion, the country has institutions, instruments and policies for economic development forged in history and political debate (Oliveira, 2011: 272).

According to this view, the error in linking mega-events to the entrepreneurial strategy of cities does not result from an in-depth theoretical reflection on urban development models; rather, it reflects the transposition of formulas strictly tested in particular historical contexts, namely central countries of capitalism and which are often not configured as generalizable.

### 3. The revitalization controversy: resistances

Despite legacies and achievements for the arts, culture and urban development of the city, the negative balance of the initiative called PPM is unanimous, within which the synthesis of the process would be that this 'new urbanism, despite having introduced, in recent years, different mechanisms of popular participation in institutional governance arrangements for cities, remain, in their conservative essence, typically patrimonial and clientelistic, which historically has contributed to deepen spatial segregation and accentuate social and racial inequalities that already exist Brazilian in cities' (Broudehoux & Mendes, 2020, p.368).

However, it does not seem right to neglect that, even in the context of the experienced mega-expropriations, the episode, despite the policy makers, allowed: 1) to observe the capacity of a tough part of the population to demonstrate the vitality of resistance processes struggle for human rights and a more democratic and less mercantilist urban policy in its essence and 2) keep in evidence, more than a decade, a territory whose centrality is intrinsically linked to Brazilian history and culture, despite the centuries of deletions it has suffered over the time.

It was due, in part, to an original hoax, which is the false premise defended by the consortium of decision makers of the PPM, that the port area of Rio de Janeiro should be revitalized, this presupposed, at the outset, that there was not vitality there, nor people, their cultural practices or their historical heritage. When in fact, it would have been more appropriate to consider that the area should be 're-urbanized' or any other terminology should be chosen in order to not empty a space that is anything but dead. 'By pointing out that the region had an area of approximately 1 million square meters underutilized or degraded, various uses, activities and ways of existing were made invisible or even rejected as capable of integrating the planned future' (Santos, 2019, p.224).

As widely documented, the period must also be analyzed based on the mobilizations engendered by a series of organized civil society agents, universities, residents' collectives, and above all, under the Popular Committee of the World Cup and Olympics in Rio de Janeiro (2014), which in addition to organizing and pressuring public authorities in hundreds of hearings and popular clashes for the right to the city, had participated in hundreds of debates in schools, both private and public, in all regions of the city of Rio de Janeiro; in universities, unions, and various groups and entities, in Brazil and internationally echoing the actual situation of rights violation. It was due the political articulation of the Popular Committee of the World Cup and the Olympics that the construction of agendas and a set of action plans gained social visibility in the context of urban social struggles. Although, in the opinion of the Committee members (idem), the violations of the rights of the poorest did not start with the Mega Sport Events, it was in the scope of these that it got worse. Interventions in the city through large urban projects have been accelerated with the exception laws and the targeting of large public resources, and also have significantly increased the scale and reach of this unfair model.

Finally, the participation of civil society was, throughout the process of structuring the mega sports events, as well as throughout the development of the PPM, strategic in the fight for the right to the city and in defence of the historical and cultural heritage of the port region of Rio de Janeiro. While Rio de Janeiro was being prepared 'with large-scale urban interventions to host mega-events, in order to present the global city, capable of attracting the public and foreign investment', some citizens realized that, instead of beneficiaries, they would be victims of this project. 'The high costs for the construction of sports equipment, while the basic services were being scrapped, echoed the screams of dissatisfaction in the streets, since both the poorest classes and the middle classes suffered from the gentrification caused by this urban policy '(Azevedo, et al, 2015, p.74). Therefore, neglecting this political asset as one of the most powerful technologies emerging from this process would result in an incomplete reading of these phenomena. History will be able to make it clear that urban policies of the 21st century, if they are not aimed at the common welfare, of the fullness of their citizens, will continue

to generate only segregation and exclusion, without ever concluding the cosmopolitan ideal of the global city project.

## Conclusion

This text briefly presents an initial part of the topics to be further developed in the scope of the post-doctoral research named "**Porto Maravilha and Porto European Capital of Culture: a comparative study of creative Spaces promotion policies**", developed by the author at DINÂMIA'CET- IUL - Centre for Socioeconomic and Territorial Studies, ISCTE (Lisbon). The Porto Maravilha Project bequeathed important achievements to the city of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), including in terms of arts and culture, but it also operated marked omissions in the memory of an iconic space, which as the world's largest slave trading port in history the memory of blacks was subordinated to the ongoing monumentalization project, hence the public relevance of the historical record of their strategies, and the monitoring of their legacy in the medium and long term, for a portion of the population of Rio, who have always lived in that space, a territory of struggle, memory and resistance of unique relevance for Brazilian culture.

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# 119 The pandemic challenge on temporary public space in Indonesia

## The Cases of Car Free Day (CFD) in Two Cities

**DIANA ZERLINA**
Independent researcher

**CYNTHIA RATIH SUSILO**
Independent researcher

### ABSTRACT

The Indonesian cities have been developed by the escalated privatization, profit-oriented development, and the rapid growth of automotive industries that prioritizing road infrastructure to serve the car-oriented city. As a result, the deficit of neutral public spaces is overlapped by the growing concern on the environmental crisis, which manifested in the increasing air pollution and lack of green spaces. Motivated by this concern, Car-Free Day (CFD) has emerged from a mere occasional environmental initiative to temporarily give-up certain streets free-off motorized vehicles to balance the city's environmental and social needs. It becomes a weekly Sunday program to provide temporary free public space for all citizens, supported by local city governments and societies. The CFD, has been successfully filling the lacuna of public space in Indonesian cities and well-embedded in the public domain for the past ten years.

However, the COVID-19 outbreak has brought a dilemmatic stance to the CFD's existence. It significantly shifted the policy upon CFD initiatives, as well as the stance of the citizens toward the CFD program. The pandemic brought contradictions in societies and policymakers on the CFD's existence and its relevance for sustaining the mental balance and needs of being in public. This paper attempts to analyze the impact of the pandemic on the CFD program by taking cases from two different scales of Indonesian cities, Jakarta and Surakarta. It will identify the changed social pattern before and during the pandemic period in conveying the CFD's attachment to the cities' life by processing collected data from interviews, news, and questionnaires to capture people's opinions towards the CFD. By this discursive stance, how the CFD shall be maintained/stopped/redesigned in a

supportive scale can be captured. The analysis will unfold the relevance of CFD as a temporary public space for the future post-COVID cities and their social condition in different city-scales.

**Keywords:** public space, temporary public space, Car Free Day (CFD), Jakarta, Surakarta

## 1. Introduction

The public space provision in Indonesian cities was undermined by the escalating of space privatization and commercialization for the past decades. When domination of profit-oriented commercial developments and uncontrollable urbanization begin creating multiple urban problems, all parties suddenly reflect to find the long-neglected physical public spaces and neutral spaces for mediating various stratified groups in urban society. Many opinions suggest the physical construction of a "project of public space" by employing physical and architectural approaches as solutions. Nevertheless, the physical approach has frequently failed to achieve recognition from the citizen due to the absence of collective memory and attraction that fit the citizen's preferences on what they perceived as their public activities. Moreover, the existing permanent physical public spaces have frequently lacked attractions that are strong enough to compete with the attraction of shopping malls that have replaced the popularity of classic physical public space.

On the other hand, the Indonesian Car Free Day (CFD) Programme unpredictably received great appreciation from citizens. The program has evolved from an environmental program to the most successful temporary public space program in Indonesia's two big cities, Jakarta and Surabaya, as well in a medium pilot city of Surakarta. Their success story had paid for decades' failure of the Indonesian cities in providing public spaces for all. Despite the common lack of public spaces provision in almost every city, there were only a few existing physical public spaces that received citizen's continuous appreciation. Among these few, they commonly only receive appreciation from one-side of socio-economic groups, while others are left behind or considered not fit for certain groups of people. As a result, the success story of CFD's pilot cities attracted the national policy-makers to develop CFD as a grand-project for Indonesian cities' public space.

Nevertheless, pandemic COVID-19 has brought major changes in the life of the city, especially in the way that for the first time in Indonesia and in other countries, being in public becomes a big matter in life. Indonesian cities, especially the Javanese cities that experience the hardest hit. As of today, Jakarta holds continuous position as the city's most impacted by the pandemic. Its condition as both political, governance administration and economic center of the country has made mobility become essential; and the pandemic has disturbed not only the city's dynamic but also the national dynamics of the country. As of January 20, 2021, Jakarta's case has reached 232.289. Similar to Jakarta, Surakarta, one of the medium cities in Central Java also suffered from the impact of COVID-19. Although Surakarta is way smaller in scale than Jakarta. However, the city holds an important role as a centre of its region and the second most important city in the province. In Surakarta, the positive case of COVID-19 has reached 7292 cases, which is considerably high for its scale. Both Jakarta and Surakarta were

the pilot cities for CFD trials; and the CFD has been successfully embedded as the most significant public space initiative for these cities. Therefore, the restriction in public activities has placed the existence and the significance of CFD in question.

This paper addresses the changes in the CFD before and during the pandemic period and its influence in conveying the CFD's attachment to the cities' public activities and life. By processing collected data from the news and people's opinions in mass-media towards the CFD, how the CFD shall be continued after the pandemic is captured. This paper attempts to explore the relevance of CFD as a temporary public space for the future post-COVID cities.

## 2. Public Space Discourse, Crisis, and Social Condition in Indonesian context

### 2.1 Public Space Discourse in Indonesia

Public space is essentially a territory of social space inhabited by people who are unacquainted with each other (Loftland, 1998). It was constructed by a long history of dynamics in cultural processes, entangled with the local socio-political and economic condition of a place (Low, 2003; Madanipour, 2010). Despite being a mere place with boundaries, public space signifies the complexities of societies and developed through inclusive processes (Madanipour, 2010). In a postcolonial world like Indonesian cities, the construction and production of public spaces are intertwined with the history of the nation and the collective memories of the citizens in interpreting "public space", which is attached to its fragmented urban society.

As argued by Santoso, no basic conceptions of public space exist in Indonesian cities. The traditional Indonesian cities in the pre-colonial times are attached to the specific ethic-religious community within a clear territorial boundary, called compound/ *kampung* (Santoso, 2006). There was no open urban community, and every space belonged to a certain city ruler. Through decades, this system embedded and inherited until today, and the interpretation of space is complicated by the impositions of globalization. Moreover, the Indonesian cities' urban transformation have been significantly dominated by physical infrastructural and profit-oriented development approaches. Road constructions and a car-oriented city are massively promoted, which lead to the decline of free urban space by the domination of private developments over the cities.

On the other hand, as many global cities begin focusing on human centered city planning, public space becomes an urgent feature to be provided. In 2015, UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) forced cities to be inclusive for all citizens by improving living environments. Many cities' authorities are motivated to promote the rejuvenation of or the addition of new public space as well as attempt

to reprogramme their city's main boulevards for the people. The Car Free Day (CFD) program has become the most promoted programme favoured by many Indonesian cities for enhancing inclusion and public life. Pioneered by two big pilot cities Surabaya and Jakarta, the initiative was being adopted to other Indonesian cities, including Surakarta. CFD works as a weekly instrument in producing a temporary public space for supporting cities which has struggled to compensate for the lack of formal public space.

### The Scarcity upon Public Space Provision

As contemplated by Carmona, the urban environment has significantly evolved and changed where many aspects have been accelerated within it (Carmona, 2003). Public space was part of this transformation, where tradition and modernization subsequently orchestrated and changed over times. Following the modernization image, the advance of Indonesian urban development took over urban spaces. In most major cities, the privatization of urban spaces is faster than the provision of city's public spaces. In parallel, the public space usage also shows different patterns between social classes. For middle-upper class society, shopping malls instantly turned into their "public space"; whilst middle-low society occupies local streets/ alleys as their playground (Zerlina, 2018).

The scarcity upon public space provision in the form of formal public spaces, such as urban parks and squares/ plaza, triggered cities authority to be more proactive to create certain initiatives. In the case of Jakarta, some projects were developed such as re-acquirement of some gas petrol stations into a community parks and reclaims major city boulevards into a temporary weekly public space for CFD. The shortage of public space provision significantly brings particular social behaviors in the society in shaping "public space" based on individual preferences.

### Public Space and *Social Condition*

The constellation between space and social process suggested by Heynen with three models, where space stands as a receptor, instrument, and stage in which socio-economic, cultural, and social processes played out (Heynen, 2013). In the context of urban diverse society, contestation and conflicts between heterogeneous populations are merely occurring in the public space. Associated to many authors, public space embodies multiplicity and social relations in spatializing differences. Thus, in the specific moment of crisis, the public space becomes a contested place.

Throughout history, changes of public behavior towards the public space were mostly influenced by the changes of political situations. As contends by Kusno, there are some milestone trajectories upon this. In the New Order Era, public space was considered as a frightened place with an insecure image which led

to it being an unwanted place in the city (Kusno, 2009). In the 1998 crisis period, public space was acquired by informalities who struggled to find a place to earn living. Those examples showed how the public space is being treated by society according to certain specific conditions and lies on individual interests. This circumstance also occurs today during the pandemic situation, where public space is considered as a danger place to be that could spread the virus easily. Physical distancing, restriction upon public spaces, and some mitigations are imposed by the city's authorities to reduce the virus transmission. However, society's response towards this specific condition was diverse. The needs of public space still exist and appropriations towards other urban spaces usage takes place as the replacement of public space function.

### 3. Cases of Two Cities: Jakarta and Surakarta

**3.1 Jakarta's Public Space, the CFD and Its Dynamics Before and During the COVID-19 Pandemic**

The trajectories of Jakarta's public space discourse went through many regime periods from the monarch era, Dutch colonization, the nation independent times, towards the political regimes' eras until today. Each era brought different system values which correlate to today's perception and construction upon Jakarta's public space. After the independent times, the idealized new powerful nation image brought by the first and second Presidents of Indonesia to escalate the nation pride under the capital city development (Silver, 2008). As the capital city, Jakarta has been greatly developed with massive infrastructures which led to the scarcity of open public spaces. The city experienced shortage and deterioration of open spaces, such as squares and urban parks. This issue has indirectly changed the society pattern of having public life in the city.

As mentioned above, the possession culture upon spaces in Indonesian traditional cities has been brought forward to the recent time. It carried forward on how people adopted urban space. The Shopping malls and neighborhood alleys turns into an "instant" and temporary public space, based on people preferences, which is also mostly attached to the social class segmentation. As contended by Low, the simplicity of a space is essentially an invitation for people to appropriate the space (Low, 2003). Jakarta's existing public spaces are also used with distinct formulations. Its history showed how disparate experiences of multi users created a variety of responses in actualizing public space in Jakarta. The multitude uses of a public space are welcomed in conveying social differences in this capital city.

**3.1.1.** *Jakarta's Car Free Day before the Pandemic*

Apart from spatial issues, modernization has brought environmental issues as traffic congestion raised air pollution in major Indonesian cities including Jakarta.

To mitigate this issue, Jakarta's local authority introduced a program called Car Free Day (CFD) in 2002 as a street-closure program which was influenced by Bogotá's *Ciclovía* program. *Ciclovía* is a weekly 70-mile Sunday street-closure program, which is reserved for pedestrians and cyclists to encourage urban cycling and physical exercise in the city (Montero, 2017). Jakarta's CFD program launched in September 2007 and afterward it was held regularly to follow up the Jakarta's Local Regulation No.2/ 2005 on Air Pollution Control (Suryani, 2012). In its early years' implementation, Jakarta's CFD program held in six locations of Jakarta's major street across 5 municipalities. The program intensity was gradually extended from only being held 3-times a year in 2007 to hold once-a-week in 2012.

The successful attempt of CFD in decreasing air pollution accompanied by the public enthusiast towards the street utilization for public life. Appropriations took place on the street's utilization, as it not only used for cycling and physical exercises, but also as a collective space of many activities such as campaign, music performance, library on street, pop-up markets, stage performance in temporary spots, etc. From 6 am to 12 pm every Sunday morning, Jakarta's CFD locations were flooded with crowds occupying the streets and indirectly inviting street vendors to occupy the street sidewalks. Its location in Jakarta's Primary Boulevard has attracted both the Jakarta's official residents and others who lived in neighboring administrative territory. Substantially, the crowd itself works as the multiplier factor that boosted the CFD's attractivity (Rachman and Barus, 2019). The diverse numbers of participants in CFD made contestation between urban society and their spatial interpretation become blur. The CFD has opened a new paradigm and a new ground of public life for Jakarta's citizens to blend regardless of their social status in one place at the same time, which increased urban community engagement and shed the common discourse of space possession culture from the traditional Indonesian cities.



Fig. 1 – Car Free Day (CFD) in Sudirman – MH Thamrin on Sunday, 9th Oct 2014.
Source: (Zerlina, 2014)
Fig. 2 – Car Free Day (CFD) in Sudirman – MH Thamrin on Sunday, 7th May 2017.
Source: (Zerlina, 2017)

**3.1.2. Jakarta's Car Free Day in time of Pandemic**

The first case of COVID-19 in Indonesia that came from Jakarta was published on March 2nd, 2020. Many restrictions were then being applied to decrease the transmission. According to Ministry of Health regulation No. HK.01.07/MENKES/413/2020 on CoronaVirus Disease 2019 Prevention and Control Guidelines, Indonesian government mitigate the pandemic by enforcement of some policies such as Large-scale Social Restriction in major affected cities/ provinces and encouragement of physical distancing within 1-meter. Those above mentioned restrictions have limited people's mobility and activities in public space. Jakarta immediately closed public parks and suspended CFD programs from March 2020.

Since the first case revealed in Jakarta, regulation upon restricted public space and CFD have emerged. Jakarta's CFD program was officially suspended temporarily from the 15th of March (Sari, 2020) to December 2020. Jakarta's local authority re-opened CFD on June 21st, 2020 but in a week it was suspended again due to uncontrollable issues. The reopening was overcrowded and violated many health safety protocols. Random rapid check was held in place, which resulted in 5 reactive among 600 tested people (Umasugi, 2020).

After learning from the above mentioned case, and by considering the society's needs to be public space, a new CFD policy was made. The local authority deploys CFD locations to 32 new locations across the city to disperse the overcrowd at usual CFD locations (DKI Jakarta Communication, Informatics and Statistics Department, 2020). The main CFD location along Sudirman- MH Thamrin Street was shut down for CFD activities; only cycling was allowed. The COVID-19 pandemic has triggered a new phenomenon in Jakarta in which cycling has become a new trend in sport and recreation. As a result, many people switch from longing in public outdoor space to cycling activities, which is also influenced the use of CFD space during the pandemic.



Fig. 3 – Car Free Day (CFD) in Sudirman – MH Thamrin in June 2020. (Source: Dhiva Althaf / Shutterstock.com, 2020)

The public enthusiast in utilizing CFD events for outdoor activities during the pandemic time has developed pro and contra. However, the dispersion of CFD's locations did not result well due to increasing violations of the applied health protocol. Moreover, the new dedicated locations of the CFD were lacking features that could attract people. Moreover, no collective memory in public realms had been developed in the new dedicated streets, which caused people to be unmotivated to visit and use the space. On the other hand, the initial space of Jakarta's CFD remains crowded by the visited cyclists. The space receives a new role as the main stage of cycling activities. As a result, the CFD events in the 32 locations was officially discontinued by the city in August 2020 to suppress the escalating disease's transmission (Poskota.co.id, 2020). The strategy to disperse the CFD locations did not meet the expected goal. On the other hand, the dispersal of the space made it more difficult to control people's behavior that remained gathered in groups with low healthy protocols. The public life in CFD events illustrate the massive public interest in the program, which reflected in the overload of public interactions. Restriction for being in public space cannot hold people's needs to be in outdoor public space. Public enthusiasm towards CFD has not vanished since the collective memory of the space has already been embedded in Jakartan's minds; to them it is the locus of their public realms and activities beyond the restriction from the pandemic.

**3.2 Surakarta's Public Space, the CFD and Its Dynamics Before and During the COVID-19 Pandemic**

Unlike in Jakarta, Surakarta actually still had substantial numbers of dedicated physical public spaces before the arrival of CFD. As the former capital of Mataram Kingdom, one of the prominent kingdomship in Java Island in pre-colonial era, the public spaces of Surakarta vary from the original *Alun-Alun* of the palace, to numbers of public open spaces that were built together with monuments to commemorate national or local heroic figures or days. Public open spaces are also still available in neighborhoods' level. Nevertheless, the interests of citizens to engage in urban scale level of public spaces have been drastically decreased following the increasing interests on the comfort of shopping malls' profit-oriented indoor collective activities. Moreover, the city has also experienced an inevitable pressure of the increasing profit-oriented physical developments. As a result, many vacant spaces have gradually been sold out and transformed into shop-houses, retail stores and real-estate properties. The successful pilot use of the main boulevard corridor of the city for the first CFD trial had given a new effective way for the city to attract and to encourage the citizens returning to outdoor public life.

**3.2.1. Surakarta's Car Free Day before the Pandemic**

Surakarta was piloting the adoption of CFD among the small and medium secondary cities of the country on May 30 2010 after it was successfully implemented

in two big cities, Surabaya and Jakarta. The official launch of the project in the city plotted 3,74km of the main street of the city, the prime colonial-inherited boulevard street of Slamet Riyadi until the roundabout of Gladag, as a free-car dedicated space where the citizen were freely populated the space for non-motorized public activities. Major sport activities such as walking, cycling and jogging were the main activities pioneering the use of the dedicated space. This initiative received extraordinary success and appreciation from the public, which led to motivate the local government to expand the CFD's use and the length of the dedicated street. The sidewalk of the street was officially dedicated tfor street vendors' and small enterprises' commercial activities, which dramatically added to the popularity and attraction of CFD. The dedicated street was expanded to the south and to the north, which made both the colonial axis of the city and the traditional axis of Surakarta's Mataram kingdom were occupied for CFD.

The popularity of CFD had expanded beyond the city administration, resulting in the presence of residents from the neighboring regencies. For the visitors, the CFD's role had expanded to becoming a true public space following citizen's appropriation to CFD as a space of various communities' representation. Many communities used CFD to officially introduce their existence and activities to the public. Various commercial industries and academic institutions also considered the significance of CFD to introduce their existence to the public. Even schools and universities' extracurricular activities took CFD as the important space to embrace public attention. For low income people and low-income merchants, CFD is the place and the moment where they could achieve economic opportunities from the presence of crowds. Moreover, even though the government had officially banned any political practices' activities and manifestations to be held in CFD, the CFD events remained the main important place to be used to do so, especially nearly to the election sessions. The massive and continuous use of the space for political manifestation pressed the government and unable them to prohibit these typical activities. As a result, both the officially premeditated use of CFD and the self-initiative appropriation of citizens had developed the acknowledgement of CFD as a true public space of the city that went beyond a mere urban project from the government.



Fig. 4 – Car Free Day (CFD) in Slamet Riyadi Boulevard, Surakarta in May 2018. Source: (Cynthia Susilo, 2018)

**3.2.2. Surakarta's Car Free Day in time of Pandemic**

After the announcement of the first national case of COVID-19, the local government of Surakarta did not plan to close any public activities including the weekly CFD. On the other hand, the Health Agency of the City (Dinas Kesehatan Kota/DKK) planned to use CFD as an effective space of COVID-19 socialization considering the massive presence of various social layers in CFD. However, several annual outdoor public events that were planned to be held in CFD venues were officially cancelled. The future closure of CFD would be planned tentatively by the government and it would be determined depending on the ongoing dynamic of the pandemic situation.[1] However, the local government had changed the plan after three residents of the city were officially announced as positive covid-19 victims and immediately announced the Kejadian *Luar Biasa (KLB)* status of the city on March 13, 2020 midnight. The KLB status placed the city as the first city in the country that applied the emergency status and the closure of public activities for indefinite time.

Motivated by the fear of the disease and its unclear impact, self-initiative neighbourhoods' and communities' actions mushroomed in the city in an attempt to self-secure the neighbourhoods by applying local lock-down from visitors and for limiting the spread of the disease. People spontaneously applied self-discipline by avoiding being in the public space. As a result, the entire area of CFD space was immediately empty from people's and motorized activities during the first two months since the KLB status was announced.

However, the situation turned in the opposite direction from the end-week of April when Indonesia entered Ramadan until the celebration of 'Eid's day on May 23 and onwards. The national government sent a puzzlement sign in delivering

1  https://www.solopos.com/car-free-day-solo-tetap-jalan-meski-pandemi-corona-sudah-merenggut-nyawa-1051856

emergency policy. The unclear national policies caused confusion to the local government to interpret and act, which escalated during the arrival of Ramadan and 'Eid national long holiday. Triggered by the ambivalent and unclear standpoint of the central government in restricting or allowing the annual mass-homecoming's from big cities to Soloraya region for the 'Eid's, and motivated by the urgent needs of the major population who earn the daily incomes from informal works, the local mobility and activities gradually increased and the self-discipline in practicing health protocol including avoiding public spaces was gradually weakened. People began to populate the streets and many street hawkers began to sell foods and snacks for breaking the daily fasting along the main streets, especially on several main spots of public concentration along the CFD area. Moreover, people began to get bored after some weeks of being at home. Therefore, people began visiting the main spots along the CFD streets for conducting outdoor activities as they usually did every Sunday morning before the pandemic.

The city lost people's obedience to stay at home even harder after the "new normal" was misinformed by the national government, and the KLB status of Surakarta ended by June 7th, 2020. The people's activities along the area of CFD increased during the Sunday morning even though the CFD was still on hold. Nevertheless, most activities which take place are dominated by people who jog, casual walking with friends along the sidewalks, small meeting groups of friends or families and cycling groups who use the CFD spot as the meeting place and a starting spot to go cycling outside the city. However, informal economic activities from street hawkers no longer existed and the number of visitors have reduced compared to the normal day. For the few parts of the population who still obeyed the pandemic protocol, restricting many activities for a long-term has triggered even more stress and boringness. However, joining to gather at the previous CFD space is not their only option. More people look for activities that can benefit health and create a recreational sense. Cycling out to the countryside has suddenly become most popular activities and mushroomed beyond diverse socio-economic status. Moreover, the scale of the city that is way smaller than Jakarta allows people to reach out to the countryside without the motorised vehicle. As a result, the initial CFD spot along the main street has no longer become the only center place where people conducted cycling such as before the pandemic. More secondary places at the peripheral of the city spontaneously grow similar to the initial place of CFD. On the other hand, the CFD's initial space remains being visited by the people even though it is still being on-hold for official CFD. The collective memory of the initial CFD space as a locus for public realm in the city center remains existed; but it coexists with new mushrooming peripheral public spots.
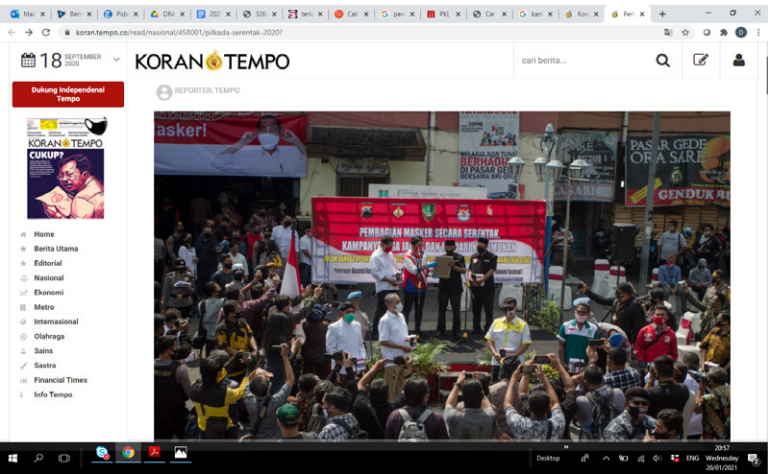


Fig. 4 – Political Campaign in one of CFD spots in Pasar Gede, Surakarta during the pandemic.
Source: (Mohammad Ayudha, 2020)

### Concluding Remarks

The CFD program has evolved beyond expectation from merely an urban environmental program to improve air quality to becoming a true public space that improves social and public life. It becomes an effective mediator for the dialogical process between social production and construction for the citizen in which the spatialization and temporariness work hand-in-hand to accommodate the social framework. There is an aspect of socio-economic, political will, and culture embedded together in unfolding the experience of a place. A true placemaking process which accommodates both temporariness and flexibility in sharing-spaces describe the success of this program to be recognized as a space for acceptable collective activities. The selected location that in both big city and smaller city took the primary street at the center of the city supports the development of collective memory of space for the citizens.

Before the pandemic took place, various initiatives bloomed and people enjoyed the growing public life along the CFD's space which compensated the lack of formal physical public spaces. For the city like Surakarta where the physical public spaces actually still existed but lost its people's recognition, the citizens found freedom to express and to appropriate the space according to each preference on being in public. As a result, citizens from various groups have gradually developed a recognition of the space of CFD as a locus of true public realm and space. Therefore, the restriction for being in public space in a pandemic era does not kill the growing self-adaptation and initiative from the people to populate the CFD's locus. The scale of the city has interplayed with the evolving processes of public space development in the pandemic era as shown in Jakarta and Surakarta's CFD space.

The scale of the city can trigger the dispersion of public life and the growth of new public spots beyond the CFD. However, such dispersion can only survive if its existence is naturally initiated by the people. The CFD is able to coexist with the alternative, since CFD remains embedded as the locus of public life at the heart of the city. Both CFD cases in Jakarta and Surakarta illustrate a new distinct formulation of a public space in modern Indonesian society. Social interactions, informal conversations, and economic exchanges are the foundation of the CFD program's success. As stated by Low, public spaces are expressions of human endeavors and 'the artefacts where social interfaces accommodated, communicated, and interpreted (Low, 2003). The response towards CFD initiative should be understood based on its local context and citizen's interests. City scales play an important role in defining how the CFD shall be maintained according to the citizen's needs. It was clearly shown from the two cities example, different city-scale determined different approaches to be captured.

By reflecting on the current pandemic, where the city's performance becomes uncertain, the existence of temporary public space such as CFD is considered more flexible in accommodating the public life needs. The flexibility of CFD program apparently will become the most suitable space that fits for the future post-COVID cities, where adaptable form can flexibly accommodate the fast changing situation. Furthermore, the temporariness of CFD works effectively for the urban environment to be developed in a more sustainable way.

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# 130 The entrepreneurial countryside

## Imagining Competitive Futures in the Architectural Contests of Finland's Periphery

HEINI-EMILIA SAARI
London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE)

### ABSTRACT [1]

Architecture and urban design are central selling points in globalized urban development models, advocated by city strategies to boost local competitiveness. In particular, architectural competitions are frequently leveraged as a tool for public engagement and design innovation in complex urban projects. While competitiveness has been framed as an apparent quality of successful cities, the mobilization of spatial design in the pursuit of competitive advantage is not limited to metropolitan sites: even provincial towns and declining municipalities engage in design competitions to improve their status. Nevertheless, the competitive aspirations of these peripheries have rarely received scholarly attention. Examining documents from recent architectural competitions in the stagnant and declining regions of Finland, the study centered on how peripheral localities used architecture and urban design to pursue their urban aspirations. The analysis of competition documents focused on the ideas and meanings of competitiveness evoked in the competition briefs, architectural proposals, as well as the juries' evaluations, with a particular focus on the winning projects. Rather than innovative designs or iconic buildings, the peripheral design competitions evoked more subtle development sensibilities which I conceptualize as contextual empathy. Moreover, contradictions emerged between the mainstream architectural approaches proposed by competitors and what the jury considered as appropriate for the local context. The emphasis on modest improvements over growth points towards alternative imaginations of urban futures. The findings offer a distinct contribution to the ongoing debates on urban competitiveness and the role of design by re-inserting the periphery into the picture. The outcomes invite further research on 'competitive' design strategies beyond the hegemonic sites of urban production.

**Keywords:** Urban competition, periphery, architectural competition, imaginary

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# 135  Lisbon Boom(erang)

## Urban commodification through the COVID lens

NUNO CASTRO CALDAS
Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto

**ABSTRACT**

With the progressive liberalisation of capital flows, ease in the movement of people and goods and the decrease in transaction costs, social and territorial formations were exposed to the voracity of a multitude of transnational transformation processes and agents, such as the free market economy, pandemics, or the pressures of mass tourism.

For a number of reasons, at the turn of the last century Lisbon was a city with a decaying historic centre, greatly vacant in population and unable to maintain its built heritage. The vulnerability to the 2008 international crisis prompted a pursue for means of economic recovery and led political power to shift from a state-led approach of urban regeneration to a private-based development strategy rooted on mass tourism and real estate foreign investment.

Following in the footsteps of other European cities, namely Barcelona, a strategy of urban marketing was adopted to promote the image of an ideal "city break" destination, transforming a devalued old area into a leading tourist destination and an attractive investment prospect.

The exponential growth of the tourism sector together with a lax tax policy for foreign investment, which could be described as a neoliberal urban policy, turned the city's built heritage into a profitable asset in the international housing market, which resulted in processes of dispossession and spatial displacement.

Lisbon's dependence on the tourism sector and international investment was suddenly exposed by the halt caused by the covid-19 pandemic. It revealed a purposeless city centre, an economy struggling for survival and shed a light on an increasing housing crisis.

This paper looks at the reasons that led to an uneven housing market and to the transformation of the built fabric and how the pandemic is clashing with the strategy adopted by public power since the 2008 international crisis, concluding with alternative policies that are currently being embraced in other European cities.

**Keywords:** Lisbon, touristification, commodification, covid-19.

### 1. Lisbon conundrum – attempts to rescue a lifeless city centre

At the end of the 20th century and since the 1970's Lisbon was facing a long-lasting decay in population and an accentuated degradation process in its historic centre. Among other political, social and financial factors, the strict rent control policy in force prevented the necessary urban regeneration and made the city centre unappealing for the middle-class.

Throughout the 1980's and the 1990's with the liberalisation of the banking system (1984) and the economic growth following the European Union accession (1986), the Portuguese State created credit conditions that favoured the development of the real estate sector (Lestegás et al., 2018, p.688). Suburban growth stimulated by cheap loan credit, left the city centre mostly vacant and vulnerable to an accelerated deteriorating process.

In neoliberal economic market dynamics, the creative destruction of capital always precedes strong capitalist expansion movements (Mendes, 2014, p.497). The uneven development process faced by Lisbon in these decades (Lestegás et al., 2018, p.685) enhanced the prospect of capital gains through the putative regeneration of the city centre, which meant an opportunity waiting for a change (Mendes, 2017, p.496).

Even though signs of a slight turnaround in urban dynamics could be felt in the beginning of the new century, as younger people started moving back to the historic centre, the housing market came to a halt with the impact of the 2008 international crisis. This marked a shift in urban public policies and in the way the Municipality understood its role as the main agent for urban regeneration (Mendes, 2018; Pavel, 2018).

With public debt way above GDP the Portuguese Government urgently sought answers for a quick economic recovery and asked for the support of the International Monetary Fund. It is against the background of this economic crisis that what might be defined as a "neoliberal turn" took place in Lisbon.



Fig. 1 – Lisbon's historic centre – Baixa in October 2008 Source: (photo by the author)

After decades of trying to stimulate urban regeneration through public instruments and building upon the work to promote Lisbon as a tourist destination that had been carried out since the 1990's (Malet Calvo & Ramos, 2018, pp.53-54), the Municipality shifted from a public-led approach of social conscience to a private investment strategy rooted in an ideal of competitive individualism (Peck et al., 2009, p.51).

Following the pattern of other European cities (Novy & Colomb, 2016), tourism appeared to be a relatively cheap solution for an immediate financial return. In a context of urban competitiveness this meant promoting city marketability through the rise of tourist-oriented and trendy consumption-oriented areas in the historic centre, as well as promoting youth-oriented urban nightscapes in places such as Bairro Alto (Pavel, 2018, pp.226-227) or Cais do Sodré (Nofre et al., 2018, p.5), shadowing the (what was perceived to be) successful example of Barcelona (Capel, 2005; López-Palomeque, 2015).

The state-led strategy relied on both the escalation of tourism for an immediate financial boom and the financialization of the housing stock with the goal of attracting international investment in a mid-term perspective for urban and economic post-recession development (Malet Calvo & Ramos, 2018, p.61). This strategy was carried out at both national and municipal level with the city suffering a market-driven social and spatial transformation (Brenner & Theodore, 2005, p.102) ever since.

When the recession hit the Portuguese economy, a significant part of Lisbon's historic centre was in very poor condition much due to rigid rent control policies (Mendes, 2018, p.215) that kept prices frozen and deterred landlords from making the necessary repairs in the buildings they owned. This prompted the reform of the lease regime in 2012 ("Novo Regime do Arrendamento Urbano") aimed at easing eviction processes and readjusting rent prices by liberating the market. Although it increased investment in the rehabilitation of old buildings, it also exposed tenants to rents above their financial capacity. Simultaneously, at national level, policies like the "Golden Visa" program, which grants resident permit for non-European citizens who invest 500.000€ in Portugal, or the non-regular tax regime ("Regime Fiscal para Residentes Não Habituais") while also fostering urban regeneration, ended up stimulating the commodification of Lisbon's housing stock (Lestegás et al., 2018, p.689).

The pursuit for investment under a globalised economy and the constant seek for attractiveness, left the Portuguese weak and peripheral economy exposed to the predatory nature of the free market, whose financial capacity makes the most of uneven circumstances (Lestegás et al., 2018, p.685). The changes on the legal framework allowed an exponential increase in housing prices guaranteed by the continuous disposal of wealth from external markets, which was particularly harsh on the Portuguese people, as these changes followed a period of austerity measures that significantly impoverished the middle-class. By leveraging urban regeneration through the attraction of international investment and tourist-oriented policies, Lisbon became a case study of touristification as a global strategy for urban development.

**As the city became an international plaza for capital investment, its urban transformations became consequence of urges dictated by economic markets and capital needs (Mendes, 2014, p.494)**. Fuelled by the continuous growth of the rent gap opportunity (Lestegás et al., 2018, p.685; Mendes, 2014, p.489), a process of gentrification occurred in the historic neighbourhoods of Lisbon. However, unlike the typical deconstruction of the urban social space studied in the 1980's and 1990's (Brenner & Theodore, 2005, p.101) this was a phenomenon of international gentrification. Locals are displaced to give way to tourists, students, or people from wealthier countries benefitting from tax exemptions. This mechanism of uneven development as a result of global capital accumulation has had consequences at both spatial and social levels leading to processes of dispossession and spatial displacement (Lestegás et al., 2018; Sequera & Nofre, 2020).

### 2. Lisbon Boom – social and spatial transformations

Modifications on the legal framework are not sufficient to explain all the transformations that took place in Lisbon. Alongside these, other external factors had a deep impact in international tourism flows. The proliferation of low-cost flight

routes and the instability of many Mediterranean based tourist **markets (such as the ones caused by the Arab Spring or the claims for Catalonian independence**) explain the increase in the number of visitors in Lisbon. However, it was the emergence of peer-to-peer short-term rental platforms that contributed the most for a sector growth beyond expectations.

These platforms, namely Airbnb, opened the hospitality service to individual owners and changed drastically the landscape of the tourism sector. By 2014 and only after 6 years of its creation, Airbnb market evaluation was already greater than the InterContinental Hotels Group, the world largest hotel chain (Arias Sans & Quaglieri, 2016, p.210) and its impact in Lisbon became visible in the following years as local accommodation listings grew from 511 in 2013 to almost 20.000 by 2020 (Turismo de Portugal, 2020).

Table 1 – Variation in the number of local accommodations 2013-2020

| year | number of listings | number of beds |
|------|--------------------|----------------|
| 2020 | 19.521 | 74.136 |
| 2019 | 19.431 | 73.679 |
| 2018 | 17.655 | 66.217 |
| 2017 | 10.843 | 41.563 |
| 2016 | 6.821 | 27.030 |
| 2015 | 3.676 | 16.416 |
| 2014 | 1.269 | 7.190 |
| 2013 | 511 | 4.273 |

Source: (Turismo de Portugal, 2020)

Short-term rental flats concentrated mostly in the city centre with 72% of the listings contained in only 5 parishes. In Alfama (parish of Santa Maria Maior), 35% of the housing stock (which excludes the presence of hotel rooms) was taken by tourist accommodation, which makes it one of the most tourist-oriented neighbourhoods in all of Europe (Sequera & Nofre, 2020, p.3171). "Hoodmaps", a crowdsourced map where users from all over the world can label parts of the city according to their experiences, tags Alfama as "Airbnb land" (Hoodmaps, 2021).
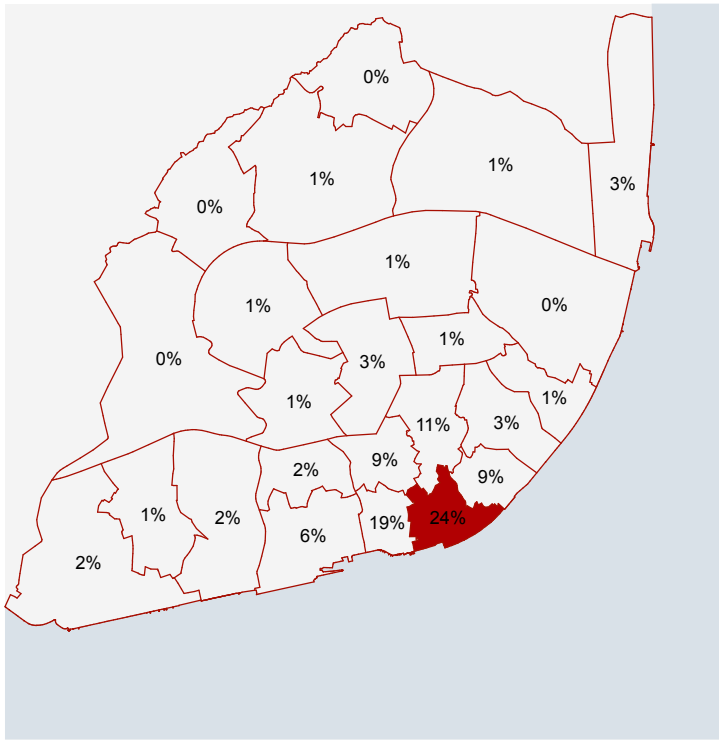
Fig. 2 – Distribution of short-term rental flats in Lisbon. Source: Own creation based on (Turismo de Portugal, 2020)

**Table 2 –** Number of short-term rental flats per parish in 2020

| parish | number of listings | % of overall listings |
|---|---|---|
| Santa Maria Maior | 4.772 | 24% |
| Misericórdia | 3.651 | 19% |
| Arroios | 2.241 | 11% |
| Santo António | 1.680 | 9% |
| São Vicente | 1.662 | 9% |

Source: (Turismo de Portugal, 2020)

Lisbon became the "World's Leading City Break Destination" in 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2020 (World Travel Awards, 2021) and Portugal, since 2016 (and until the covid-19 pandemic) has welcomed more tourists than the number of its residents (Warren & Almeida, 2020).
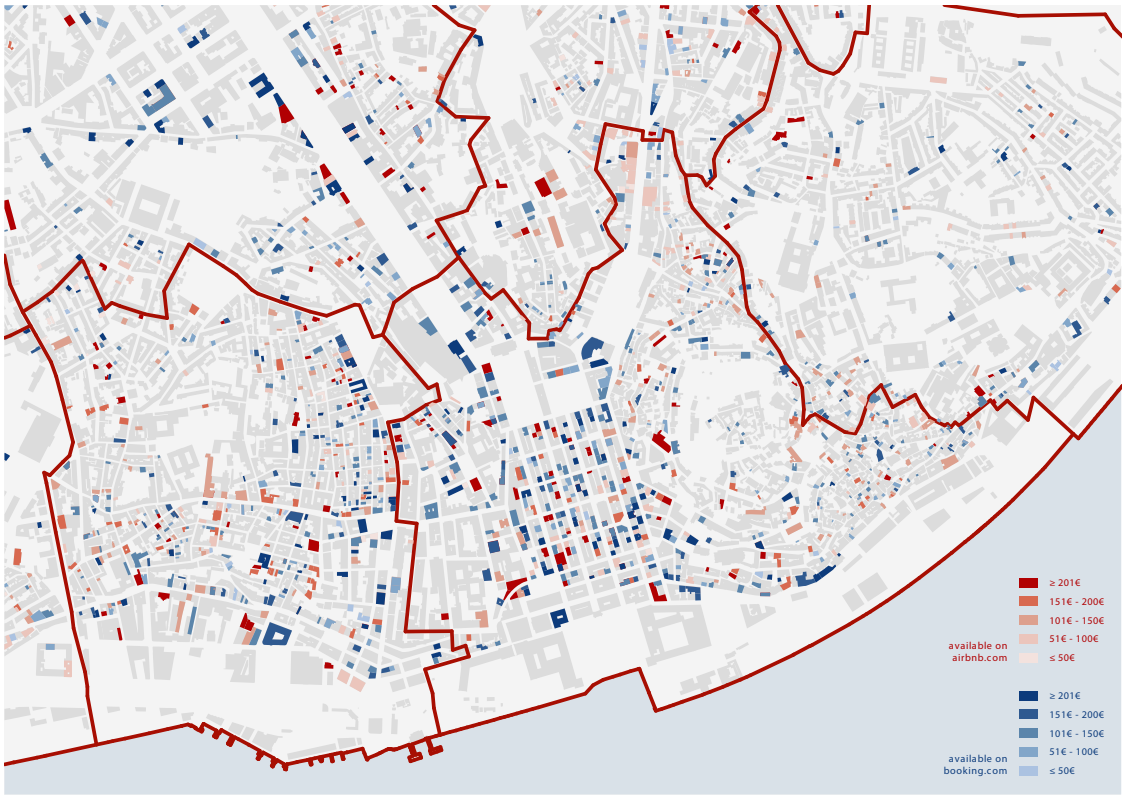


Fig. 3 – Short-term rental flats and hotel rooms available in Lisbon for the night of 20/07/04 (researched in www.airbnb.com and www.booking.com between 20/01/20 and 20/01/29). Source: Own creation.

The financial gain to the city is unquestionable. Airbnb claims the platform had a direct impact of 2.300 million euros in the Portuguese economy (Warren & Almeida, 2020) but there are downsides to it that can be felt at several levels, whether economic, cultural, environmental or political.

In a reality that promotes the valuation of goods with no direct correlation with economic growth (Sawyer, 2013) and is based on speculative profits derived from the construction industry (Bianchi, 2017, pp.9-10) the end result is the commodification of the housing stock and the disproportion between market prices and domestic purchasing power. In Lisbon, the ratio between net income and rent/mortgage expenses reached 58%, much higher than in cities exposed to this pressure for a longer time, such as Berlin (40%) or Barcelona (45%) and way above the reference level of 30% (Pinto, 2020). The congestion of public transports, the carelessness with street cleaning, water saving or recycling (Montaner & Muxí, 2011, p.144), the proliferation of precarious and poorly paid jobs (DBRS, 2020, p. 5) or the end of the multi-functionality of neighbourhoods are also among the consequences of this transformation. By emptying it of locals, communities lose a sense of belonging, they fail to build a political conscience, their social connections get broken, their daily routines get disrupted and as result further house selling takes place.

At a spatial level, tourism and foreign investment undoubtedly contributed to the revalorization of the historic centre and revitalization of underused spaces. This meant bringing back to life a dying city centre through the rehabilitation of its built heritage. The Municipality was able to gain economic power to increment programs such as "A Square in Each Neighbourhood" ("Uma Praça em Cada Bairro") that has improved the quality of public space throughout the city and many of the buildings in the historic centre were recovered through the will of private investment. The list of proceedings submitted to the Municipality for rehabilitation or construction works in the past 3 years shows a total of 1641 entries for 1314 different buildings.[1] Of these, more than 50% are in the historic neighbourhoods and there is a clear manifestation of regeneration expanding north to the parishes of Avenidas Novas, Areeiro and Alvalade.
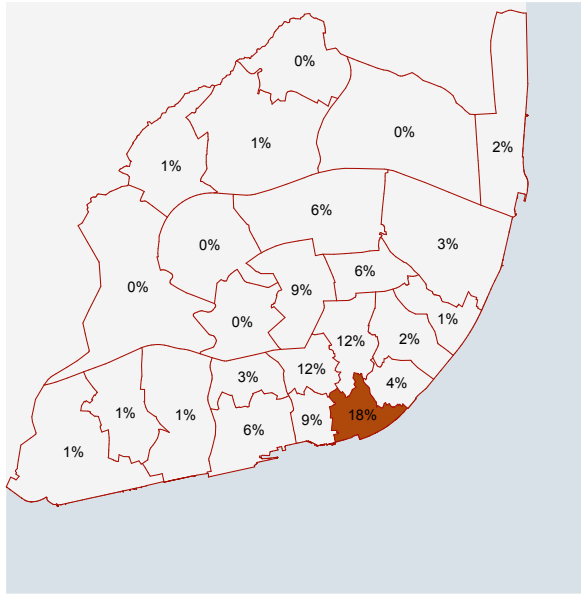


Fig. 4 – Distribution of proceedings submitted to the Municipality for rehabilitation or construction works in Lisbon during 2018-2020. Source: Own creation based on (Lisboa – Licenciamento urbano, 2021))

Table 3 – Number of proceedings submitted to the Lisbon Municipality 2018-2020 per parish

| parish | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | % of overall proceedings |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Santa Maria Maior | 126 | 77 | 30 | 18% |
| Arroios | 84 | 54 | 21 | 12% |
| Santo António | 79 | 47 | 26 | 12% |
| Misericórdia | 64 | 39 | 14 | 9% |

Source: (Lisboa – Licenciamento urbano, 2021)

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1   No information available for the months of May 2019 and June 2020.

However, these transformations weren't always carried out in a way that preserves well the memory and identity of these buildings. Programs such as "Rehabilitate First, Pay Later", ("Reabilita Primeiro, Paga Depois") were meant to allow for the "rehabilitation" of the city centre. According to state definition, rehabilitation "assumes the respect for the architectural character of buildings" and should "preserve its fundamental character" (DGOTDU, 2005, p.153). Nevertheless, some of the works carried out in the historic centre are closer to the concept of "urban renovation", which is described as a "set of urban operations aimed at the reconstruction of under-occupied or degraded urban areas, which are not recognized as having an architectural heritage (…) generally implying the replacement of existing buildings" (DGOTDU, 2005, p.159). This can be seen, for example, in Baixa where operations transformed entire residential building into hotels, by subverting key building components and emptying them of their historic significance (Pereira, 2017).
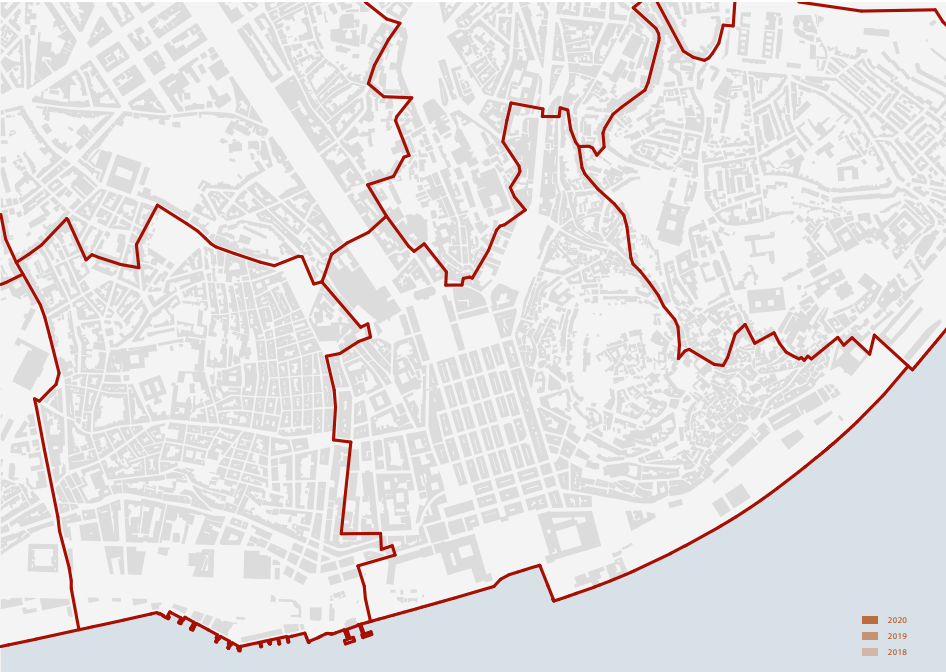


Fig. 5 – Distribution of proceedings submitted to the Municipality for rehabilitation or construction works in Lisbon during 2018-2020. Source: Own creation based on (Lisboa – Licenciamento urbano, 2021))

At an urban scale the proliferation of short-term rentals meant a homogenization of the housing stock that excludes the possibility of a mixture of different uses by different people, which is essential to the life and diversity of the city. The ease and speed of converting a regular flat into a short-term rental (especially in comparison to the bureaucracy required for the opening of tourist developments) speeded up the disappearance of a significant part of the housing stock with very little municipal control, raising questions as to their legal operation. A recent study (Lopes & Banza, 2020) indicates that 43% of the listings in Lisbon do not hold a license or use a repeated license.

Regarding the retail and restaurant sector, a globalized audience inevitably leads to a standardization of places, either through the propagation of internationally recognized brands, such as Starbucks or Costa Café, or the creation of "neo-traditional" (Gusman et al., 2019, p.13) places that presumably represent the authenticity of a culture through the simplistic view of a fast-consuming tourist economy. Lastly, the perception that tourist-oriented places are more profitable has also created the sense of a city for foreigners where "the right to leisure prevails over the right to the city." (Nofre et al., 2018, p.15).

### 3. Lisbon boomerang - back to a lifeless city centre

The covid-19 pandemic exposed the city's vulnerability to the dependence on the tourism sector and raised questions over the urban strategy adopted by the Municipality. After the international lockdown and the suspension of flights, the city centre was left purposeless. A report by DBRS (2020) indicates Portugal is the 2nd European country where travel and tourism sector most contributes to the GDP and the 4th most vulnerable to the pandemic. Not only tourist apartments were left empty and many hotels shut down, as the major part of the tourist-oriented retail and restaurants was left unattended. A report exploring the impact of covid-19 on short-term rental flats (Marques Pereira et al., 2021) showed that during the period between April and June, occupation dropped over 75% for more than 60% of the surveyed cases and income dropped over 75% for more than 90%.

Building rehabilitation also slowed down during 2020 with proceedings submitted to the Municipality for rehabilitation or construction works going down from an average of 61 per month in 2018 to 10,5 per month in the second half of 2020.

**Table 4** – Number of proceedings submitted to the Lisbon Municipality 2018-2020

|           | 2018 | 2019              | 2020              |
|-----------|------|-------------------|-------------------|
| January   | 51   | 48                | 39                |
| February  | 69   | 53                | 51                |
| March     | 80   | 65                | 33                |
| April     | 60   | 52                | 55                |
| May       | 56   | no info available | 29                |
| June      | 63   | 48                | no info available |
| July      | 81   | 74                | 16                |
| August    | 55   | 56                | 9                 |
| September | 33   | 47                | 9                 |
| October   | 49   | 57                | 9                 |
| November  | 51   | 87                | 11                |
| December  | 84   | 52                | 9                 |

Source: (Lisboa – Licenciamento urbano, 2021)

The pandemic period poses many questions, namely how to adapt the uses of a tourist-oriented city to a city with no tourists for an indefinite period of time. Airbnb registered a record 1200 million dollar drop in **the first nine months of 2020 worldwide (Griffith, 2020) with its CEO admitting to almost have lost their business in a matter of weeks (Ravenscroft, 2020). The Municipality perceived an opportunity and launched the "Safe Rent" ("Renda Segura") program. It proposes to rent flats to their owners for a period of 5 years and sublet them to new tenants in order to dynamize the market. Its target was to get 1000 owners to join the program by the end of 2020.**

However, it didn't seem to attract much interest (Warren & Almeida, 2020) and by the end of the year only 177 flats had joined the program with only 45 coming from short term-rentals (Marques Pereira, 2020). The vast majority of local accommodation owners appear to intend to keep their flat use in the near future and more likely consider to shut down their business or sell their flats than joining the municipal program (Marques Pereira et al., 2021). Lack of trust in the Municipality is pointed out as one of the main reasons, but other factors include decrease in profitability or the fear of losing their licenses. The feeling that normality will resume by the end of 2021, as stated by almost 50% of the owners (Marques Pereira, 2020) explains much of this lack of adhesion.

The same optimism is expressed by big investors who don't seem worried by the prospect of the market slowing down. This view is conveyed in a report where it is stated that "although investment into real estate has fluctuated over the years through various downturns, the overall trend has been for higher allocations to real estate, and we see no reason for this trend to reverse" and that they "expect to see continued flows (and potentially an increase) of capital into real estate over the medium to long term" (JLL, 2020, p.15). Likewise, RE/MAX Portugal CEO Beatriz Rubio voiced the exact same view in a recent interview (Expresso, 2020).

Fig. 6 – Lisbon's historic centre – Baixa in April 2020 Source: (photo by the author)

The past few years showed the city hasn't always been able to accommodate the impacts of tourism and real estate development in the existing urban dynamics in a peaceful manner. Unless action is taken to regulate the sector, it is unlikely that the market will readjust by itself. Instead of destination promotion it may be time for destination management. In other cities, measures have been taken to tackle the housing crisis and contain overtourism, rather than stimulating it.

In the Netherlands, the tourist board has encouraged some regions to adopt a policy of "develop and discourage". In Amsterdam visitors have been dissuaded from visiting certain areas of the city, through the removal of iconic attractions such as the "Iamsterdam" sign (Gusman et al., 2019, p.15) and residents were only allowed to rent their homes up to two months against the payment of tourism taxes and unless there aren't any complaints from neighbours (Arias Sans & Quaglieri, 2016, p.211).

In Barcelona, a Plan of Uses has been adopted to prevent monopolistic situations, avoiding concentration of touristic licences in the same area and imposing minimum distance between similar businesses (Arias Sans & Quaglieri, 2016, p.224). Also, an effort to increase the city's housing supply has taken place by imposing strict regulation on short-term rental apartments and unoccupied investment properties (Squires, 2020).

In Berlin, where strong protests for affordable housing have taken place (Novy,

2019, p.67), rent prices were frozen for the following five years (Warren & Almeida, 2020).

Despite similar efforts in Lisbon, like the 2019 program for the "Containment of Local Accommodation" ("Contenção de Alojamento Local") that aimed at putting a brake on the proliferation of short-term rental flats in areas doomed critical, the Municipality has acted late and hasn't been able to control the housing crisis, as recently acknowledged by the city councillor Ricardo Veludo (Rito, 2020).

The housing crisis and the touristic boom are only ramifications of a radical urban strategy with consequences beyond these manifestations, now exposed by the abrupt end of Lisbon's touristic activity. The covid-19 pandemic gave Lisbon an opportunity to be critical about it and reflect upon the necessary changes **to make these realities compatible with the already existing urban systems, not imposing themselves but rather emphasizing the plurality of systems and the idea of the city as hypertext (Montaner & Muxí, 2011, p.146).**

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# 139 Potsdamer Platz Urban Project

## The Economic and Cultural Transformations

GUILHERME HENRIQUE FATORELLI DEL'ARCO
Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie - São Paulo, Brazil

### ABSTRACT

The action ways of global capitalism aim at obtaining monopoly rents from existing or induced urban symbolic capital through implementing or transforming strategic areas. Throughout the processes related to it, in a context of economy changes mainly oriented by neoliberalism practices post-crises of 1970 and 1980 decades, cities and societies are faced with several contradictions often manifested by antagonist actions over the global and post-modern cities concepts, in which local cultural aspects and national and international economic interests must to share the space. Large urban centers are not only the stage where strategies are developed to face such challenge, actually they are also true agents of global articulation to attract investments. However, how could this happen in a particular territory with characteristics hardly comparable to any other territory in the world?

This article aims to analyze how the economic and cultural transformations from the late 20th century reflected and still reflect on the (re)production of urban spaces. Thus, the important symbolic character of the grand urban project along what was the largest axis of social, political and economic separation in the world, the "Potsdamer Platz" urban project in Berlin, in the post-reunified Germany, is the main object of the intended discussion, as an intervention of strong expression over the cultural turn that the city went through. This paper discusses how the urban project was developed and executed by a critical analysis over the veiled intention of extracting monopoly rents from its symbolic capital, which was one of the areas that underwent the most intense and dramatic transformations during the 20th century.

**Keywords:** Urban Project, Monopoly Rents, Symbolic Capital, Potsdamer Platz.

## 1. Introduction

In the present article we will be relying on some core concepts of urban geography, aiming to interpret capitalism's role in the transformation of spaces by the end of the 20th century. David Harvey's, "The Condition of Postmodernity" (2017) and "The Capitalist Production of Space" (2001) have guided multiple urban studies and are still relevant in the 21st century. The theory of Rent Monopoly, associated to concepts like "urban entrepreneurialism" and "symbolic capital", extensively debated by the same author, allows us to evaluate the urban thinking and its practical results when facing the cultural, economic and social changes of the period, just as Otília Arantes at al. (2000; 2014) and Carlos Garcia Vázquez (2000) do in their respective analysis about the changes Berlin underwent. Therefore, in the first part of this essay, we will be discussing the theoretical and conceptual framework we used for this article, as well other authors like Olivier Mongin (2009), for the purpose of defining some core concepts to approach the Potsdamer Platz case.

This paper can be interpreted as an essay that seeks a relation between the product (social, cultural, local) of the urban territory functioning as a stage for the capitalism's actions (when it reaches a new scale in the end of the 20th century) and the conceptual framework. We will be adopting the city of Berlin and the intervention that occurred there at Potsdamer Platz as a case study – which will be discussed in the second chapter.

In the last chapter we will discuss the theoretical and conceptual framework used, facing the contradictions born from Potsdamer Platz urban intervention by considering the urban planning discourse during such economic period of neoliberalism, whose competitiveness for monopoly rent extraction has reached a global scale.

## 2. Capitalism's role in the territory: monopoly rents and symbolic capital

> And if, as I claim, monopoly rent is always an object of capitalist desire, then the means of gaining it through interventions in the field of culture, history, heritage, aesthetics and meanings must necessarily be of great importance for capitalists of any sort. (Harvey, 2006: p. 237) [our translation from Portuguese]

Along the capitalism changes overtime, some periods of inflection in its economic and political spheres may arise, established as a result of disruptions caused by its own systemic contradictions. These consequences manifest themselves in the cities and in the practices of urban planning in many forms - some of which are known as 'urban projects' - that even though usually developed in the public

administration sphere, are constituted as means of applying an urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 2006), which comes as an opportunity to articulate private interests seeking to accumulate capital on the territory.

Therefore, it's mandatory to consider the moment of inflection that allowed (and/or guided) a whole new approach of the urban paradigm: the advent of post-modernity[1]. It is not meant to undervalue the multiple changes in the artistic, architectural, intellectual and cultural spheres, but to highlight a new form of urban planning on consolidated urban territories (in a context of neoliberal economy ascension). So far rationalist, positivist, technocentric (Harvey, 2017, p.42; Arantes et al, 2014), this new approach allows us to understand the urban space as being filled with a plurality of values and culturally atomized, and also as a stage in which neoliberal methods of competition in a global scale are enforced. As pointed by Mongin (2009):

> The general urban condition is the root of a globalized urban system that privileges network and fluxes, therefore contributing to distinguish the places from themselves in order to rank them – and, mostly, to separate themselves. The process of urban globalization is not followed by, therefore, the 'end of territories' - as prophesied by some - but by a "territorial reconfiguration" in which the future of the global cities, megacities, metropolis and megalopolis walk together with the new scale economies. (p.139) [our translation from Portuguese]

This new role of the economies of scale in the urban territory can be analyzed from Harvey's contribution about Monopoly Rents (2001) in a urban territory relevant to global capitalist scale.

The "rent is based on the monopoly power of private owners of certain portions of the world" (Harvey, 2001, p. 222), and emerges due to wealth concentration from a specific asset, distinguished for its commercial potential. Harvey (2001) argues that such concentration might come from a specific practice in which, by its unique features, would assign the capitalist the capacity to extract income (and profit) without being submitted to a strong, free competition, since it wouldn't exist or would be residual. The author exemplifies it with the production of a singular quality wine of a special, or a piece of art, in which originality and appraisal allows an attribute of "priceless" or "incalculable price" (Harvey, 2001).

In a similar way, even in the midst of some contradictions pointed by Harvey (2001) about capitalism itself, the monopoly rent in the urban scenario manifests itself in a global scale from its attempts to extract rent from a determined real estate item[2], or from the use of the property in a local scale. From that, we assume

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1  As put by Harvey in "The Condition of Postmodernity" (2017).

2  Being possible not only property itself, but its use.

there is a contradiction between the capitalist's interests and producing monopoly rent in locals not favorable to market practices which, however, the local urban entrepreneurs would act seeking to reach a global scale (and vice-versa) through the stimulus of the competition between cities and/or between regions, enabling the reconstruction of local/regional global economy. Harvey (2001) concludes:

> Globalization should not be seen, therefore, as an undifferentiated unity but as a geographically articulated patterning of global capitalist activities and relations. (p. 230, 231) [our translation from Portuguese]

While a 'geographically articulated patterning' manifests in the capitalist logic through the appropriation of surplus value of a specific local - due to lower "costs" (like cheaper work force, lower land value), or due to the interest in regions with a bigger flow of capital (as in the third sector of developed countries) - we have to consider also the importance of land capital and the investments of built areas by their speculative features. This form of capitalism procedure allows an investment in a certain local or territory to carry out the extraction of intended rent, creating the possibility of, as time goes by, generating more income – whether by its commodification or by its usage. This articulation allows the real estate agents (locals or not) to achieve monopoly rent.

As the government invests on public spaces, regulates and guides the urban development and negotiates real estate assets, both entrepreneurs and urban planning operate as agents of control, inducting (and sometimes obtaining) monopoly rent. The purpose, even when this goal is not achieved (for a number of reasons), as Harvey (2001) says, "is to create sufficient synergy within the urbanization process for monopoly rents to be created and realized by both private interests and state powers" (p. 232).

Harvey (2001) still takes into account the role of symbolic capital in creating conditions of singularization that promote interest in generating monopoly rent, in response – or as a competitive practice – to the possibility that global capitalism promoted: concentration of capital in a place different to the one invested in production. Along with the risen of neoliberalism, from the last decades of the 20th century to nowadays, multiple cities in this sense tried to create their own symbolic capital by building postcards structures or by promoting cultural events in order to attract monopoly rent. Otília Arantes (2014), in the same direction, talks about a "urban-cultural commodification" (p. 146) when considering the processes of recovering degraded districts – often promoting the usage of the urban space for a public that usually attracts monopoly rent, besides implementing aesthetically emblematic museums, cultural centers, and others in the neighborhood.

It's worth mentioning, however, that the symbolic capital also manifests itself by its own nature, making use of "historical narratives, interpretations and meanings of collective memories, significations of cultural practices:" (Harvey, 2001, p. 233). This collective symbolic capital is also of interest for the extraction of monopoly rent, since urban entrepreneurs might appropriate it from certain aspects of the local culture, turning it into movable assets on the global sphere. Otília Arantes (2012), mentions both the cities of Barcelona and Berlin as examples of this appropriation by pointing out urban projects, interventions in buildings with high symbolic and cultural meaning, building of postcard structures (Harvey, 2001) and, more importantly, by advertising how the local population spontaneously articulates with and around these interventions, showing all the potential for the extraction of monopoly rent. However, it's possible to notice an important contradiction, ruled by the consequences of urban entrepreneurialism in the territory of a local culture: the contamination of its unique material and immaterial features by sharing its space with global aspects: intense traffic, third sectors workers, transnational stores occupying areas of historic meaning, a high increase in tourism, and others.

Therefore, what would be the values of the local collective symbolic capital if, as this urban mission aiming the extraction of monopoly rent, at the same time makes use of symbolic capital, it also corrupts it? The answer varies from case to case. The articulation of political and economic interests, urban planning, collective participation policies, etc, in certain scenarios might mean a reaction against the domination of the territories by the globalized capital. As Harvey (2001) says how the contradictions of monopoly rent might end:

> Were these narrower plans and exclusionary aesthetics and discursive practices to become dominant, then the collective symbolic capital created would be hard to trade freely upon because its very special qualities would position it largely outside globalization. The collective monopoly powers that urban governance can potentially command can always be orchestrated in opposition to the banal cosmopolitanism of multinational globalization. (p. 236) [our translation from Portuguese]

Even though this is not the place to discuss how futile the interventions from globalization may attribute to the territories (and its cultural, historic and identitarian particularities), we must think how the practices guided to extract monopoly rent can impact directly and indirectly the urban development because, in the end, they are important agents of the space production where social relations will determine the rate of urban processes success. Such observations might be better explored from the analysis of Potsdamer Platz, an emblematic urban project in Berlin, which we will discuss in the next chapter.

### 3. Potsdamer Platz, Berlin: the historical and symbolic weight and the appropriation of global narrative in the territory.

Berlin – having extensively undergone intense periods of destruction and – carries a substantial symbolic capital, especially the areas near the line that divided East and West after Second World War. One of these areas has been, for almost three decades, raising special interest in the discipline of urban reconfiguration, since it has suffered multiple interventions in order to absorb global monopoly rent: the Potsdamer Platz[3].

We should, however, consider some relevant historical moments that constituted the strategic, cultural and territorial specificities of the place. Until the late 19th century, Potsdamer Platz was an important landmark, an example of the commercial expansion of the inner Europe. It was the last point of an important strategic route of the German territory that allowed its commercial development (of which the initial point was the city of Potsdam) (Vázquez, 2000). Such strategic feature led to a populational growth from Berlin until its metropolization in the beginning of the 20th century, when Potsdamer Platz could be considered as important as Piccadilly Circus in London. Important hotels (such as the Hotel Esplanade), coffee and wine tasting shops, monuments and a high flux of people granted it as a modern, culturally strong region:

> Berlin residents were proud of showing their 8-meter streetlamp, the first night light for vehicles of Europe. By the end on the 20's, Berlin's traffic, especially in front of the station, was considered the heaviest in comparison to any other metropolis. (Arantes, 2012, p. 121) [our translation from Portuguese]

In 1933, along the rise of the totalitarian regime of Adolf Hitler, the remodeling of Berlin begun. From there on, the consequences to the city, specially to the area defined as Potsdamer Platz and Leiptziger Platz can be translated as sheer destruction. According to Vázquez (2000), there were four periods of destruction: the first, from a series of expropriations and urban projects by the Nazi Party, redefining the local activities; the second, and certainly the most devastating. during the Second World War, (1939-1945), in which bombers basically destroyed the whole area; the third, during the construction of the Berlin Wall (1961-1989); and the fourth, east side of the wall, during the process of rebuilding open spaces after the war.

By 1989, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, there was an array of possibilities for intervening in the territory comprised by Potsdamer Platz, Leiptziger Platz and its surroundings for their open spaces, due to the aforementioned destructions they went through – unlike other territories in Germany and Europe that would also go under remodeling. This scenario instantly aroused the interests of the new logic of urban planning, directly associated to the neoliberal discourse on the rise in a global scale. The potential of the collective symbolic capital in the area was then evident: the reunification of East and West Berlin[4].

Soon after the fall of the Wall, the first measure adopted by the government of Berlin was the sale of state lands, by prices way lower than the market at the time, to the multinational companies (Vázquez, 2000), under the justification that the government wouldn't have enough financial and technical resources to develop the area.

> However, the failure of the administration was evident. Behind it, there was the incapacity of city urban instruments in developing themselves efficiently inside the dynamics of the late capitalist metropolis. But the snowball was only in the beginning, not only about selling lands, the process developed and kept going, showing that the limitations of the public powers would be way bigger. (Vázquez, 2000, p. 451) [our translation from Spanish]

From this point on, Vázquez (2000) demonstrates that during the process of negotiation between the municipality and the new owners, regarding the guidelines for usage, occupation of land and population density, there were many evidences of advantages given to the multinational companies in contrast to the popular demands. Under the justification that installing their headquarters in the area would bring several benefits in terms of job creation and the reinsertion of Berlin in the global capitalism, the multinational companies were victorious at the negotiations, even when facing protests, media exposure and manifestations by specialized critics[5].

> This was the hammering argument with which the late capitalist logic finally convinced the locals about the benefits of the operation.". And then: "(...) the initial reaction gradually disappeared until, finally, the global logic of the system imposed the silence. (Vázquez, 2000: p. 453 and 452.) [our translation from Spanish]

Then, many urban plans emerged through competitions promoted by the companies accompanied by guidelines of the municipality, many of which featured internationally recognized architecture offices, such as Richard Rogers and Renzo Piano, buts also some Germans like Munich Hilmer and Sattler. Although this study does not aim to verify the formal configuration of the plans or architectural

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3  Even though treated here as a single area, the interventions compromised also their surroundings, including Leipziger Platz.

4  Symbolically, besides Berlin, the meeting would represent the victory of the West now allowing the flow of the economic and political program to the areas of the defeated European socialism.

5  "In July of 1990 the 'Group 9 December' published the 'Letter to the Center of Berlin', claiming for small lots, multiple functions, social diversity and urban ecology". (Arantes, 2014, p.123).

parties adopted, and despite recognizing merit for the complex network of urban guidelines and proposals, it's important to reflect on the meaning of establishing this new centrality in the cultural movement of post-modernism, and also both the appropriation and the addition of symbolic capital under the global capitalist logic (or as Vázquez (2000) contextualizes in Berlin's case: 'late capitalism') in benefit of extracting monopoly rents, discussed in the previous chapter.

The new configuration of Potsdamer Platz did not only promoted the installation of multinational headquarters. Among the first activities to be installed, there were those classified in the cultural field – however presented now with a global aesthetic. The movie theaters and other spaces dedicated to leisure and entertainment – mainly located in commercial complexes with open spaces and opened to the public, such as Sony Center Square and the Arkaden gallery - showed that the interventions were heading towards an almost scenographic spectacle, clearly following postmodern aesthetic prescriptions. The induction of cultural activity demonstrates how strong was the intention to re-insert Berlin in the highly competitive scenario of the so-called Global Cities[6], transforming it into a city with enough commercial services and activities to host the third sector and be considered a new "center" of the continent. As Arantes (2014) notes about the urban projects in Berlin, especially those of Potsdamer and Leiptziger Platz:

> [...] are correctly going to this new aspiration [the one of the global cities]. But to do it so, they would need to in-fact be the headquarters of big companies – and this would explain the advantages given to those who sponsored this last development [Potsdamer e Leiptziger Platz], and would also explain the fact of giving emphasis on spaces destined to offices and rentable cultural businesses connected to high-tech industries, as movie theaters, media libraries and even a casino." (2014, p. 138) [our translation from Portuguese]

Furthermore, it should be considered that the urban projects of the Potsdamer Platz complex also promoted important initiatives in the housing sector which ended up showing the same logic of appropriation of the real estate actions of the neoliberal economy.

Understanding the discussion on the housing issue requires a quick look back in time. Post-war West Berlin, under negotiations between construction companies and the federal government, determined the need to promote low-value housing. The atypical result (Arantes, 2014. p. 145), was the spreading of housing across the territory without necessarily following a market logic, which led to the migration of some elites to more remote areas and the transformation of central apartments (most of them now abandoned) into popular and student housing. To the east, the apartments retained in the 'socialist molds': large groups with uniform

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6   As described by Saskia Sassen in "The Global City. New York, London, Tokio" (1991).

buildings, the occupation being established under the criteria of the political order at the time, resulting, unlike the western portion, in the concentration of the socialist middle class in the central areas (the workers concentrated in working-class neighborhoods and the intellectualized middle class further from the center).

With the end of Berlin's division and with the victory of the political-economic neoliberal program, the areas destined to housing ended up being subjected to the said 'land capital' and to speculative investments. The housing dynamics shown above were extinguished, opening up a fertile space for capital to operate with the objective of extracting monopoly rents. Potsdamer Platz's projects would go in the same direction, through the promotion of symbolic capital - in this case, the spectacle of globalization:

> [...] the advertises for apartments on sale (something around 20% of the built area) – for example, "exclusive housing in a noble area", or, "come live in a noble area", as you can read on advertising panels on Sony Center – are very suggestive about their target audience. (Arantes, 2014, p.143) [our translation from Portuguese]

In fact, the spectacle promoted by the urban projects of Potsdamer Platz frequently resorted to building a symbolic capital for the area: the East-West reunification. But in view of the above, what would be the contradictions of capitalist production of urban space when considering the array of transformations in Berlin and the area in question?

## 4. Revealing the contradictions of the 'single thought'

The option for the concept explored by Otília Arantes et al. (2000) about the single thought[7] of cities is appropriate to the discussion suggested here under one aspect: the use and creation of symbolic capital with the single purpose of extracting monopoly rents. We saw that the Berlin's urban plan for Potsdamer Platz, after 1989, opened up in a wide number of possibilities on which they were based on the needs of the population, the intentions of the State and the economic interests, through the symbolism attributed to the East-West reunification.

There is, then, what can be defined as a contradiction on the methods that global capitalism creates in the city: the exploitation of local symbolic resources for the benefit of implementing forms and global meanings. Potsdamer Platz - for its history and location - as we have seen, would represent the following symbolic

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7   Arantes (2000 et al), defines the single thought of the cities:
[...] in which the economic interests of culture and the cultural allegations of the economic command marry – and surrounds the cities in competition for the scarce global financing, and for that very reason sharing in spite of the political-ideological preferences of the administrators shift. In such one-dimensinal universe certainly won't occur to anyone to consider as a historical aberration the suicidal program of global capitalism. (2000 et al. p. 67-68) [our translation from Portuguese].

potentials: 1. the return to its golden age of the first decades of the 20th century, when the Berlin population was proud of its modernity and prominence among the other metropolises; and above all: 2. the definitive overcoming of traumas caused by decades of conflict, through an urban program that explores the reunification and global narratives. It turns out that such reunification gave up its symbolic space to what we can classify as the "imposition" of the victorious political-economic model (Vázquez, 2000)[8]. The adopted practices, suggested not only persuasive arguments in favor of the economic performance of a global Berlin, but also by the implementation, through postmodern methods and aesthetics, of a project with global symbolism – replacing the local symbolic capital (at least partially).

Setting aside any judgment about the economic, social or urban balance of the process dealt so far, in the end, we can consider the global symbolic capital as the greatest beneficiary - as Harvey (2001) points out - whose objective was, and still is, the extraction of monopoly rents as occurred in the Berlin's Potsdamer Platz of the single thought.

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8   Recalling the considerations of Vázquez (2000), mentioned in the previous chapter.

# 144 Seizing the opportunities of the post-pandemic to save a cultural district

## The Bairro Alto case

PEDRO COSTA
DINÂMIA'CET - Iscte

### ABSTRACT [1]

In several other works we have had the opportunity to discuss the evolution of the Bairro Alto area (and its surrounding areas) in Lisbon, as a cultural district, as well as to study the central factors for the sustainability of creative dynamics in this area of the city. As in several other neighborhoods with similar characteristics around the world, its evolution over the last decades has been marked by profound transformations and the decline of much of the cultural activities and creative dynamics that characterized it, asphyxiated in the face of the processes of massification, gentrification and turistification of the area, which gradually lost the various central functions in a creative neighborhood. At the same time, the erratic and often little-focused nature of planning and public policies in this area, as well as on the entire historical centre of the city, has allowed and even promoted the advancement of these dynamics. The profound social, economic and cultural transformations associated with the health crisis of COVID-19 and the post-pandemic period are now a unique opportunity to rethink the downward trajectory of this neighborhood and consider the possibility of its revitalization as a creative center in the city.

Based on a set of interviews with residents and local stakeholders, this text presents a reflection on the potential of the transformations associated with the COVID-19 pandemic period and the post-pandemic evolution for the revitalization of this area of the city, enquiring the role of the various agents and in particular of the public authorities in promoting a more resilient and sustainable solution for the development of this area of the city.

**Keywords:** Cultural district, Post pandemic, Bairro Alto

1   By option of the authors this article only included the lecture presented at the conference.

# Track 8: The role of artists and urban art

JORGE BASSANI (CO-CHAIR) | UNIVERSITY OF SÃO PAULO
PEDRO COSTA (CO-CHAIR) | DINÂMIA'CET — ISCTE

With a view to discussing the legacy of policies at the end of the 20th century in the practices and theories of city production today, Track 8 of the International Conference 'Grand Projects - Urban Legacies of the late 20th century' proposed to researchers, planners and scholars working in the fields of architecture, urbanism and urban studies to present their reflections, based on the presence of artistic expressions in the events of the end of the century and / or today.

The large civic operations in the city at the end of the last century, notably from "Les Grands Travaux" by François Mitterrand in Paris, as well as the large urban economic operations, such as Battery Park in New York or London's Docklands, for instance, are characterized by profound transformations in the functional and productive structures of cities. However, they were also noticeably characterized by the spectacularization of ruined urban scenarios in late modernity. This may even be its main effect on the new urban culture, the mediatized image of the city. Similarly to what occurred in other fields of social life, the aestheticization of life and of the landscape was not strictly the responsibility of the disciplines of architecture (spectacular) and urbanism (strategic), as the visual arts also took a leading role in the environmental results of these major interventions, being and continuing to be decisive in the spatial and physical configuration of large urban projects.

However, in their historical condition, the arts, as broad expressions of society are not aligned with just a single discourse. That means that, if on the one hand, the arts were fundamental to qualify the image of the city built at the end of the century, on the other hand, the arts were fundamental to question and to counter-argue the aesthetic regime of the spectacular. These was evident in a variety of expressions, actions of groups of artists or civic movements for urban rights, transversal and dissonant regarding the main logic and formability of urban interventions.

Track 8 aimed at promoting the debate between these two preconceptions concerning the presence of the arts in urban transformation projects: the one that contributes decisively to the language implanted and, also, those that configure coping languages. We received papers from both of these streams, and five of them were selected for presentation at the Conference. They point to these objectives in a broad and competent way, as they cannot be reduced to positive or

negative opinions in relation to the arts in urban reconfiguration, but rather draw upon their effects to problematize public artistic expressions in the contemporary urban territories.

The research presented by **Rita Ochoa** (CIAUD-UL / UBI), entitled **"The Expo" and the post- "Expo": The role of public art in urban regeneration's processes at the end of 20th century"**, is exemplary in this respect. It observes a positive character regarding the role of the arts in the configuration of the environments, and in a sensitive way, for Expo 98 in Lisbon, but it does not refer only to this effect in this environment, but rather to the wide discussion of public arts in Portugal, by seeing in the event of Parque das Nações a turning point in the panorama presented. The author considers the public art program for the Expo quite innovative in the Portuguese context because it conducted the invited artists to interventions that depart from the urban environment proposed, in order to generate physical, visual, symbolic relationships with the new space and provide different experiences to its visitors.

The article develops in two axes of analysis, based on the framework set up at Expo 98: the first is dedicated to the study of the public art program proposed to artists in confrontation with the results obtained; the second, is a critical observation of the impacts of this program on the development of public art in Portugal in the following decade.

The work presented by **Laura Pomesano** (ISTAR-IUL) also observes the role of art in corroborating the configurations of the new spaces of the neoliberal city, promoted by urban interventions at the end of the century, though with very diverse objectives. With the title **"Gentrification and public policies: art and culture in the urban transformation within the European context"**, the focus of the research is directed to the engagements beyond the formal and relates artistic events with the economic and political statements contained in the discourse of the interventions.

The article aims elaborating guidelines for public policies that, considering art and culture as a fundamental part of the construction of the citizen identity of metropolitan territories, can define a new role for brownfield areas abandoned after deindustrialization. To this end, the article begins with the scenario that emerges in the process of "deindustrialization" and its impacts on the economy and demography, causing discontinuous and fragmented territories with the resulting social marginalization, as well as feeding the speculation promoted by real estate market. In this context, the author places the "ambivalence" of the performing arts, both as promoters or moderators of gentrification, and the role of policies (and politics) in the evolution of this socioeconomic dynamic, from its first emergences in the 1960s to the present day.

Other research presented on this Track is more directly aimed at the legacies, that is, observes the panorama resulting from the frictions between the arts and urban restructurings/renovations, attending exclusively to the scenes configured primarily in the 21st century. This is the case of the article **"Horticultural parks in Lisbon: the "beautiful" and "good" in expectant areas? "** by **Ana Elísia da Costa** (UFRGS - Brazil / ISCTE-IUL). The paper focuses on the analysis of post-industrial expectant areas in order to problematize the conflicts between community actions and the capture of these expressions by institutional power.

The author calls into analysis the Lisbon Green Plan, conceived in 1997 and implemented in 2007, which proposes the physical articulation of the city's green areas aimed at leisure and agricultural production. In this context, the proposed parks are similar to the "big projects" of the late 20th century, using a formal and regular type of morphology. In many cases, the implementation of these parks involved the replacement of spontaneous community gardens, which had quite organically developed, in expectant areas of the city, since the 1950s. These , despite some decadent and labyrinthine characteristics, were quite important for local communities.

The article evaluates, aesthetically and ethically, the ongoing operations, in a situation where urban fabrics are impregnated with memory. At the same time it points out the potentialities and limits of the insurgent artistic practices, giving visibility to these subtracted territories, and destabilizes judgments about them, facing the dilemmas imposed to those territories and practices.

The work **"The Estelita Case and the influence of grands projects on the formation and production of young professional collectives"** by **Bruno Lima** and **Fernando Moreira** (UFPE / Brazil) is in the same line of assessing recent practices that question the operations of urban transformation. . These researchers observe the phenomenon of the emergence of horizontally organized groups, formed by professionals and students from different areas, notably linked to the arts, with the aim of, in dialogue with social movements, opposing the logic of urban interventions aimed at the reproduction of capital in real estate market operations.

Last decade was marked in the city of Recife (Brazil) by intense confrontations around the changes in the urban environment caused by the allocation of idle land around the José Estelita Pier, made up of large warehouses supporting the Port of Recife and a disabled rail yard. The renovation of the waterfront is foreseen in the project called "Novo Recife", with the radical transformation of the pier and the consequent expulsion of the former residents. In reaction to the enterprise and the gentrification imposed by it, the Occupy Estelita Movement questioned the exclusivity of the renovation project and affirmed the need to focus on urban vitality with qualification of public spaces and on the integrity and legibility of the symbolic landscape of the city center.

In a session aimed at discussing the arts in the context of greats projects, the ex-amination of the urban project itself in its artistic dimension could not be missed, and that what is  proposed by the presentation of "**Malagueira. Landscape events - what things say**" by **Pedro Guilherme** (CHAIA / IIFA), **Nicolás Martín Domínguez** (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Spain) and **Sofia Salema** (CHAIA / Dep. Arq).

The researchers study the project and materiality proposed by Álvaro Siza for Malagueira in Évora, in 1977, based on its formal, scenic and poetic qualities. For them, the drawings show that "plan" and "project" create events in the landscape that connect and create a dialogue between the User and the Place; they are pieces of architecture that will be discovered walking around the place. Drawing, in its gradual approach to scale, reveals a geometric abstraction that becomes architecture. It is a joint project between Álvaro Siza and the user (inhabitant) where the first has a characteristic that the second will become a living part of the neighbourhood.

# 46  The 'Expo' and the post-'Expo'

## The role of public art in urban regeneration's processes at the end of 20th century

RITA OCHOA
CIAUD-UL/UBI

### ABSTRACT

In 1998, the Lisbon Universal Exhibition – Expo'98 – led to an urban regeneration operation on eastern Lisbon's waterfront. Following an international tendency, this event was a pretext to replace an urban fabric that was greatly degraded at the time and to re-connect the Tagus River with the city, through the creation of new public spaces. For these spaces, it was promoted a public art program, which can be considered quite innovative in the Portuguese context, mainly because it asked for interventions that could generate physical, visual, symbolic and experi-ential relationships with the place.

Although most of the implemented public art solutions didn't achieve those objec-tives, the process had the merit of intensifying the discussion about art and public space, in the Portuguese context. At the same time, it drove a monumentalisation of the eastern riverfront, that began here and was later expanded to other con-texts. Therefore, it is interesting to observe the increase of artistic interventions throughout the city, in the following years.

Behind this framework, this article aims to analyse the associations between pub-lic art and the dynamics of urban regeneration at the end of the 20th century, from the case of Lisbon. It proposes two moments: first, it will observe the Expo'98's public art program, comparing its initial assumptions with the final results; sec-ondly, it will focus on the impacts of this program, through the analysis of public art's placements in the following decade (1999-2009).

Across these two main themes, the article will explore public art at the light of the dynamics of the waterfronts' openings, revealing the spaces that were "con-quered" to the port system. It is concluded that public art had a significant role in the urban processes of the late 20th century. This is quite evident in a discourse that considers public art as a qualifying issue of urban space, even as a mean of economic and social development of the cities.

Keywords: Public art, Expo'98, urban regeneration, waterfront.

### 1. Introduction

In 1998 took place in Lisbon the last universal exhibition of the millennium, the Expo'98, which originated an urban regeneration operation with strong impact in the eastern part of the city.

It is well known that this kind of dynamics occurred worldwide at the late 20th century. The organisation of international events – Grand Projects as International Exhibitions, Olympic Games and others – was a pretext for urban regeneration processes that replaced entire obsolete areas, activating them with own resources (in Europe, often with the help of European Union programs). These dynamics took place in a spirit of aestheticizing of city life and landscape, which did not stay only with the disciplines of architecture and urbanism, but also with the visual arts.

Public art assumed an important role in these processes, as a qualifying issue, even of economic and social development of cities (Remesar, 2019). Several cities hosted public art programs, investing on a policy of attracting prestigious artists, either directly with art galleries, or through commissioning, as it will be shown on the context of Expo'98's public art program, "leading international artists and architects leave their mark on cities, generating new elements for their valorization in the context of global competition" (Remesar, 2019, p.26, author's translation).[1]

Also, these processes often were developed in port cities, where waterfronts had undergone relevant changes over time. From the post-industrial period, due to the de-industrialisation and to the technological changes in maritime transportation, several spaces become empty, giving rise to obsolete territories. From the last decades of the 20th century to the present, great interventions and changes took place in those areas, which, despite their differences, seem to have in common the objective of re-integrating the waterfronts in the urban fabric and their "rescue" for citizens, through new public spaces.

In this context, waterfronts become privileged spaces for the placement of public art.[2] In turn, the placement of public art becomes a way to value their symbolic nature and to emphasise their monumentality.[3]

With about 17 kilometers long, the Lisbon's waterfront has been occupied by various artistic interventions in the recent decades. In Lisbon, the port system assumes a linear occupation model (Wilson, 2001) and its infrastructures still occupy

a significant part of that 17 kilometers long. In this perspective and due to the inherently public character of public art, its placement is an indicator of the specific points where port occupation was interrupted, ""breaches" interrupting this arid linearity and allowing an accessibility to the banks (Chaline, 1994, p.112, author's translation)[4] – that is to say, the public spaces that are "conquered" to the port.

In a more general understanding, public art interventions can reveal, throughout the city, the urban policies and their priority areas of intervention (Ochoa, 2012). In addition, the moments of public art placement reflect a chronology of the interventions in public space.

### 2. The Expo'98 public art program

The Expo'98 had as main theme "The Oceans, a Heritage for the Future", celebrating the Discoveries and the Portuguese achievements around the world. The event was a pretext to regenerate a vast slice of territory, on Lisbon oriental area, which included obsolete terrains and unoccupied industrial spaces. It was intended to transform this area into a new centrality (Portas, 1998) and a territory that should remain after the end of the Exhibition – the current area of "Parque das Nações". Thus, the planning was not limited to the Expo'98 venue, including its next surroundings and integrating projects of cultural equipment, leisure spaces and new housing extents. Another objective of the urbanization plan[5] was to reconnect the Tagus River with the city, through the creation of new public spaces along the water.

At the same time, the organization of the event decided to implement a set of public art interventions to qualify those new spaces. Concerting national and international names of the artistic panorama, 24 artists were invited and had creative freedom to design artistic projects for the spaces. This process was clearly an opportunity to test new intervention models to public space, in Lisbon.

The program was curated by António Manuel Pinto and António Mega Ferreira. The artistic works were developed along with the exhibition project, according to the needs of intervention. In fact, there was not exactly a defined program, "so, it is less a program than a list of interventions that found their reason not in a specific sectoral strategy aimed at the visual arts. But much in its placement in space and in the discourses, that would give body to the Expo'98 venue" (Mega Ferreira, 1998, p.9, author's translation).[6] Nevertheless, there was a common theme for the different artists, and many of the interventions focused on the imaginary of water.

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1   "artistas y arquitectos internacionales de primera línea dejan su marca en las ciudades, generando en el contexto de la competencia global nuevos elementos para su valorización".

2   In 2010, there were 173 elements of public art in Lisbon waterfront (Ochoa, 2012).

3   However, it is important to remember that the monumentalisation of the waterfront is, in many cities, conflicting. As Kostof states, "the issue of monumentalizing the water's edges is complicated by functional arguments. To the extent that a river is a working watercourse with a port, there is a definite conflict between those who make use of it for trade-related activities and those who would turn into a work of art" (2005, p.41).

4   ""brèches" interrompant ce linéaire aride et permettant une accessibilité des citadins aux berges".

5   "Plano de Urbanização da Zona de Intervenção da Expo'98" (PUZI), 15th July 1994.

6   "por isso ele é menos um programa que uma lista das intervenções que encontraram a sua razão de ser não numa estratégia sectorial específica destinada às artes visuais. Mas muito na sua concreta inserção no espaço e nos discursos que haveriam de dar corpo ao recinto da Expo'98".

In the catalogue dedicated to the proposals, António Manuel Pinto highlighted the possibilities that the new spaces offered "to the most innovative urban experiences, starting from the desire to realize new philosophies of space occupation" (1998, p.13, author's translation).[7] Thus, the importance of public art as space qualification issue was assumed, through an understanding of the work together with the place, in an integrated way, "we have not merely moved existing works of art to a public place, nor is that what makes it an artistic object an object of public or urban art (…). An object of public art is specifically designed for that situation" (Campos Rosado in Brandão, 2011, p.177, author's translation).[8]

Also, the followed strategy consisted of promoting relationships – scale, framings – with the place, "There was a conversation with the artist in which the object was defined, we considered the height, the space where it was placed, the way it would be seen from various points" (Salgado, s/d, p.21, author's translation)[9], but also social relations, humanizing the landscape and boosting urban experiences, "artistic projects that influenced the experiential practices of the territory" (Pinto, 1998, p.13, author's translation).[10]

On the other hand, the conventional models of art integration were questioned, namely the model of the statuary in the center of a square. Public art was refused as a bibelot, as a decorative element or an accessory of the urban fabric (Carvalho, 2005) to be understood as artistic intervention, promoting the experience of the territory, not only in sculptural interventions, but also in the design of new topographies, pavements, coatings, among others (Fig. 1, 2, 3).



Fig. 1 - Works of Expo'98 public art program: sem título [Pedro Cabrita Reis, 1998]. Source: (Ochoa, 2021)



Fig. 2 – Expo'98 Urban Interventions: Porta Sul [Manuel Graça Dias + Egas José Vieira (Contemporânea), 1998]. Source: (Ochoa, 2021)



Fig. 3 - Works of Expo'98 public art program: Jardim das Ondas [Fernanda Fragateiro + João Gomes da Silva, 1998]. Source: (Ochoa, 2021)

Finally, it was intended a joint logic in the interventions. In addition to establishing relationships with their contexts, each work should be a reference in the urban fabric. According to António Mega Ferreira, [the urban art program of Expo'98] "represents a sum of the parts that are indispensable elements for the construction of the landscape, not as decorative figures, but as *topoi* of a strategy of deconstruction and reconstruction of urban space that culminates in the Expo'98 venue but inevitably extends throughout all the intervention zone" (1998, p.9, author's translation)[11].

Regarding the contents, one of the main concerns was "the relationship of urban art with the past. We did not intend a pass-through discourse (…) it was an interesting work: to integrate a strong component of urban art in new spaces, contrary to the temptation to fill it with references to the History of Portugal" (Salgado, s/d, p.21, author's translation).[12]

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7  "às mais inovadoras experiências urbanas, partindo do desejo de concretizar novas filosofias de ocupação de espaço".

8  "não nos limitámos a deslocar obras de arte existentes para um local público, nem é isso que torna o objeto artístico um objeto de arte pública ou urbana (...). Um objecto de arte pública é pensado de raiz para essa situação".

9  "Havia uma conversa com o artista em que se definia a peça, considerávamos a altura, o espaço onde se inseria, a forma como seria vista de vários sítios".

10 "projectos artísticos que influíssem nas práticas vivenciais do território".

11 "representa a soma de partes que se foram afigurando como elementos indispensáveis à construção da paisagem, não como figurações decorativas, mas como topoi de uma estratégia de desconstrução e reconstrução do espaço urbano que culmina no recinto da Expo'98 mas se prolonga, inevitavelmente por toda a zona de intervenção".

12 "a relação da arte urbana como o passado. Não pretendíamos um discurso passadista (…) foi um trabalho interessante: integrar uma forte componente de arte urbana num espaço recém-nascido, sem cair na tentação de o rechear com referências à História de Portugal".

In a national context in which art in the public space was undervalued and quite limited both spatially and plastically, these assumptions favored the commission of a set of projects that reflected the Portuguese artistic contemporaneity. This contemporaneity was, however, limited to the artists that, due to foreign experiences or influences, marked a break with the art of the Estado Novo period. These are the names who are invited to intervene in a unique moment of recognition of Portuguese public sculpture (Santiago, 2013) that matches with the possibility to create a public art project, for the first time in Portugal.

However, despite the glow of the program's initial assumptions, many of the solutions felt short of what was expected. In general, most of the artistic projects did not achieved its objectives and did not surpass the function of decorativism of space (Traquino, 2010; Brito Alves, 2014). This was a unique opportunity to question public art and its relationship with the place, but in practice, many of the results did not motivate any processes of spatial/social articulation with the contexts. And many, although adopting a more contemporary language, were not, in fact, beyond the model of statuary in the center of a square, that was so criticized.

### 3. Symbolic impacts on the waterfront. Placements in the decade 1999-2009

Despite having fallen short of the expected results and especially regarding integration, the Expo'98 public art program had the merit of bringing to the city and to the Portuguese context the discussion about art and public space.

One of the strengths pointed to Expo'98, determinant of its success (Brandão, 2011), was the quality of the places, the gardens, the riverside promenade and its leisure public spaces. At the same time, the public art program transformed the eastern waterfront into one of the most densely monumentalized areas of the city (Ochoa, 2012). It is therefore interesting to observe, in the following years, an increase of artistic interventions in public space, throughout the city.

Figure 4 shows the placements of public art both in the waterfront and in the urban axes of articulation with the waterfront (the transverse axes) over 35 years, more precisely between 1974 and 2009.[13]

Between 1974 and 1980, there were no public art placements.[14] The first work dates to 1981: the monument " Ao emigrante português", in front of the Santa Apolónia

Railway Station.[15]

Between 1981 and 1997, there were between 1 and 3 places per year, except for 1982 and 1992 without any placements, and 1994 with 6 placements – all the 6 in the western area, probably due to the event "Lisboa 94 Capital Europeia da Cultura", which encompassed a vast artistic program and a set of cultural spaces.
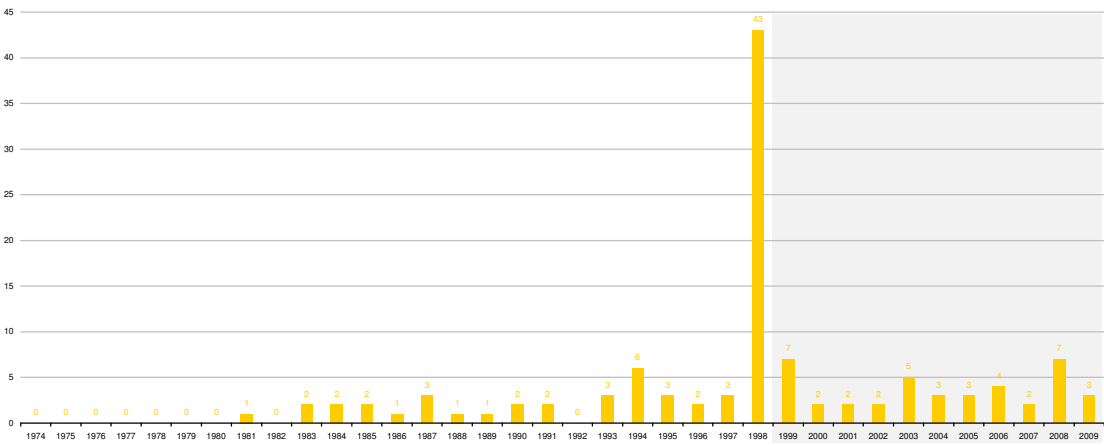


Fig. 4 - Placement of public art in Lisbon waterfront and in the more relevant 20 transverse axes between 1974 and 2009. Source: (Ochoa, 2012)

As expected, the 1998 was an exception: 43 placements, most of them produced in the scope of Expo'98. The way public art was addressed and the results of the urban regeneration process – namely a new and highly densely monumentalised area – certainly had a driving role in the placement of a set of works, in the post-Expo'98 period. Between 1999 and 2009, there was a significant increase: between 2 and 7 new public art elements, per year. In total, in this period there were new 40 placements, 19 in the western area and historical center and 21 in the eastern area of the city.

Among these 21 placements, 16 were in Parque das Nações, specifically in the territory that hosted the Exhibition. If until this event, the eastern part of Lisbon practically did not have public art, it is now one of the most densely occupied. However, there was no such increase in the surrounding areas, namely in Chelas or Olivais (Norte and Sul), which is symptomatic of the lack of contamination (Brandão, 2011) from Expo'98 to the rest of the eastern Lisbon.

Among the 40 works placed on Lisbon's waterfront and in the transverse axes in the period of 1999-2009, there are several monuments focusing on emblematic themes. Works with strong symbolic character – such as the "500 anos da partida

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13  This survey results from a more comprehensive research, the PhD Thesis *Cidade e Frente de Água. Papel Articulador do Espaço Público* (Ochoa, 2012).

14   It is important to note that there may exist elements which are no longer in the public space. According to the defined fundamentals in the above research, only the public art elements identified during the field work period (2008-2010) were considered.

15   Showing the importance of this area in view of the remaining eastern riverfront, still a territory predominantly occupied by industries, port infrastructures and housing for the working class.

de Pedro Álvares Cabral para o Brasil", "A guitarra portuguesa" (a tribute to the fado singer Amália Rodrigues), or the work with the name of the city "Lisboa, aos construtores da cidade" – had positioned near the water. On the other hand, in the universe of these 40 public art elements, only 5 did not occupied the water-front, but the transverse axes. Thus, it is possible to conclude that, beyond being privileged spaces for the placement of public art – as it was here initially assumed –, the waterfront is also context for monuments of important symbolic character.

It is also possible to prove that all these placements reveal a chronology of the interventions in Lisbon waterfront and the openings on the port structure, in that period. They also report on urban policies and in some ways of thinking the city, at the beginning of the 21st century. For example, in Parque das Nações, it is possible to identify a tendency to associate public art to buildings, in various ways, such as in facades, in sculptures that stand out from the main volumes, or in exterior spaces as entrances, patios and terraces, physically accessible, but often not visible from the public space.

Although the impulse was given by the Expo'98's public art interventions, this way of bringing art for private spaces and/or associating it with buildings does not follow the same logics of that program, in which the works should relate to urban design, public space and to the specificities of its contexts, particularly with the waterfront.

The logics of placements of the 1999-2009 period in Parque das Nações also seem distinct from the logics of placements in the other areas of the city: in the first case, most of the works do not immediately denote a relationship with the place or any rememorative character. There is even a tendency towards a more abstract language and a distancing from the concept of monument.

In the artistic works of the post-Expo'98, is possible to perceive an understanding of public art from an aesthetic point of view – of art in the public space and less of public art (Remesar, 2005). And, in a way, more elitist (it is symptomatic that most of them are abstract) not assuming the relationship with the public space, therefore, its public condition. On the contrary, they settle in housing buildings, favoring the access to artistic interventions exclusively for their residents.[16] The positioning of artistic elements in residential spaces, with little or any contact with the public space, perhaps subverts its own meaning as public art...

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16  This tendency of placing urban art in Parque das Nações is related to prestigious housing strategies, in the same line of the design of buildings by renowned architects. It is interesting to note the Website of Portal of Nations (consult. Sept. 2019, author's translation): "In Parque das Nações the art is in the streets, in the squares, in the gardens, under our feet. It is worth seeing up close the works of urban art that talented artists left in Parque, turning it into an open-air museum. Discover them step by step!" ["No Parque das Nações a arte está na rua, nas praças, nos jardins, debaixo dos nossos pés. Vale a pena ver de perto as obras de arte urbana que talentosos artistas deixaram no Parque, transformando-o num museu a céu aberto. Descubra-as passo a passo!"].

## 4. Conclusions

Despite having generated a new centrality and allowed the replacement of an extensive and obolete part of the city, the Expo'98's urban project had failures: its insularity (Matias Ferreira, 1999); the lack of synergies with the surrounding areas, particularly with problematic contexts such as Chelas, or even Olivais; its housing spaces aimed at social classes with greater purchasing power – a large private condominium (Gato, 2010). It is also criticized the excessive density, the poor architectural quality of the generality of the real estate project and the not investing in new ways of doing (Brandão, 2011).

In the field of public art, the program developed at Expo'98 gave rise to a monumentalisation of this new area, associating symbolic elements with spaces of water enjoyment. At the same time, it played a strategic role in a way of understanding the city from the public space that decisively influenced subsequent projects.

However, most of the works did not establish dialogues with its environment, which could have been achieved if it was assumed a more consistent interdisciplinary work, a priori (Brandão, 2011). With few exceptions, a collaborative approach was not adopted in the scope of the design processes. As Campos Rosado concluded later (in Brandão, 2011, p.177, author's translation), "the public art program we proposed, for the entire area of intervention, was not very new (...) it should have participated earlier in the level of the design of the spaces and in the detail plan. Otherwise, the presence of art is very traditional – locating a piece in one place..."[17]

In the decade after the event (1999-2009), there was an increase of artistic interventions in the city and particularly in the waterfront. But in many cases, subverting the public logic, confined to buildings and generated to economically value the housing projects. This example of the interventions of the post-Expo'98 reflects a certain exhaustion of the previous policies and even of public art.

In recent years, attention is focused on the label "urban art", moving a specialized and international audience and generating an important economic movement, if cities have a curating policy, as the case of the action of the Urban Art Gallery (GAU) in Lisbon (Remesar, 2019). Despite the interest of these practices, in many cases it still does not exist an ability to provoke relationships to the surroundings, and the artistic intervention is exhausted in the work itself.

In opening new possibilities for public art, it is important to consider new ways of thinking and making the city, with the people who inhabit it. And do not give up of more participated and interdisciplinary models, where art can exist in an

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17  "o programa de arte pública que propusemos, para toda a área de intervenção, não foi muito novo (...) deveria ter participado mais cedo em opções ao nível do desenho dos espaços e plano de pormenor. De outro modo, a presença da arte é muito tradicional – colocar uma peça num sítio..."

integrated way and not with a decorative role. The new possibilities of public art, (and particularly in port cities), can, thus, arise from the intersection between the specificities that characterize them and the complexity of the relationships that define current urban life.

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# 47   Horticultural parks in Lisbon

## The "beautiful" and the "good" in expectant areas?

ANA ELÍSIA DA COSTA
Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul - ISCTE-IUL

### ABSTRACT [1]

The Lisbon Green Plan, conceived in 1997 and implemented in 2007, proposes the physical articulation of green areas of the city dedicated to leisure and to agricultural production. In this context, horticultural parks are proposed similar to the "grand projects" of the late 20th century, using a formal type of a morphology. The implementation of some of these parks involved the replacement of consolidated spontaneous comunity vegetable gardens in expectant areas since the 1950s, which, despite their decadent and labyrinthine features, were important to local communities. Due the difficult assimilation of their social and aesthetic standards, can the replacement of these community gardens be understood as aesthetic gestures of life and the urban landscape? Faced with the unbearable presence of the "ugly", does the instituted "beautiful" seek to overcome "picturesque" forms or to spectacularize the public space, molding it to the consumption of "sustainable" fashion? Guided by these questions, this study aims large urban parks and, especially horticultural parks and community gardens in Lisbon. Our analysis explores a possible aesthetic-ethical judgment underlying these territories and takes the form of an essay. In addition to bibliographic review, different forms of sensitivity are used. The essay describes, aesthetically and ethically, the ongoing operations when memory-impregnated urban fabrics, at the sime time pointing out the potential and limits of insurgent, artistic practices giving visibility to these subtracted territories, and to destabilize judgments about them, facing dilemmas imposed to them. As an essay, the study does not seek to answer, but to elaborate other questions in order to broaden the debate.

Keywords: Horticultural Park, Aesthetic, Ethic, Lisbon.

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# 68 Gentrification and Public Policies

## Art and culture in urban transformation within the European context

LAURA POMESANO
ISTAR-IUL

### ABSTRACT

The process of deindustrialization has led to a change in the economic system, and consequently to a demographic crisis. The effect on cities' urban fabric was a discontinuous and fragmented territory that encouraged episodes of social marginalization and created the conditions for speculation to operate, originating from an uncontrolled real estate market. At the same time, creativity has assumed a fundamental role in the production system, increasingly attentive to the development of goods and services related to the cultural industry. Art integration in public policies as a catalyst for urban development is adopted by the political power in order to attract investments that can contribute to the increase of capital through the revitalization of parts of the city. In this scenario, this paper aims to systematize chronologically the information inherent to the relationship between gentrification, art and public policies in order to outline bottom-up strategies encouraged by the political power that determine a sustainable transformation of urban territory. A digital cartography in a timeline format will allow to highlight the consequential interconnections between theories, practices and historical events, showing the ambivalence of the performing arts as a promoter or moderator of gentrification, and the role of politics in the evolution of this socio-economic dynamic since its first establishment in 1964 until today. This draft is part of the investigation work on the PhD thesis in Architecture of Contemporary Metropolitan Territories, which aims to elaborate guidelines for public policies that, considering art and culture as fundamental parts of the metropolises' citizens identity construction, may define a new role for industrial areas that have been abandoned after deindustrialization. The results of this thesis are essential to amplify the research on urban regeneration of territory, cities and built spaces, one of the guiding axes of the thematic agenda to investigate and innovate Portuguese architecture.

**Keywords:** participation, urban regeneration, deindustrialization, metropolis.

## 1. Introduction

Gentrification is a phenomenon that has stood out in scientific studies since 1964, the year in which sociologist Ruth Glass, observing some popular neighbourhoods in London, described how they were seen as object of interest by the middle class, that, buying houses at a lower price, determined a change in the social fabric of the urban area. Successive researches removed the spontaneity character previously attributed to the phenomenon, pointing the responsibility to property developers who seek economic opportunities in those stigmatized urban areas that have high soil value.

Contemporary investigations, therefore, denote the instrumental use of some urban practices that are encouraged by the government to increase the value of degraded neighbourhoods and to be able to attract private investments in order to implement top-down urban regeneration operations.

In this sense, authors like Rose, in 1984 observing the Anglo-Saxon context, and Mendes in more recent times, investigating the phenomenon of gentrification in Portuguese territory, show the existence of "marginal gentrifiers" (1984, p.68), that is, "individuals of the middle class with a high cultural level who continue to give preference to central areas of the city to take up residence [...] presumably attracted by the non-conformist lifestyle and the socially and ethnically mixed and tolerant urban environment of the downtown neighbourhoods" (Mendes, 2015, p.20).

Recent researches show that individuals, involved in underground art and culture, peculiar to contemporary metropolises, are attracted by places with buildings and structures of industrial origin to install their own activity. Ana Estevens (2019), observing the phenomenon of gentrification in Lisbon's territory, notes how artists and the population in general whose activity and interests are linked to art and culture are attracted by the deindustrialized neighbourhoods, by their decadent aspect and by the authentically urban experience that they can provide.

The present investigation starts from the analysis of the relationship that exists between public power, gentrification and cultural and artistic activities. Although this theme is central to several scientific works, there is still a lack of proposals which promote debate on public policies, based on art and culture, as cautionary actions against gentrification. The research, therefore, sets the objective of delineating examples in the European context of public policies that, encouraging artistic activity as a propellant of sustainable urban regeneration strategies, are opposed to the displacement (Smith, 1996) that involves the estrangement of artistic entities which have contributed to requalify the given area.

From a critical literature review on gentrification and the interconnected themes of artistic activity and public policies, it will be possible to structure a digital cartography, in the shape of a timeline, that can present the most current guidelines for the implementation of public policies for urban regeneration that discourage the gentrification phenomenon.

## 2. State of the Art

The word gentrification is derived from the noun "gentry", a word used by Ruth Glass (1964) to indicate a social group of the late '800 that managed to take advantage of the low costs of working-class housing to settle in more economically advantageous neighbourhoods.

Since this first observation and definition of the phenomenon, different authors have been able to ascertain the different circumstances, causes and effects of its expression in the urban context of said time. A first approach was presented by Neil Smith (1979) who attributes as a cause of gentrification the difference of value between the current rent and the potential rent of a given property and its area. The capital investment in these buildings, which aims to improve the conditions of the area, has the effect of increasing its value, as well as rents and prices in general.

A second approach, elaborated by David Ley (1980), points out the way that the change in the production system is reflected on a different demand in the labour market, which has started to urge for qualified professionals in service production instead of goods production. This change in the economic system, announced by the phase of deindustrialization in contemporary cities, was reflected in the working middle class. This is seen as a cause for gentrification due to the greater ability to spend money compared to the past, as well as the higher interest in consuming products that respond not only to primary needs, but also aesthetic and recreational ones.

Zukin in 1982 presents a theory that shows a correlation between these two approaches, demonstrating how both causes of gentrification indicated by the previous authors create the circumstances that give rise to this socio-economic phenomenon. The author stresses the way in which the use of culture can be addressed to attract capital in the built environment.

In this context, Rose (1984) focuses on the detailed study of the part of society considered responsible for gentrification: the middle class, diversifying it into various groups, including students, artists, intellectuals, all provided with the same cultural dimension. The author uses the term "marginal gentrifiers" to "refer to young people with low economic capital, but with high social and cultural capital, who tend to settle in decadent neighbourhoods in the early stages of the gentrification process, attracted by the low costs of rent, the proximity to the workplace, its social networks and unconventional lifestyles" (Estevens, 2019, p.11).

In 1988 the observation of the phenomenon in the urban context shows that the circumscription to large centres is no longer the sole place of gentrification, as evidenced by several studies carried out in small cities, such as that of Swedish geographer Eric Clark in Malmo, which aims to verify Smith's theory of the rent gap. At the same time, Hackworth and Smith (2001) described the gentrification of the '90s, noting the expansion of the phenomenon in non-central areas, the decay of forms of resistance and the involvement of the state in the activation of the process.

Bourne (1993) highlights the way in which the previous definitions exclude cases of gentrification caused by the construction of new residential buildings or by the reuse of industrial buildings, re-functionalized in terms of housing.

Savage and Ward (1993) identify the presence of four conditions: "1. a reorganization of the social geography of the city, with the replacement, in the central areas, of a social group by another of a higher status; 2. a spatial regrouping of individuals with similar lifestyles and cultural characteristics; 3. a transformation of the built environment and the urban landscape, with the creation of new services and a residential requalification that foresees important architectural improvements; 4. lastly, a change in the land order, which, in most cases, determines the rise in land values and an increase in the number of dwellings per property" (Mendes, 2008, p.6).

In the contemporary era, therefore, the authors show the way in which the phenomenon of gentrification can be described through a complex system that involves dynamics from different scientific spheres, social, economic and urban. In this point of view, we must consider the variable of the political power's action, that is more and more often implementing "urban regeneration policies led by art and culture, with the goal of attracting new residents, middle class users and tourists" (Estevens, 2019, p.10) thus promoting a process of revitalization of the area that in the long term causes the replacement of the original population and the activities that have contributed to dynamize the place.

### 3. Methodology

The methodology consists of a bibliographic research and literature review on the subject of gentrification and its links with the topics of public policies and performing art, with the aim of underlining in the European context good practices of co-government in the regeneration of territories that involve people related to art and culture.

The collected information was categorized to build a digital cartography in a timeline conformation. For this purpose, Timeline JS was used - a tool that collects data and phenomena described from a chronological point of view and presents it in a graphically incisive way. This instrument is a product of Northwestern University Knight Lab which describes itself as a "community of designers,

creators, students and educators working on experiences designed to push journalism into new spaces" (https://knightlab.northwestern.edu/about/).

Timeline JS is an open-source tool, which means it is of free access. This attribute, along with the ease of use promoted by an intuitive interface makes this tool accessible to anyone who has little technical experience. Therefore, it can be used in investigations in various disciplinary areas, such as journalism, geography, sociology and urbanism. At the same time, better qualified users can, through JSON's own capabilities, customize the results by coding data structures.

This possibility alludes to the cybernetic community of the contemporary era, made up of programmers and users of the network who share their own projects through the GitHub source code hosting platform. In this sense, Lange and Waal (2019) compare the concept of a web platform to the that of the city, because of their potential to interconnect individuals, organizations, open-source projects and software through the digital space.

The choice of organizing theoretical and practical knowledge on the subject of gentrification in a timeline shape was adopted by Hackworth and Smith (2001, p.467) to structure and illustrate the various phases of the phenomenon in New York. The authors observe how these stages also appear in other urban contexts, but at different historical moments, depending on similar economic and political processes.

Another reference that uses TimelineJS to collect and systematize data and information is IndAtlas, a platform developed by an interdisciplinary research group in UFMG, which is based on contributions of a digitally interconnected population and allows multiple readings of the urban transformations observed through interactive cartography gathered in the same web application. Their use of the timeline was one of the digital tools that show information, presented through different graphics, allowing it to constitute a cartographic narrative of the analysed urban territory.

Similarly, the present experience wants to systematize the knowledge about the phenomenon of gentrification through the confrontation between theories, practices and historical milestones. TimelineJS is mediated by a Google spreadsheet, and by filling in the information related to dates, title, text, media, credits and group (publication, public policy guideline, historical landmark and practice) it is possible to obtain an interactive object capable of communicating, through an effective graph, the chronological succession that describes the evolution of the phenomenon.

The gathering of information was made from a search for the keyword "gentrification". The results led to the designing of a first fundamental bibliography that would define the phenomenon ontologically since its first conceptualization.

Starting from reading the most recent and specific studies on Portuguese re-search, the context of research analysis to which this article is a contribution, it was possible to find the fundamental authors who first defined the phenomenon, relating it to the expansion of artistic and cultural activities. The reading of the texts allowed to verify and ascertain the references previously found.

The authors' observation of gentrification's expansion in different urban contexts allowed to trace common characteristics, which could explain the advance of this phenomenon in contemporary cities in rapid change. The disclosure of the causes of the phenomenon has made it possible to look for those practices and for public policy guidelines that would discourage the gentrification process by acting in the circumstances of its development.

The outlined historical milestones are those that have directly or indirectly influenced the phenomenon of gentrification in contemporary cities, that is, the events that have contributed to the creation of the conditions of displacement, that involves the expulsion of a group of individuals with a certain social and cultural identity from the neighbourhoods where they lived and / or performed their own artistic or cultural activity.

The used images were all found on the internet, saved on the author's personal Flickr page (https://www.flickr.com/photos/laurapomesano/), and placed on the spreadsheet by inserting the web address of the same Flickr platform. The proper reference to the source website and the captions were added through the Media Captation field.

The Google spreadsheet, filed in the author's Google Drive, was therefore completed by placing the information as found, without respecting any chronological order, that was instead ensured by the script on the TimelineJS website, which, by placing the link to the published sheet, has formed the visualization that can be found on the following url: https://bit.ly/3mzieIK .

### 4. Results and Discussion

The extension of the phenomenon of gentrification that largely interests the cities covered by deindustrialization required the outlining of an analysis of the various, and sometimes contrasting, theoretical positions.

It is possible to summarise the development of contemporary metropolises through the succession of sociological, political and economic ruptures and transformations. In this scenario, it is easy to understand how the value and production of capital can divide the theses of specialists who approach the investigation of a phenomenon such as gentrification, which is essentially a social-economic dynamic influenced by political power.

There are, therefore, arguments that look at gentrification as a process that brings economic wealth to degraded areas, but as Fitzgerald and Green Leigh (2002, p.26) warn, it is necessary to make a distinction between economic development and capital increase. When, after certain urban transformations, there is an economic enrichment that coincides only with an increase in capital, there may be cases of segregation of communities and groups, a discrepancy in the distribution of this wealth and a decline in the urban quality of the place.

The expected results of the chronological systematization that links gentrification, artistic activity and public policies reflect, therefore, this view that considers the displacement as cause of the fragmentation of the contemporary urban space, favoured by the poorly regulated real estate market that determines speculative appreciation processes (Barata Salgueiro, 1998, p.71).

In the table 1 "Timeline" it is possible to consult the data that generates the interactive timeline.

Table 1 – Timeline.

| Year | Headline | Group |
|---|---|---|
| 1964 | First definition of Gentrification | Publication |
| 1979 | Production-oriented approach (capital) | Publication |
| 1980 | Consumption-oriented approach (culture) | Publication |
| 1982 | Correlation between capital and culture | Publication |
| 1984 | Marginal gentrifier | Publication |
| 1988 | Expansion in urban territory | Publication |
| 1990 | The 90's | Publication |
| 1993 | Gentrification in the reuse of buildings and new buildings | Publication |
| 1993 | Gentrification processes | Publication |
| 1996 | Displacement | Publication |
| 2002 | The rise of the creative class | Publication |
| 2003 | Defense against displacement | Public Policy guideline |
| 2006 | The neighborhood dimension | Publication |
| 2006 | Gentrification as a "global urban strategy" | Publication |
| 2007 | Great Recession | Historical landmark |
| 2009 | SEKo 2020 | Practice |
| 2011 | Marseille: sustainable tourism | Practice |
| 2014 | Exploring Anti-Gentrification Practices and policies in Southern European Cities | Practice |
| 2017 | Projeto europeu H2020 "ROCK – Regeneration and Optimisation of Cultural heritage in creative and Knowledge cities" | Practice |

Source: Own creation.

In the theoretical research phase, integrated in the group "publication," it was possible to extrapolate the information that describes the conditions of the gentrification process as a consequence of the interference of political power that favours the increase of activities related to art and culture to promote the requalification of socially marginalized neighbourhoods (Zukin, 1982; Rose, 1984; Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Bain, 2003; Smith, 2006).

In the research phase related to the information inherent to the Practices and Guidelines, those that encourage artistic and cultural activity as a lever for the promotion of public policies for urban regeneration were considered. In view of the difficulty in recovering cases that were relevant to this premise, it was possible to verify that this strategy still does not find many empirical examples in the European urban context, above all comparing it with the diffusion of housing projects that aim to mitigate the gentrification processes that cause the expulsion of former residents of a given urban area. This is explained by considering how the expansion of the creative economy coincided with the conclusion of the process of deindustrialization, dated, depending on the urban context considered, between the '80s and the recent 2000s. In this sense, in 2002 Florida underlines how the increased demand for products and services related to the recent creative activity has guided political choices in the creation of a new economic polarization to replace the industrial one.

The most diffuse public policy initiatives that fight against the gentrification process, as evidenced by the 2014 European project "Exploring Anti-GentrificAtion PracticEs and policies in Southern European Cities" (Annunziata, 2017) are more focused on anti-eviction, anti-speculation and anti-privatization, which essentially consider residential gentrification. The authors demarcated the importance of self-organization of artistic and cultural entities in "a social group with a distinctive occupational identity" (Bain, 2003, p.305) that can advance an action in the redefinition of the urban space from which they do not want to be excluded.

The contemporary era is marked by the Great Recession of 2007, that, starting from the United States, caused financial instability worldwide that led to an increase in social inequalities and an investment of capital, by private individuals, in buildings that had suffered a collapse in economic value. In this context, there is a growing awareness of the removal of artists from areas that they have contributed to revitalize.

European projects such as Project H2020 "ROCK - Regeneration and optimization of cultural heritage in creative and knowledge cities" aim to promote strategies for urban regeneration through the conservation and enhancement of the city's cultural heritage with the involvement of the local population through participatory methods. European cities like Leipzig have made fundamental the role of artistic-cultural activity in the urban development plan itself, in which political power is

in an open position that disagrees with gentrification. In particular, in this significant studio case, it is important to underline the long-term public policies of the urban development plan "SEKo 2020" that have been implemented to allow artists to use, at a low price, unoccupied buildings of industrial origin, with an obligation to maintain or improve the conditions of those buildings.

## 5. Conclusion

Practices, guidelines and theories underline the need for organization among individuals involved in artistic-cultural activities in order to have a representation and a status within the economic and political processes of the urban context of belonging.

The association, defined in this way, has an obligation to work collaboratively with the rest of the community, involving the population in local initiatives. The role of the arts and culture can be used by the government in regeneration strategies. The entities involved in the artistic and cultural activities generally have a great relationship with the context in which they exercise it and it is, therefore, necessary that the role is not reduced to the production of "cool" places attracting "alternative consumers" (Estevens, 2019, p.7) in underground areas. Co-government through group work between politics, artists and the population, has a potential social value as long as it can activate a dialogue between communities, which can only happen when the residents are also properly involved and not relegated to the role of observers.

Local specificities have to be taken advantage of in order to avoid homologation that may derive from the commercialization of cultural services and products. At the same time, local communities must be involved to discourage any situation of social marginalization. In this scenario, art has to play multiple roles.

The positive success of these strategies can only be achieved through the elaboration of public policies in the long term because "Gentrification is a long-term process" (Garcia-Zamor, 2014, p.100). These strategies, based on the study of possible future scenarios, which depend on the economic, social and political variables, can act effectively on the dynamics at play and resolve the circumstances that cause the phenomenon of displacement. The examples of good practices and public policy guidelines described in-depth in this article promote a sustainable transformation of the urban space, discouraging gentrification processes. This information will be evaluated again in a phase of comparison with the results of the participatory actions promoted on the ongoing research project and with the morphological, social, economic, political and cultural analyses carried out in order to outline possible developments in the urban area and its society.

## Acknowledgments

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# 73 The Estelita case and the influence of Grand Projects on the formation and production of young professionals' collectives

BRUNO DE ALBUQUERQUE FERREIRA LIMA
Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE/Brasil)

FERNANDO DINIZ MOREIRA
Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE/Brasil)

**ABSTRACT**

The last decade in Recife (Brazil) was marked by intense clashes over changes in the urban landscape, caused by the destination of idle land around the José Estelita Wharf, composed of large warehouses made for the Port of Recife and a disabled rail yard. The renovation of this waterfront, which began with the construction of the 41-story "twin towers", was accompanied by a project called Novo Recife, which foresaw the radical transformation of the wharf with the construction of fifteen more towers along its bank.

The city was immersed in the opposition between groups that defended the need to take advantage of the idle potential of this area through a renovation process led by the real estate market, and an opposition group, called *Movimento Ocupe Estelita* – in reference to the protest movement that took place in New York, in the beginning of the century – who questioned the exclusiveness of the renovation project, and the need to focus on urban vitality with qualification of public spaces, and on the integrity and legibility of the symbolic landscape of the city center.

This discussion overflowed the technical spheres and contaminated the daily life of the city, with a strong influence on the universities. In the field of Architecture, we were able to witness the influence of the ongoing discussions for the formation

of collectives of young professionals and students who were concerned with not only conceiving possibilities for the Wharf, but also manipulating and intervening in other areas of the city.

In this article, we present how the concern of the collectives was absorbed by institutional actions by presenting two examples: the *Parque Capibaribe* Project, developed by a laboratory at the Federal University of Pernambuco, which envisions the creation of a linear park along the Capibaribe River; and the municipal program *Mais Vidas nos Morros*, for an intervention in areas of social interest.

**Keywords:** Example 1, example 2, example 3, example 4.

## 1. Introduction

Discussions provoked by the matter of the destination of inactive areas in privileged locations of the cities' urban regions have created opportunities to build legacies that go beyond the structural ones. The case of the *Novo Recife* Project, in the city of Recife (Pernambuco/Brazil), is remarkable. The proposal to transform a vacant area of wharfs with warehouses into a renewed waterfront with high luxury residential buildings generated a rich debate, offering the opportunity for citizens to focus on themes that were previously distant from their daily lives, normally restricted to a specialized audience.

Such debates are opportunities to exercise citizenship education since citizens do not leave unscathed from experiences of such moments. The Novo Recife cases brought up issues such as urbanity, vitality and equity in land use; questions about participation in decision-making and about the right to the city; reflections on what constitutes heritage and on how to guarantee the preservation of our memory; and also intangible issues such as the notion of landscape and the impact promoted by the newly built elements.

In addition to requiring a repositioning of actors historically established in urban discussions – such as the government, private initiatives, the academy and class representations – discussions about the destination of the area were also able to bring new actors to the surface. In line with what has been happening around the world, the movement in response to the project to renovate the wharf, called *Ocupe* (Occupy) *Estelita*, was an important factor in the emergence of the so-called *coletivos* (collectives), architectural practices formed by young architects engaged within communities in order to find solutions to remedy a situation, linked to the urban agenda.

The *coletivos* proved to be an important contribution not only to the *Ocupe Estelita* movement, but also for expanding the discussions and, above all, promoting actions to materialize idealized spaces in other areas of the city. The vitality with which they developed their actions, based on immediacy and collaboration, made the work of these groups gain visibility to the point of being adopted, with the incorporation of their members and their processes, in institutional projects developed by universities (*Parque Capibaribe* Project) and the government (*Mais Vida na Morros* Project), which are addressed as a case study in this article.

The incorporation of work processes developed by the collectives allows for the renewal of institutional practices, but they also raise questions addressed in this article, such as: For acting on the margins of public and private action, does collective action complement, reinforce or weaken institutional actors? How and for what purposes are emerging practices brought by collectives incorporated by these institutions? What is the consequence of collective and integrated action to

institutions for the professional field of the architect-urbanist?

## 2. José Estelita Wharf - Its origins and destiny

The fate of a strategic area of 10 hectares located on the banks of the Pina Basin and adjacent to the historic center of the city of Recife (Fig. 01 and 02) was at the center of heated debates over the last decade in Recife. The presentation, in 2012, of a real estate project for the construction of 12 residential towers with up to 40 floors, for strictly private use and dissociated from the historical surroundings, created an opposition movement in the city called *Ocupe Estelita*. This process of reacting to private initiatives for altering significant and idle parts of the city also occurred in other Brazilian cities, such as *Ocupe Cais Mauá* (Porto Alegre/RS); *Ocupe Parque Augusta* (São Paulo/SP); *Ocupe Golf* (Rio de Janeiro/RJ), among others.

A common fact in the examples listed above is the permanent need for real estate companies to invest in the re-urbanization of abandoned or degraded areas, with speculative interest, largely indifferent to the well-being of the population, particularly in relation to its rights to housing, culture, leisure and memory preservation, making idle spaces a contested territory. (Harvey, 2014). This was the case of *Cais José Estelita* due to the government's incapacity and ineptitude, or even collusion, of championing the urban planning process.



Fig. 1 – José Estelita Wharf. Source: Own creation



Fig. 2 – José Estelita Wharf. Source: Own creation

Usually located close to the city centers, as is the case in Recife, the port areas and their support infrastructures have undergone a process of abandonment over the last 40 years. The deindustrialization process, new logistic requirements and the displacement of factories and warehouses to other areas contributed to the abandonment and degradation of large plots of land. Currently, a large part of the structural patrimony in the center of Recife is abandoned or underutilized, which contributes to the demographic emptying and the conception of this area as a space for services and commerce, with no use for leisure and housing.

The José Estelita Wharf plot of land housed the southern railway line and the maneuvering yard of the extinct *Rede Ferroviária Nacional S.A* (RFFSA). These buildings derived from the implantation of the Recife and São Francisco Railway Company, inaugurated in 1858, as the first railway in the northeast and the second one built in Brazil. The construction of a railway line connecting Recife to Paulo Afonso (BA) had the objective of transporting people and the agricultural production from the countryside to the port (Freire, 2012).

Built in the 1950s, the José Estelita Wharf was a planned expansion of the port which was being continuously expanded since the early 20th century, when the central district of Recife was remodeled and the port modernized. From the 1980s onwards, port activities gradually moved to the recently inaugurated *Porto de Suape*, and there was also a gradual replacement of trains by other modes of passenger transport such as buses and subways. The state of degradation of the RFFSA land today reverberates in its surroundings, marked by large warehouses which were used for storage activities complementary to the port.

The historical value of the railway site is evident by its remains, represented by the collection of buildings – warehouses, workshops and employee residences; movable property – locomotives, wagons; and a complex railway network derived from the maneuvering yard. In addition to the attributes related to the memory of railway activities, it is worth mentioning its landscape value. When seen from the other side of the basin, the water and warehouses act as a counterpoint to the neighborhood's verticalism, making the city center one of the most recognizable views of Recife, enabling the visual apprehension of the city center and its reference landmarks – symbolic buildings, towers and church domes (Veras, 2014) (Fig. 03)



Fig. 3 – José Estelita Wharf. Source: Direitos Urbanos - Flickr

In 2005, the Government of the State of Pernambuco carried out a broad urban intervention project intending to completely transform 8 km of waterfront, from the historic center of Olinda to the *Parque dos Manguezais*, in the southern border of Recife. Named the Recife-Olinda Urbanistic Project, it counted on Federal resources and the participation of technical staff from both municipalities, in addition to the assistance of Porto Digital – a technological park and environment for innovation in Pernambuco – and of the Portuguese company *Parque Expo*, responsible for the *Parque das Nações* project in Lisbon.

This large area includes the historic center of Recife, with many vacant and underused properties; self-built poor communities; environmental protection areas; areas under process of deactivation, such as the port of Recife; and areas with equipment which supports port activities, as is the case of the José Estelita Wharf railway yard.

The urban requalification project was influenced by other projects carried out in cities with large idle areas and disabled port activities, such as Genoa, Barcelona, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Liverpool, Marseille and Buenos Aires. It provided for the articulation of the waterfronts with strategic points and the strengthening of the cultural and tourist network of the region. It also intended to achieve the socio-territorial inclusion of poor populations with the requalification of informal settlements.

Despite having the articulation and planning of the three governmental spheres – federal, state and municipal government – the project did not progress. In 2008, a consortium of companies, called *Novo Recife*, bought the land that originally belonged to the *Rede Ferroviária Federal S.A* (RFFSA) in a public auction with a single participant.

The land sold was very attractive to the real estate sector as it is located between the Boa Viagem neighborhood – an upper middle class district with an avenue that faces the sea, dominated by luxury buildings – and Recife Antigo, the well-known region of the historic center, concentrating the most important cultural facilities in the capital of Pernambuco.

In 2012, the consortium presented an urban renewal project which was named *Novo Recife*. The initial proposal intended to build twelve buildings for business, hotels, commerce, services and residence, in addition to five garage buildings for approximately 5000 cars. The variable landscape of 21 to 42 floors would bring a new image to the city, which had been incorporated into the project's announcement.

### 3. The organic reaction of the Ocupe Estelita movement

The presentation of the *Novo Recife* Project created an immediate reaction in part of society. Through a mobilization – sharing the hashtag #OcupeEstelita on social media – cultural producers, artists, musicians, filmmakers, architects, historians, lawyers, academics and professionals, and other social organizations, mobilized an event in the public area of the Wharf, with the purpose of alerting about the need to discuss with the population the fate of such a sensitive area of the city. The attendance achieved in the first meeting motivated the occurrence of new events in which cultural activities, artists' presentations, workshops and debates took place.

Organic mobilization made it possible to gather several actors who were previously dispersed, focusing on different problems and parts of the city, but who shared a common vision for the city. Non-governmental organizations, universities, communities, political leaders and public prosecutors were incorporated into the network. The articulation of these actors allowed the creation of a movement

to monitor and take action in the institutional spheres of discussion of the *Novo Recife* project.

This movement questioned some aspects of the entire process, such as: the legitimacy and legality of the auction for the area; the inexistence of the Neighborhood Impact Study and Environmental Impact Study, mandatory for a project of this size; the social segregation and exclusivity promoted by its design; the ineffectiveness of its proposal to rehabilitate the degraded building stock; the allocation of the proposed green areas for exclusively private use or as residual areas, to the detriment of collective use; the dissonant scale of the buildings in relation to the historic center's landscape; its disarticulation with the existing road network; and the impact of demand on mobility infrastructures inside the historic neighborhoods of São José and Santo Antônio.

The effervescent atmosphere of discussion promoted at the *Ocupe Estelita* events was a great attraction for young professionals and students, especially for those inclined to urban issues (Fig. 4). Estelita's case brought to reality themes discussed in the classroom, such as urbanity, vitality and equity in land use; the right to the city; the configuration of heritage and preservation of memory; the landscape and the impact promoted by the proposed elements.

The movement's achievements in relation to the *Novo Recife* Project were somewhat encouraging. After difficulties among the technical and the political staff, the PCR requested some subtle adjustments to the division of blocks and the heights of the buildings closest to the historic center. After three years of legal disputes, occupation of the land by the protesters and violent eviction, the *Novo Recife* Project obtained its construction license at the end of 2015 and began construction in 2019.



Fig. 4 – *Ocupe Estelita*

## 4. Action of collectives reverberating in the institutional domains

When referring to the Occupy! events that are spreading around the world, Erik Swyngedouw (2014), asks "Is there further thought and practice possible after the squares are cleared, the tents broken up, the energies dissipated, and everyday life has resumed its routine practices?" (2014, p.170)

Certainly, Recife did not leave unscathed from the discussions about the destination of the Wharf and the *Ocupe Estelita* movement. The post-Estelita moment was marked by the emergence of a generation of students and young professionals concerned with the professional role of the architect and with effectively changing the realities they were experiencing. The limits that were imposed on Estelita, represented by long processes of conceiving the city, certainly frustrated these young people. Fruits of the Millennial Generation, and accustomed to immediate responses, this group organized itself into collectives that use the city as an object to be collaboratively manipulated (Arango, 2018).

The collective work organization is not necessarily new in the field of arts and architecture, but it has been gaining evidence in times of successive crises, such as the ones we have been through since 2008. This fact encourages the association of professionals who share agendas and prefer collaborative practices. These movements seem to find a more fertile ground in Latin America, marked by its constant economic and political crises amidst few intervals of prosperity, which makes work for young architects scarce.

The format of collective action is characterized by a multidisciplinary approach; it is horizontally managed; it criticizes hierarchical organizations; it develops with relative variation in its composition, formed by fickle presences and dedications; it is open and porous towards other collectives, groups or communities; it values the participatory and listening practices of the subjects, movements and communities; it operates in a network and is open to new connections built on the basis of convergence values (Martín-Mariscal, 2016).

Much of this generation's form of insurgent action is based on tactical urban planning, which is characterized by its experimental and provisional character. In general, they are immediate, acupunctural actions that address local issues seen as urgent by their components, which appear in the edges of the city unattended by public or private action.

Brenner (2014) elaborates on the limits of tactical actions when he asks: "would they be able to offer (…) more productive perspectives that would help to outline the projection of urban futures in an alternative to what we see today? (…) would this alternative (tactical actions) generate any more serious friction (with) (…) the capacity to corrupt it (institutional actions, especially from the private sector)?"

Despite the activist nature that marks the work of collectives, tactical actions are not necessarily configured as a counterpoint to institutional production. The relationship between tactical actions and institutional means is complex. For Brenner (2014), there are at least five types of relationship between tactical and institutional actions:

01) Reinforcement – relieves failures in governance and socio-spatial consequences of institutional actions;

02) Entrenchment – internalizes the liberal agenda to reduce the role of public institutions;

03) Neutrality – appears in non-disturbing interstitial spaces;

04) Contingency – under certain conditions, experimentation contributes to subverting neoliberal programs;

05) Subversion – interrupts growth-oriented logics including social, democratic, intangible demands, etc.

The incorporation of members of collectives and emerging practices in institutional projects developed by the academy (*Projeto Parque Capibaribe*) and by public authorities (*Projeto Mais Vida nos Morros*) are experiences that demonstrate the dilemmas in the collective-institutions relationship in the post-Estelita scenario.

## 4.1 The Capibaribe Park

The Capibaribe Park project stems from an agreement signed between the PCR and INCITI – Research and Innovation for Cities, a multidisciplinary network of researchers under the coordination of professors from the Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE). The issue of the agreement was to develop the design of a linear park along 30 kilometers of the Capibaribe River, with an impact on 42 neighborhoods in the city (Fig. 5)

The process is developed among distinct expectations between the conducting actors, PCR and UFPE. In this relationship, the public authorities expected to receive a plan developed at various levels of detail – from the diagnosis to the executive project – in order to allow the bidding for the construction of the project in a modular way. On the other hand, the academy has its own purposes of creating and disseminating knowledge based on demands generated in reality.



Fig. 5 – Capibaribe Park. Source: GPSC (2019)

The purposes of INCITI allowed to go beyond the mere provision of a service and opened the possibility of seeking to expand the repertoire of methodological practices, through the incorporation of actors with participatory and collaborative work practices.

Among the various groups with members incorporated in INCITI are: VAASTU, a studio of architecture, urbanism, art, design and research focused on the creation of "active spaces"; Coletivo Massapê, a group that works for the right to the city by activating public spaces, urban education and working with communities; AtelierVivo and its concerns with expanding architectural thinking through the incorporation of the construction process in collaborative practices; *I want to swim in Capibaribe, and you?*, a group that promotes educational actions and spatial appropriation of waterfronts.

The participation of groups with extensive experience in participatory-based processes and the practice of urban restructuring, even if on a limited scale, allowed INCITI to conduct prototyping actions for public furniture and equipment. For the stretch of about 500m, located in the Derby-Capunga neighborhood, the option was for a diagnostic and interventionist process that culminated in an International Urban Prototyping Workshop (WIPU).

This territory is located in an area of influence, and it is expected to be made viable as an urban mitigation by the implantation of the Campus of the Maurício

de Nassau University, which would be responsible for financing the intervention. The diffuse consolidation of the university complex within a neighborhood of residential and service characteristics provoked conflicts between residents, existing businesses, new audiences and services attracted by the university. The impacts are evident in public spaces, which have been massively appropriated by informal commerce and disorderly parking.

The workshop allowed for meeting the needs agreed by users of this area of the city, clearly defining the public domain land of the riverbank, guaranteeing access and promoting the public appropriation of the Capibaribe, which can now be used in future proposals with a more permanent character.



Fig. 6 – Capibaribe Park.

### 4.2 Mais Vidas nos Morros

The *Mais Vida nos Morros* (More Life in the Hills) Project is a program created by the PCR, launched in 2016 and carried out by the Executive Secretariat for Urban Innovation with the purpose of requalifying public spaces and the infrastructure of the poor communities. Through tactical actions carried out with the community, the project aims to offer urban janitorial services and reveal potential spaces for community life. In this way, the project creates the possibility for residents to get involved with the problems of their neighborhoods and to improve living conditions in the surroundings.

Among the various groups with members incorporated into *Mais Vida in Morros*, *Oxe, minha cidade é massa!* (Oxe, my city is great!) stands out, a group of young architects that work by stimulating the experience of urban spaces and the self-esteem of local origins; and Coletivo Massapê, discussed in the previous case.

The questionings about the adoption of actions of tactical urbanism by a public institution, in a context of extreme social need, is precisely related to the limits of intervention. While in *Parque Capibaribe* the activation processes were carried out as a means to achieve an objective – the requalification of an urban space – in the interventions of the *Mais Vida in Morros* Project, it seems that the end result is obtained through tactical actions.

In this sense, there is a clear omission by the public authorities to face the existing infrastructural problems of the hills surrounding Recife, who have opted for palliative solutions, usually adopted by groups that do not have large enough resources to act in such needy contexts. The omission is more evident when compared to municipal actions carried out in impoverished regions in similar contexts. As an example of successful actions for the same reality, we have the case of the *Favela-Bairro* Program (Rio de Janeiro /RJ) or the *Parque de Medellín* and Bogotá Libraries (Colombia), which were timidly replicated in Recife, with the construction of cultural equipment called Compaz (in analogy with the term With Peace).
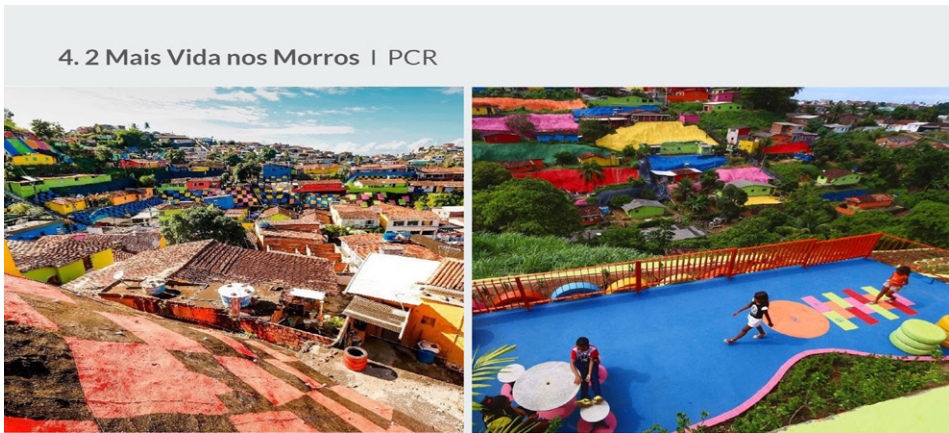


Fig. 7 – Capibaribe Park.

### 5. Final considerations

In the last decade, Recife has experienced a moment of great conflict and effervescence that stimulated a young generation in a restlessness to change the realities of immense need, which characterize Latin American cities. This generation explored the cities to try to change the adverse realities, and to question the approaches of professional performance in the field of architecture and urbanism. The vitality with which they performed their work, through collectives, meant that their processes were incorporated into public and private institutions.

With the case studies presented, it was possible to observe the complex way in which emerging work processes are incorporated into consolidated institutional environments such as those of the public authorities.

The examples demonstrated different ways of incorporating the collective procedures, sometimes as a means to achieve the established objectives, sometimes as a result of programmed actions. The tactical actions are, normally, limited by the specific contingencies in the context or moment, as well as by an experimental character.

For this reason, they can become an important instrument for the renewal of institutional practices, but they can also favor a wrong discourse at a time of growing criticism of the role of the state in the conduction of public services and urban planning.

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# 157 Malagueira

## Events in the landscape "what things say"

PEDRO GUILHERME[1]
CHAIA / IIFA – Universidade de Évora, Portugal

NICOLÁS MARTÍN DOMÍNGUEZ
Escuela de Arquitectura Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo, Spain.

SOFIA SALEMA[2]
CHAIA / Dep. Arq – Universidade de Évora

### ABSTRACT

In 1977 Malagueira at Évora began to be built. Drawings show that "*plan*" and "*project*" have unfixed borders and the events on the landscape connect and create a dialogue between the user and the place.

The drawing, in its gradual approach to scale reveals a geometric abstraction that becomes architecture.

Events are pieces of architecture that will be discovered by walking across the site. We find them near the elevated conduct thru small urban spaces (squares), or hidden benches under its arches. Also close to the water line, in bridges, different each time in solution, scale and geometry, in dialogue with nature. At other urban features like the amphitheater, the dike and benches above the park look at the water as the protagonist in different positions.

They all provide character to Malagueira.

It is in these discreet events, unnoticed places, small objects that "*big projects*" reach their fullest intensity. Inhabitants do not understand great performances, but they inhabit and live these events every day. Malagueira belongs to citizens, it provides opportunities for neighbors to interact and meet, walk around and feel they belong to the place.

Álvaro Siza wants to leave a mark in the city, but as Roland Barthes "*death of the author*" explains it is the reader, in this case the user, that controls its reading on the city. This is done without intermediaries, and show its true "*essence*", which was intuited in the aerial drawings. It is a participated project between Álvaro Siza and the user (inhabitant) where the former presents a feature that the latter will transform into a living part of the neighborhood.

Our presentation will reveal the original fundamental drawings of these events, and Álvaro Siza´s personal explanations: birth, evolution, and final construction. We will show them for the first time they will allow us to read in Malagueira "*what things say*".

**Keywords:** Malagueira, Álvaro Siza Vieira, Urban events.

## Introduction

"Siza drew up the first sketches for the masterplan of Malagueira while looking out through the window of a plane." (Fleck, 1995, p. 72).

From the air Évora must have looked impressive. Around a central urban historic center, a series of new illegal neighborhoods (Bairro da Senhora da Glória, Bairro de Santa Maria, Bairro Fontanas) grew along traditional rural vernacular preexisting structures (Quinta da S.ra de Aires, Quinta do Escurinho, Quinta do Sarrabulho, Quinta da Malagueirinha and Quinta da Malagueira) and spread on the territory.



Fig. 1 - Photography of the vacant site and Évora taken from the plane tour (Siza,1977)

A newly elected municipal administration commissioned Álvaro Siza Vieira to draw up a new social residential development proposal, with 1200 dwellings and a range of public and commercial services.

Although this complex and holistic operation for social housing has started more than 40 years ago it is still not finished. Siza engaged this plan-project for twenty years (1977-1997) and explored the relation to the city, to the limits and border neighborhoods, infrastructure networks and evolutionary housing, and the drawing public buildings (like the parish complex, a restaurant or tea house, a clinic, a hotel), the landscape and urban space.

Álvaro Siza took great attention to the limits and to the limits of the plan. On the first sketchbook we can read: "*Limit to take care. Limit to connect.*" (Fig. 2) This

idea of boundaries and connections is present as a constant plea to plan's intention. On the first hand these areas were subjected to confrontation and dialogue between the existing built spaces and the expecting vacant areas under project. On the second hand the limits had to be defined as linking opportunities and not as borders, in direction to the city.
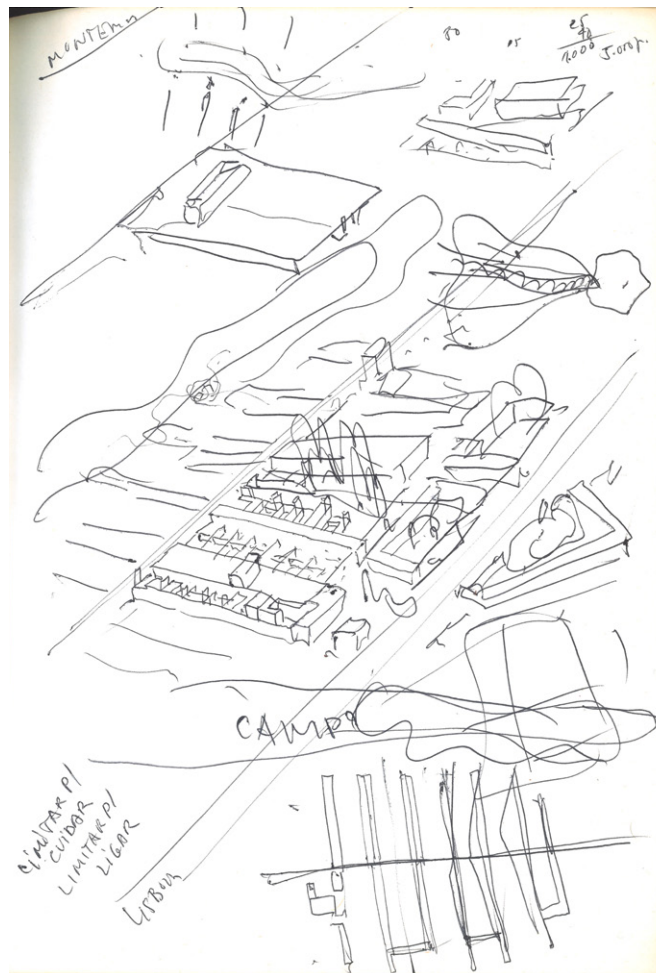


Fig. 2 - Caderno 1, p.8 (Siza, 1977)

Siza also writes about the importance of time: "*The hurry to conclude everything quickly, both in architecture and in the city, impresses me a lot. The tension for a definite solution obstructs the complementarity between different scales, urban and monument, between open space and construction. (...) At Évora the time for comprehend and to study, prolonged and endless, gave me the ability to avoid applying a predefined principle.*"[3] (Siza, 2000, p.107)

3   "Um aspeto que me impressiona muito, na arquitetura e na cidade do nosso tempo, é a pressa em concluir tudo rapidamente. Esta tensão para uma solução definitiva impede a complementaridade entre várias escalas, entre tecido urbano e o monumento, entre o espaço aberto e a construção. (…) Em Évora, o tempo da compreensão e do estudo, prolongado e infindável, deu-me a possibilidade de evitar a aplicação de um único princípio pré-construído." (Siza, 2000, p.107)

Fig. 3 - Construction site of Álvaro Siza's Quinta da Malagueira Évora, Portugal (Collová 1979)

But to inhabit the landscape, Álvaro Siza needs, events that can anchor meaning. As Martin Heidegger states, "*We do not dwell because we have built, but we build and have built because we dwell, that is, because we are dwellers (...) to dwell, to be set at peace, means to remain at peace within the free sphere that safeguards each thing in its nature.*" (Heidegger, 1951, p.97)

Aerial drawings show that "*plan*" and "*project*" have unfixed borders[4] and events on the landscape were used to connect and to create a dialogue between the user and the place.

These urban features are associated to necessary activities like those that are compulsory and that require a greater participation of those involved (i.e. everyday tasks either solo or in group greatly related to walking), and optional activities that are pursued or participated if there is time or place for them to occur (i.e. strolling, promenading, sitting of just enjoying a breath of fresh air). According to Jan Gehl (1987), "*When high quality of outdoor areas is good, optional activities occur with increasing frequency. Furthermore, as levels of optional activity arise, the number of social activities usually increases substantially.*" (p. 13) This "*life between building*" present in the modest "*see and hear contacts*" and a whole range of other social activities, despite their insignificant appearance, are most valuable and act as prerequisite needed for other more complex contacts.

4   Siza: "I have always had difficulty defining the border between plan and project" (Siza, 2009, p. 85).
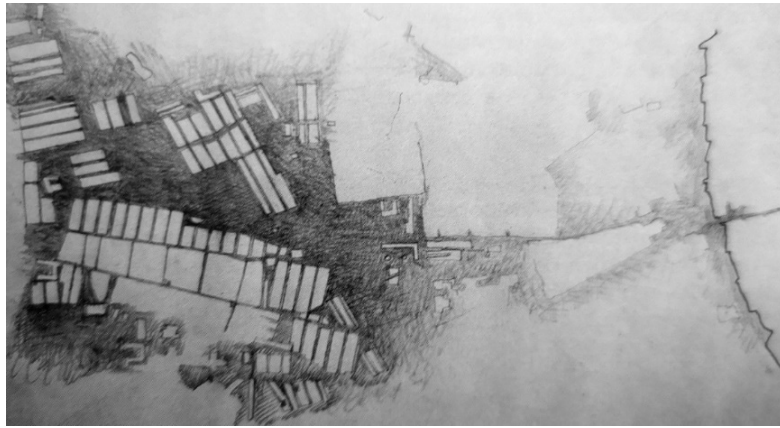
Fig. 4 - Empty spaces scheme (probably by Siza in Molteni, 1997, p.37)

The presence of events in the landscape, in their large-scale outline, serve multiple meanings. They help us to comprehend the conception of the plan. But the surprise is greater, when verifying that some of those strokes of the Bic pen, lines and points remain until their final construction. The project cannot stop being that way, and even in the larger open spaces, they continue to be events in the landscape that allow the project, in each personal discovery, to reach its maximum intensity.

Urban events or features can be moments and architectural landmarks that are discovered during both necessary and optional activities. In the case of Malagueira most occur at the central area, around or under the elevated duct - a major symbolic urban feature on the landscape – or linked to the watercourses that cross the Malagueira, defining small urban spaces that can be used by inhabitants.

Under the elevated service duct, or conduit, raised on concrete piers and rendered in unplastered concrete block, we can identify different possible uses and activities, hidden benches not obviously visible, inconspicuous, unnoticeable, and always different. We find them again, unexpectedly, close to or on the water line themselves. We find bridges over the watercourse, different each time in solution, scale, and geometry, in dialogue with the water line they preserve.
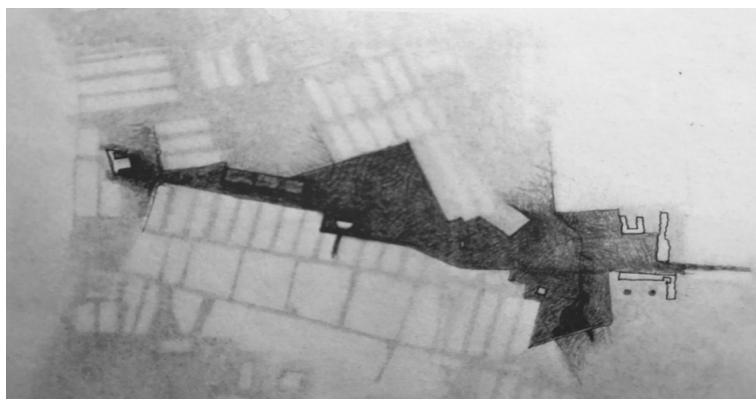


Fig. 5 – Central areas (probably by Siza in Molteni, 1997, p.38)

Some other events, like the amphitheater, act as an apparently odd pieces and alien to the performance. The dike, that retains the water coming from the stream, closes its final section and states its presence to us before returning to nature again. The benches above the park, which, acting like Malagueira characters, look at the water as the protagonist in different positions.

To incorporate users' considerations Malagueira Alvaro Siza followed SAAL's[5] methodologies – as he had previously done at São Victor and Bouça – and continued pursuing an experimental model where architects would design housing projects in dialogue with local communities. However, designing this way was by no means an easy process:

"*Their attitude was sometimes authoritarian, they denied all awareness of the architect's problems, they imposed their way of seeing and conceiving things. The dialogue was very contentious... To enter the real process of participation meant to accept the conflicts and not to hide them, but on the contrary to elaborate them. These exchanges then become very rich, although hard and often difficult.*"[6]

In this article we will focus on some urban events that Álvaro Siza includes in his initial design that favor the understanding of the plan and its message alongside the main east-west Axe that extended from Rua dos Salesianos (near Portas de Alconchel). Our research of Malagueira's archive held by Drawing Matter (UK) follows his sketches and other material to find the origin of these small pieces of architecture that Siza includes in Malagueira. We will try to show why are they diverse and share some light to their discreet but complex nature.

### Spaces for Walking, places for staying [7]

Álvaro Siza designed the spaces for walking taking into consideration the housing design and the distribution of individual housing in blocks, but also existing paths, around the main East-West axe from Portas de Alconchel to Quinta de Senhora de Aires. They are an integral way to comprehend the plan its urban design in its relation to the city, and to provide a network of spaces to stay with different opportunities to sit, to rest, meet and to see (or be seen).

In the first design phases he uses pre-existing land division, derived by the (un-wanted) West development plan (Plano de Expansão da Zona Oeste da Cidade),

5   O Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local (Local Ambulatory Support Service, SAAL), ran from 1974–76, was a unique collaboration between architects and city-dwellers in need of decent, affordable housing in the wake of the so-called 'Carnation Revolution' of 1974. Álvaro Siza Vieira worked for the SAAL between 1973 and 1977 at S. Victor and Bouça at Porto.

6   France Vanlaethem, "Pour une architecture épurée et rigoureuse," ARQ: Architecture/Québec, no. 14 (August 1983), 18. Cited by Kenneth Frampton at https://www.artforum.com/print/201603/typology-and-participation-the-architecture-of-alvaro-siza-58115

7   From chapter 4 of Jan Gehl's "Life between buildings"

and its already decided protected green areas (that would later become the urban park). He considered existing rural roads to anchor the plan, incorporating all illegal neighbourhoods and farms.



Fig. 6 – Caderno 5, p.32. p.43 (Siza, June 1977)

Paths were not merely designed at Malagueira but found by Siza on site's pre-existing conditions and opportunities. He would (re)use pedestrian routes ("*caminhos pre existente [para] peões*") made by the existing inhabitants, some nomads at that time (gipsies), as they walked on the site or from the illegal sprawls. These pre-existing paths were used to organize the public space and to think about different geometries in the plan.



Fig. 7 - Caderno 18, p.28 (Siza, Mach1978)

Some of these geometries stabilized over the time of the plan, while others changed and eventually were left behind. At previous articles (Guilherme and Sofia, 2019) we have shown their relevance to the positioning of the central commercial area and main square of the plan.

### The East-West path: the elevated duct

One of the most unusual devices Siza employed in Malagueira, following Kenneth Frampton article, "*is an elevated service duct, raised on concrete piers and rendered in unplastered concrete block, which produced a pseudo-viaduct that meanders through Malagueira's episodic housing terraces like a relic from another time.*" [8]

Initially this elevated conduct was supposed to be "*one covered with pedestrians along the east-west axis, allowing a quick and sheltered route from the sun and rain, and extending practically until the beginning of Rua dos Salesianos, by*

8   "TYPOLOGY AND PARTICIPATION: THE ARCHITECTURE OF ÁLVARO SIZA". 2021. Artforum. Com. https://www.artforum.com/print/201603/typology-and-participation-the-architecture-of-alvaro-siza-58115.

*afforestation of this street*"⁹. This covered path evolved into a complex path, of more vivid geometries and materials, that hold different urban events with different uses and design features.



Fig. 8 - Marble benches at the Elevated conduct (Brito 2020)

One of these events is a small geometric folly that defines a particular joint where two geometries collide. Two small white marble benches confronting each other at a change of geometry provide an occasional meeting point, a viewpoint of what is happening and a place to be seen.

This event is defined not only buy its geometry but also by its materiality. The use of marble implies an exemplarity of design and qualifies space. Álvaro Siza uses marble to distinguish and give value to different spaces. These rather unobvious use of different materials makes them stand up and relate them to other decorative parts of more classical architecture. It is not only the material's iconic relevance or tectonic nature but the fact of its use in other commonly relevant decorative parts of architectural classical styles.

The subtle change of the perception of joints creates an instability of the apparent social character of Malagueira. Cement bricks and white plaster may seem low tech materials either of industrial or vernacular inspiration, but the selective mix use of richer materials like stone or red brick, confuse their reading.

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9  "…um coberto de peões ao longo do eixo este-oeste, permitindo um percurso rápido e abrigado do sol e da chuva, e prolongar praticamente até ao início da Rua dos Salesianos, por arborização desta rua." Memória descritiva do Plano de Pormenor de uma Área de 27ha integrada no Plano de Expansão Oeste de Évora. Março de 1977.

Fig. 9 - Marble benches at the Elevated conduct (Brito 2020)

At the top joint of the elevated duct a larger sculpture is devised to hold and sign the plan's autonomy and contemporary design. Symbolic links to the old aqueduct of Água da Prata resonate at the arches that hide a small marble bench carved in-between cement blocks.

Time is slowed down as we observe the different geometries and their subtleties.

### The Urban Park

The urban park, with 8,5 ha, was developed by Álvaro Siza with the collaboration of landscape architect João Gomes da Silva, as "*Landscape as transformation*" (Gomes da Silva, 1987)

Gomes da Silva describes that the plan superimposes the different uses, programmes, typologies, and the natural matrix of the territory: its morphology, its water network (streams), and its climatic characteristics. Different relations of parallelism, fusion, transformation, transfiguration, and sublimation are cast into place to define the urban and natural dimensions of the site. Geometry and irregularity of natural forms shape tensions and fragmented interactions. The matrix of the Plan (in which the different typologies are placed through the natural territory) incorporate the fragmented multiple interactions, sometimes of contradictory nature, of both urban and natural elements. These complementary levels of action – as method and concept – accentuates both the border between plan and project, and the relation between analysis and proposal as a non-unidirectional movement.
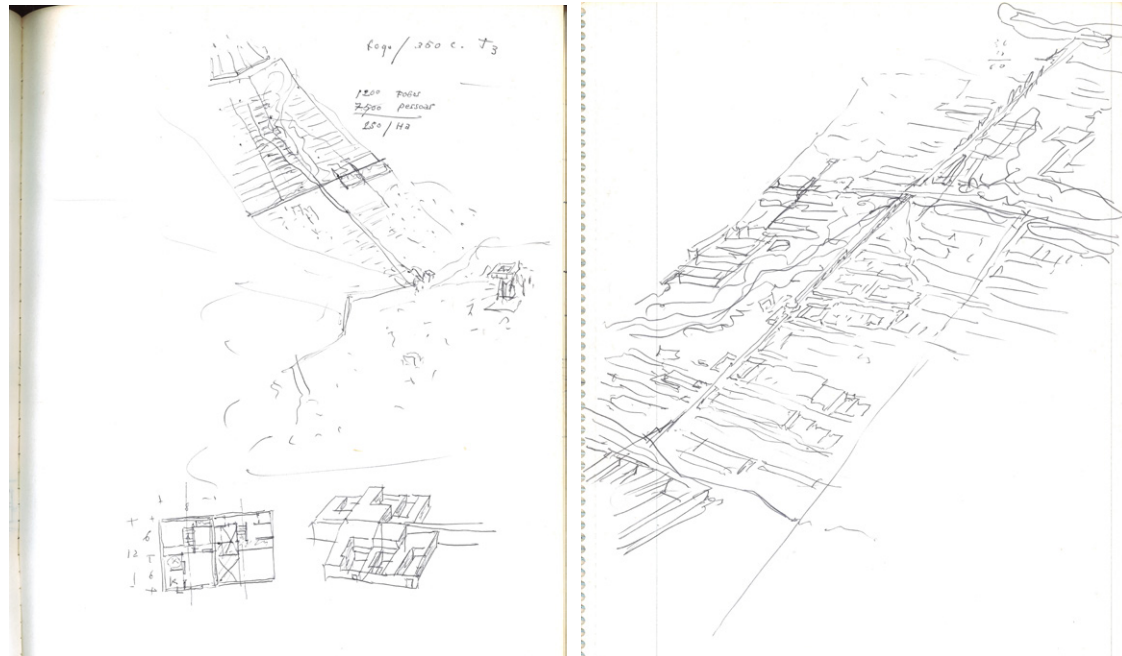
Fig. 10 - Caderno 3, p. 28 (Siza, May 1977) and caderno 5, p.20 (Siza, June 1977)

The Urban park intends to change the existing nature of a rural area (in the periphery of the city but still with residues of the agricultural production) into an urban landscape.
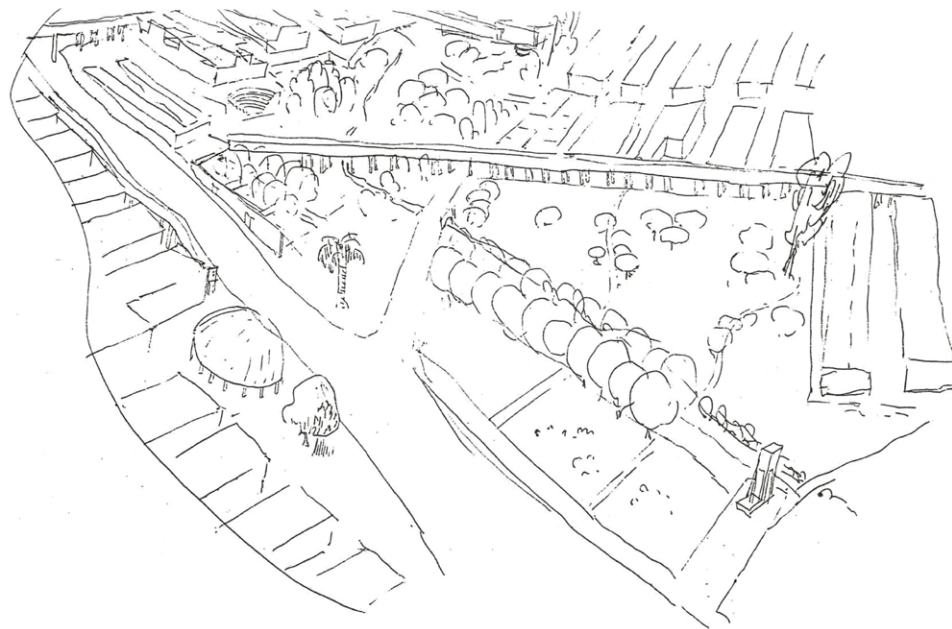


Fig. 11 - Drawing of the Urban Park, probably by João Gomes da Silva, included at his thesis, p. 35 (Gomes da Silva, 1987)

The drawings and sketches by Álvaro Siza speculate not only on the urban spaces but also how the urban green areas and natural elements (trees, streams, slopes, rocks) and built elements articulate and play together, "*as fragments of imaginary cities.*" (Gomes da Silva, 1987, p.11) This urban park is a place for spatial decompression and privileged visual relations with the city centre.

Álvaro Siza concludes: "*The essential problem is to find a way to connect different things, because the city is today a set of very diverse fragments.*" (Álvaro Siza cited by Gomes da Silva, 1987, p.19)

**4.1 The wooden bridge**

A rather small drawing at Alvaro Siza's archive reveals the final design for the wooden bridge over the water course. This bridge constitutes an extraordinary piece of design's simplicity.

Its initial intentions, as any other bridge, are clear: to cross to the other side. However, its initial drawings appear to question the approach to the bridge by keeping the path along the stream. It is not anymore just a question of getting to the other side of the watercourse. It is a question of the user's relation to the margin and the continues dialogue between the path and the water. Both follow their natural parallel flow and, when needed, at the optimal time, a shift of material and geometry shapes the new crossing over water.
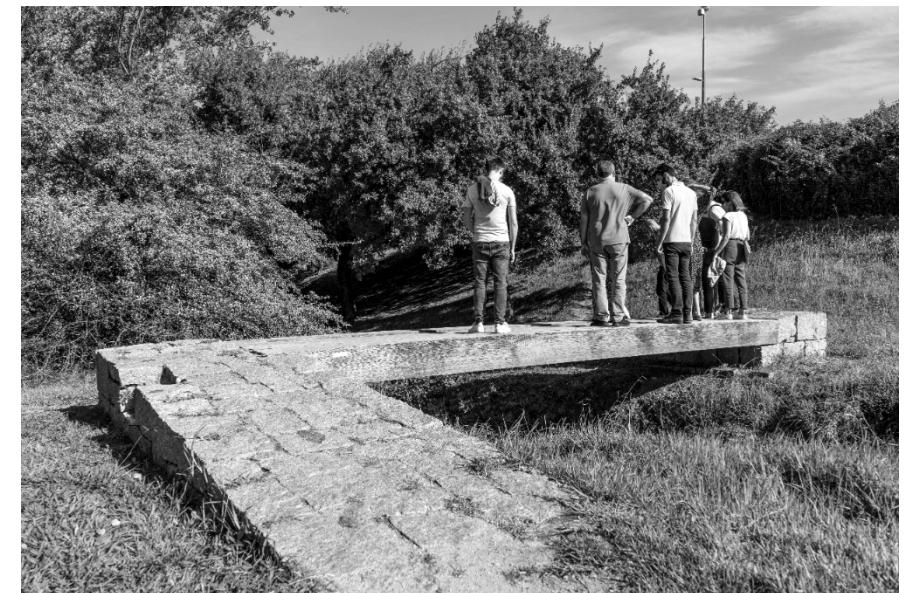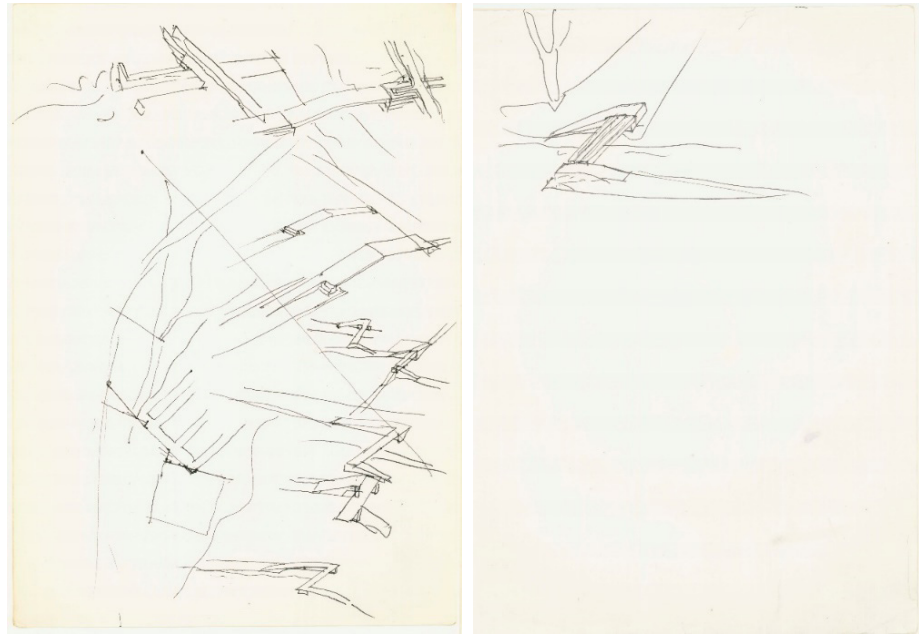
Fig. 12 – Photograph and undated drawings by Siza of the wooden bridge (Brito 2020, Siza n.d.)

Strangely, not as in other situations he uses granite and wood. Granite near the path and wood at the crossing. Materials are used in close relation to their needed mass, anchoring and stability.

**4.2 The water passage**

The water passage below the East-West Axe, just before the lake and its dike, is a feature introduced to manage the water and to use it as a fundamental support for the urban green areas. Its brutalist design does not refuse the needs of engineers but enriches them with a complex network of paths, descending or crossing bellow or over the watercourse.

All existing wells and water mines were recovered and protected. Special attention was taken to the higher well and elevated deposit, that had proved relevant in previous draft years. Different well and water mines are still used to provide water to different areas.

Fig. 13 - Aerial view of the wooden bridge and the water passage (Brito2020)

The stream was qualified by Álvaro Siza and João Gomes da Silva due to its relevance as it enabled an enlargement of the views provided within the plan and served as a decompression space in relation with the city centre. Water assumes its primordial value for permitting life at Évora.

**4.3 The Amphitheatre**

The amphitheatre is located at the west side of the lake. The *"cavea" (or sitting area)* is a concrete sculpture like stand supported by two pillars, facing west. The *"arena"* is an open, uncovered, terrace, enclosed by natural stones, resembling an old quarry. A square wall surrounds and defines the limits of the amphitheatre. Each element's geometry intertwines with the holistic composition of the ensemble.

This space was not intended to observe the surrounding landscape, nor the urban park, but rather to permit an occasional use for inhabitant's cultural events. It hosted on one occasion a celebration by gypsies and hosts frequent events of cultural, political, or academic nature.
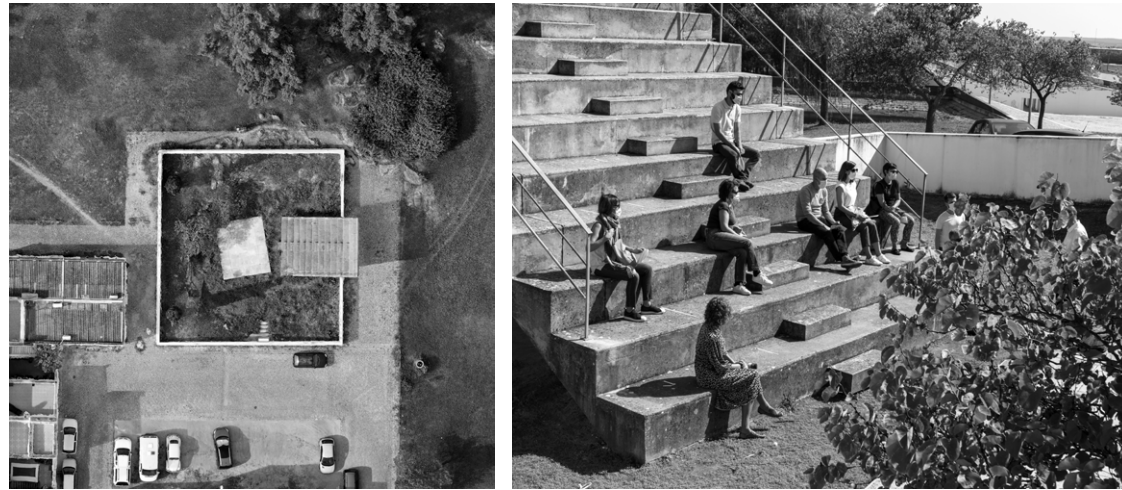
Fig. 14 – Aerial view of the Amphitheatre (Brito 2020)

Once again Álvaro Siza recalls a classical memory of scale and urban relevance to identify and give meaning to a specific space in the plan. The classical sequence of street, block, square and quarter, suggested by Peter Testa (1984) is "a theme underlying the city as an urban construct" (p.113) and questions the idea of Malagueira being some form of localism or regionalism.

By addressing these classical subjects, thru a contemporary (re) design of complex geometry, Siza relates to all history of mankind as well as the roman past of Évora and to its well-known temple.

### Conclusion

We are always surprised by the constant discoveries inside Álvaro Siza's drawings and by the depth of the words written about them. The "*obsession*"[10] to relate nature and construction[11] led him to make the project in relation to the nature of the site. The master plan takes into consideration not only the needs of human construction, but also the emptiness of opens spaces and their natural beauty.

Drawing is an abstraction achieved by its geometry, pursued by Álvaro Siza, to its last consequences. The dialogue between its materials and its contrast with the landscape make them essential to comprehend the research behind every event at the landscape. Drawings, in its gradual approach to scale reveal a geometric abstraction that becomes architecture, because "*Architecture is geometrizing*" (Siza, 2003, p. 23)

These discreet events are embedded with grand design that permits them to reach

10  Siza explains: "The relationship between nature and construction is decisive in architecture. This relationship, the permanent source of any project, is for me a kind of obsession" (Siza, 2009, p. 17).
11  "architecture, construction made by man, geometry, rigor, etc., are always in an organic connection with the landscape" (Siza, 1993, p. 17).

their fullest potential. Sometimes inhabitants do not fully understand these great designs, but they inhabit and live these events every day. These features belong to Malagueira's citizens, and provide opportunities for neighbors to interact and meet, walk around, and to feel they belong to the place.

Events that in their use, must be discovered, used, and sometimes forgotten. To be rediscovered again at each visit to Malagueira.

These small events provide clues of cultural significance are left behind for users to read, providing meaning that goes beyond the brief moment of the undergoing political and social change towards a cultural positioning in the world that links Malagueira to world heritage.

We believe these urban events and features should be understood almost as an artistic operation. The author wants to leave a mark in the city, but as Roland Barthes' "*The death of the author*" it is the reader, in this case the user, that mediates its reading of the city. It is not the author that determines the use the inhabitants will make of the urban features, but the users that replace the privileged position of the author and suppress his position and give to the urban feature its meaning and use. This is done without intermediaries and show the true "*essence*"[12] of these features.

Our research aims to reveal the process of these events and its explanations: birth, evolution, and final construction. Siza's freehand drawings become essential to this study.

Malagueira may be apparently unfinished:

"*Paradoxically, the fierce critics came from the interpretation of those empty spaces as incomplete places and I was accused of «not completing them»*" (Siza, 2003, p. 119)

Yet, despite all that is still unbuilt, the remaining allows us to read in Malagueira "what things say".

12  "… the important thing is that the expression of that kind of singularity is achieved which, without betraying what is its essence, nevertheless frees its design from overly obvious reasons. In this way, it is possible to define that touch of authenticity that attracts us in a non-aggressive way, but which at the same time, arises in part as banal" (Siza, 2009, p. 139).

## Acknowledgements

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# Track 9:  Syndrome Of Grand Projects: Contamination Processes Between North-South, West-East, Global-Local

NUNO GRANDE (CO-CHAIR) | CES – UC
ÁLVARO DOMINGUES (CO-CHAIR) | CEAU - FAUP
ANA FERNANDES | DINÂMIA'CET - ISCTE
MARTA SEQUEIRA | ISCTE – INSTITUTO UNIVERSITÁRIO DE LISBOA

Throughout the last quarter of the twentieth century, the salvific model of Grand Projects affirmed itself as a final attempt to overcome the deterministic and extensive visions of Functional Planning which marked that very same century. Since then, Grand Projects have been leading accelerated, punctual and intensive urban transformations in different cities around the world.

Mobilising high volumes of public, private, or mixed investments in areas under restructuring processes, these operations frequently join the organisation of major events - Olympic Games, Universal Exhibitions, International Football Championships, and Cultural Festivals. This leads to the construction of new urban compounds, full of iconic architectures, and aiming "the repositioning of cities in the Globalisation chart", something which has become a common proclamation.

Based on markedly global development models - with a western matrix typical of the neoliberal economies of the Northern hemisphere - the Grand Projects have often generated "alter-cities" that are peripheral to local urban fabrics, induce huge real-estate valuations around traditional city centres, or, in another sense, lead to their uncontrolled gentrification.

Spreading like a syndrome, Grand Projects are currently present in different cultural contexts, as they are present in the Middle East and the Far East, as well as in countries of the Global South (e.g. on the continents of Africa and Latin America). Many of these are experiencing asymmetric development processes. Involving global capital investments, this kind of operations are often implemented in a self-referenced manner, indifferent to the endogenous potential of these countries, and/or paradoxically contradicting their own cohesion and development strategies.

The purpose of this session was to expose, compare and evaluate "contamination" processes generated by Grand Projects throughout the last two decades that have existed between North and South, West and East, and Global and Local (in both directions). In this regard, this track gathered different lecturers' contributions, debating these processes and cases in countries where those effects are currently taking place.

Therefore, the following papers feed the broad and recent debates on local impacts of the globalisation processes, namely by discussing topics such as the effects of capitalism and worldwide transactions, territorial asymmetries, socio-spatial exclusive and excluding interventions, urban informality and self-production, (de) regulation and state of exception in planning practices.

In their reflexions, these papers also establish relations with existing contributions, such as on: "planetary urbanization" (Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid), "bypass urbanism" (Christian Schmid), the "generic city" (Rem Koolhaas), "urban informality" and a new "epistemology of planning" (Ananya Roy) and new "epistemological practices of southern urbanism" (Edgar Pieterse), amongst other approaches and authors.

The coast of Luanda, analysed by Paulo Moreira, is presented as a paradigmatic case of paradoxes of urban branding and planning, alerting that a few recent masterplans for this area seem to perpetuate colonial urban conceptions of social exclusion, simultaneously ignoring and actively erasing the specific characteristics and values of identity that make this city unique.

The debate on the urban transformations in São Paulo, by Guilherme Wisnik, both exposes the predatory impacts of the global financialization, and seeks to analyse how local, decentralised and systemic planning practices may confront the excluding effects of that process, reflecting upon socio-spatial empowerment, governance and practitioners' roles and responsibilities.

The case of the Zaragoza's Metropolitan Water Park, presented by Erica Sogbe and Ricardo Devesa, analyses how the Expo 2008 triggered an urban intervention that not only changed conceptions on the relation between urban life and riverfront, but also contributed to a paradigm shift on grand projects towards ecological awareness and interdisciplinarity.

The facilities built in Manaus for the 2014 World Cup are discussed by Guilherme Rene Maia, highlighting both the contradictions of the process and the discourses to justify this massive intervention, as well as their impacts and legacies following the event, debating gains but also disproportionate investments.

Nuno Neves and André Portugal Godinho point out the results of commercialization

and financialization under the regime of neoliberal urban policies and private / public consortia, namely the gap between poor informal urbanization and the rich enclaves of company towns or closed communities. In the analysed cases, the urban puzzle repeats the same trends and compositions of contrasted urban pieces, strongly reacting to the irregular evolution of the global commodities market (the main activator of the relationship between extractivism and planetary urbanization).

Thus, through the analysis of context-specific cases of planning practices or through broad conceptual analysis, these papers contribute to discussing new geographies and impacts of local and global mechanisms of socio-spatial relationship.

# 39  Urban Voids and the Contemporary Spatial Production:

## An analysis of the neoliberal urbanism in Belo Horizonte

NUNO NEVES
Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG)/Faculdade de
Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto (FAUP)

### ABSTRACT

This paper will discuss the topic of urban voids in an attempt to realize how these apparently anomalies of the urban fabric-space came to be so ubiquitous throughout the urbanized world, in different contexts and places. To understand how this came to be we have  to conceive these empty spaces in our cities in its social, political and economical dimensions. Once we understand them as an agent of its own, with its own set of rules and logics, we can see why these empty spaces are not deviations of the urban-economy-morphology but its very own conditions to survive.

Before we can comprehend the urban voids in all these dimensions, it is crucial to acknowledge in which context these dynamics are taking place. In this research, this context is the neoliberal city: the space is financialized, exploited and spectacularized, and not only the land of our cities is captured in this process but also the core of ourselves is exploited by the ever expanding commodification of life and all of its components. Our case study is located in the city of Belo Horizonte, in Minas Gerais, Brazil. It is within our interest to comprehend what are the tools used to develop the urban fabric in this city, and in this way we will be analyzing the Operações Urbanas Consorciadas (Urban Operations Consortium - OUC), the main modality of Private Public Partnership implemented in Brazil during the last 30 years.

We will see how and under which circumstances the OUCs were implemented as an urban planning tool, and through the lens of the OUC ACLO-BH, one specific OUC that took place in Belo Horizonte, we will discuss what are the objectives of these OUCs, whether they are tangible or not and how they are related to the overall theme of the urban voids.

**Keywords:** public private partnerships (PPP), neoliberal urbanism, land value speculation, urban voids.

## 1. The Neoliberal City

The 1980s, marked by a "silentious" revolution, introduced new tools of urban planning and economic development, first into Western cities in Europe and North-America and then to "Third World Countries" in the global south. The most prominent figures of this movement, Ronald Reagand and Margaret Thatcher, propelled in its respectives countries the ideology that the Estate should be relieved from its burden of appeasing the contradictions of classes in the capitalist system, and instead, the market and the individual choice should be sole responsible to improving living conditions. This meant not only the privatization of key-sectors of a nation's economy and the dismantling of the Welfare State that was built in the past decades, but also meant an even more blurrier line of what separates the public virtue of the Estate and the private vices of the market.

Of course these alterations in resources management were imposed to answer changes in the material conditions of how the global political-economical landscape was shaping itself.  The 70s, marked by the 1973 crisis, showed that keynesianism policies introduced in North America and Europe countries in the postwar period were finding limits to be able to reproduce themselves.

The reason for this incapability is the internal contradictions of the capitalist system. Due to the ever falling rates of interest and profit following not only this crisis but all of those that came after it, urban planning policies around the world started to adopt the market and private entrepreneurship as agents in processes of transformation of urban fabric.

This new articulation is meant to answer changes in means of production of the system: with the decline of Fordism and productive capital, the consolidation of financial capitalism and its worldwide speculative bubbles, the capital had to find other means to keep its infinite cycle of reproduction, and the urban market came to be a central stage for this reproduction to happen.

An essential fact helps to understand this dynamic: once the city is commodified, its main commodity, the land, acquires one very special characteristic, different from other commodities. The land value, that is, the abstraction of precifying a designated set of coordinates in space, is something that it's not consumed during the cycles of production. Different from buildings, machines and humans working on it, which lose value over time, the land value has a fluctuation of its own, and these can be predicted (and manipulated) once we start to realize how it is conceived.

In the  neoliberal city, not only the urban space is where exploitation happens, but it is also exploitation in itself. The urban fabric, instead of a conception of the materialization of rights defended by most western constitutions, is instrumentalized as a tool for the production and reproduction of capital.

The neoliberal city is a broad relationship between the concept of governmentality and the formation of the neoliberal subject. According to Foucault, governmentality was "introduced precisely to signify the multiple forms of this activity by which men, who may or not belong to  government, seek to conduct the conduct of other men, that is, to govern them". (DARDOT & LAVAL, 2016, pp.18)

In this way, under the neoliberal governmentality, "to each of us is imposed not only this universe of generalized competition, that intimates the workers and the populations to fight each other in an economic battle,  but also the subjugation of social relationships to the market model, (…) and even changes in the concept of the subject itself, which is obliged to conceive itself and act as an entrepreneurship." (2016, pp.18)

By the inputs given above, it's clear how the concepts of governmentality and neoliberal subject intertwine each other through the market ideology: the individual has to be the entrepreneur of itself, competing and warring everyone and oneself, as much as cities are put on the same position of competition against each other for titles, investments, cultural franchises, and so on. These dynamics and contradictions happen in most cities in the occident under the yoke of institutions like the FMI, WEF, OMC, while local characteristics shape how these contradictions are materialized in the territory.

With this panorama exposed, we can now analyse the Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) in Brazil, more precisely the Urban Operation Consortiums (OUCs), tools of urban policies making that were implemented by the Estatuto da Cidade[12], in 2001. Even though this Estatuto was regarded as a very important and progressive set of laws to guide urban growth in a very uneven Brazil, it had controversial points, one of them the recognition of Public Private Partnerships as a tool for urban developments.

Though these partnerships were successful in a few european and north-american cities, there were some doubts in its accomplishments in cities with social, economical and historical conditions so different as those of the brazilian metropolis.

One of the most polemic aspects of the UOCs was the means to finance it. This is how an OUC works:

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1  O Estatuto da Cidade, or City Statute, is a federal law approved in 2001 that regulates progressive tools of urban planning, such as participatory planning and the social function of property.

2  The notion that the right of private ownership includes an obligation to use property in ways that contribute to the collective or common good (Van Banning, 2001, Foster and Banilla, 2001)
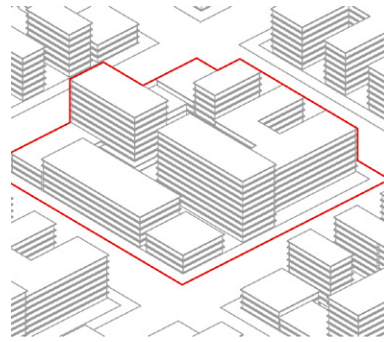
Fig. 1 – 1. The municipal state, with urgent problems and no money to solve them, teams up with private investors that are willing to fund these public infrastructure projects. The first thing done is to delineate where the project will happen.Since private investors have a great influence when deciding where the project takes place, this already puts at risk that these operations tend to invest in areas that are more profitable rather than to invest to solve deep urban problems, such as the lack of sanitation, water access, public mobility, and so on. Source: Own creation based on (Neves, 2019).
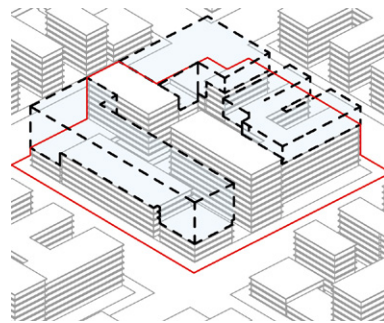


Fig. 2 - 2. Once the area is defined, the current parameters given by the Municipal Master Plan in force are suspended, and new parameters are given to plots of land in the area (new plots can be created, subdivided, etc.). Since the state is broken, this difference in parameters is its only leverage when dealing with the private interest, and it's this difference that is sold to the investors. Through the CEPACs (Additional Construction Potential Certificate) the city sells to the private investor a title that guarantees its holder the ownership of new construction capacity in a given plot of land, and this title can be sold to other interested partnership at any time. Source: Own creation based on (Neves, 2019).
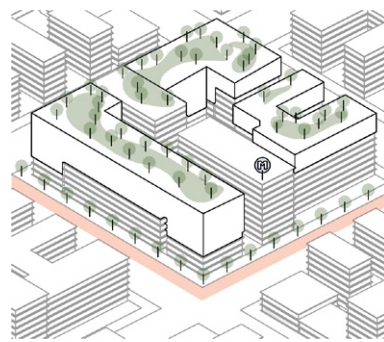


Fig. 3 - 3.Through the capital obtained by the transactions of the CEPACs, the municipal state can financialize grand urban projects, building new public transport systems, densifying the urban center, and generally greening the city. How do the CEPACs then serve as advanced means of real estate speculation and capital accumulation, through the hands of the market and the pen of the state? Well, when CEPACs are initially sold, land value is greatly inferior than the land value after the operations are concluded. So the municipal state sells them for a low price to invest in projects that will increase their value, that is now held by investors of the project.Source: Own creation based on (Neves, 2019)

## 1.1. The Land Beyond the Law

When studying the urban landscape and the contradictions in its postulates, it's worth noting that urbanistic-juridic tools, such as master plans or laws regarding the jurisdiction of land, set a group of criteria and parameters that exist only within these tools. The material world that these tools try to manipulate doesn't always correspond to these criteria and parameters.

This abstract contradiction can be concretely felt in brazilian metropolis: at the same time the Federal Constitution promulgates that housing is an unconditional right, homelessness and precarious living conditions are a reality for most of its population. The urban development tools constructed to solve this paradox, such as OUCs and PPPs, as we argue, not only do not solve these problems but contribute to sharpen them.

This deficit in housing and lack of housing policies, that tackle the problem face on, leads to the articulation of classes of the urban population to occupy and live in empty areas of the city (be it a vague plot of land or abandoned buildings). These occupations are applying, with its own method, the social function of the property, one of the most progressive tools of the Estatuto da Cidade. If these buildings are empty or unproductive, they are not fulfilling this social function, so these occupations are,through their praxis, constructing it.

One concrete example of this revival of the social function of property is Ocupação Izidora. At one point being the biggest urban occupation in Latin America, it was a movement involving hundreds of families (mostly black and poor families) that occupied a lot of land that belongs to the public power.

If occupying an empty lot of land and fulfilling its social function(in this case, giving the right to housing to a part of the population that has historically seen this right denied so often) could be seen as a direct application of the federal law, this, however, is not how it's seen by the state, by police and by media. Very often these occupation movements are criminalized and are forcefully removed from their houses, and that was precisely the attitude the public power assumed to deal with Ocupação Izidora.

It is important to note that while, with one hand the municipality was violently harassing the families that live in Izidora, the other one was articulating (in closed doors with the private sector) the limits of OUC-ACLO, the most ambitious OUC to the date in Belo Horizonte. When confronted with this duality of its power, that gives total access to the private market to solve its housing crisis while at the same time violenting people that don't have where to live, the answer of the municipality was quite elusive: nothing could be done because there were no empty spaces in the city's downtown.

This was an obvious false claim: anyone who wandered there would see plenty of empty and abandoned buildings, some of them like this for more than 40 years. Even though this perception of emptiness is subjective, there are some ways to objectify this subjectivity. One of these means is the cartography: through defining categories of urban voids and its registration in a map, we can analyse how, where and what kind of urban voids are spread in the downtown of Belo Horizonte.
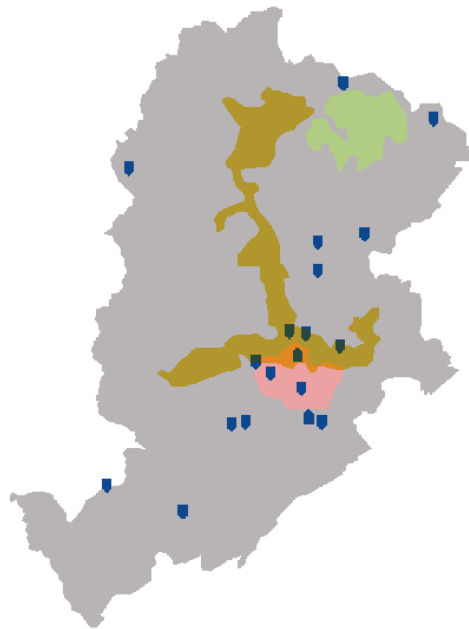


Fig 4. - Above is a map of Belo Horizonte. The blue flags represent where punctual OUCs took place. The yellow area represents the area where the OUC-ACLO is set to happen. The pink area represents the city's downtown. Where the yellow and pink areas overlap is where our case study area is located. The green area represents Granja Werneck, an abandoned latifundium where the occupations of Izidora took place. Source: Own creation based on (Neves, 2019).

### 2. Urban Voids

By understanding the urban void as urban spaces that don't fulfill the social function of property (SFP) and how the land value is greatly increased when an OUC (or any other kind of PPP) is accomplished, we can see how these kinds of spaces play a very important role in the production and reproduction of capital in the city: the one who owns the emptiness, will benefit a lot once it is fulfilled, but only once its fulfilled. As in any other financialized market, agents will try to gather as much as they can when prices are low to sell them when prices are high, and through the CEPACs this is precisely what happens with the land value in areas undergoing OUCs.

In this way, we have a double accumulation of value: one concrete and fixed value represented by these empty buildings and vague lots of land and a second virtual

and speculative value found in the increase in constructional parameters that become fixed value when the future developments are concluded.

Being so, we can see how the urban voids production cycle has two steps: one of gestation, in which empty buildings and plots are sold and accumulated in the expectations for these public investments to be made and its land value increased. Once these infrastructure projects are concluded, we have the germination step, when these emptinesses are all filled, refilled and renewed so that the capital can start one more round of accumulation. In this way, the neoliberal city always has these two attitudes towards its voids.

The cartographic method showed itself to be a precious tool to analyse the urban void dynamic, accompanying and opening new processes instead of formulating definite and closed versions of reality. To develop the cartography we defined the following categories of urban voids:

- Parking lots: far from being only an aspect of the urban mobility problem of individual transportation, parking lots (specifically those that are an empty plot of land with some paint on the ground and some shading for cars) can also be one of the most profitable urban voids in the short term: it is a quick and cheap investment that returns a bit return every month while the operation is not concluded.

- Empty Buildings: this category regards buildings that are mostly or completely empty. Since a great part of the buildings in Belo Horizonte's downtown are made from concrete and dates back from 50-60 years ago, this could imply that these buildings need to go through a severe analysis and renovation structural plans, big investments to be taken by investors once the OUCs were completed.

- Buildings for sale/rent: this category has the particularity of being available to trade in the market. This could mean that the current owner doesn't have the means of sustaining an empty building (because even an empty building pays taxes) and is selling it for investors that can bear the costs of speculation.

- Buildings owned by the Union: this category defines empty buildings and plots of land that are owned by the State. They can be perceived as a leverage for negotiations with investors of the OUC.

- Empty Lots: plots of land that doesn't have anything on them. Pure emptiness.

- Investments: in this category we observe specific projects that have already been done or are on their way to. These investments could be seen as grasps of the new times to come.

Fig 5. - M1, map of the urban voids and its categories. Source: Own creation based on (Neves, 2019)



empty plots
parking lots
empty buildings
buildings for sale/rent
buildings owned by the union
investments
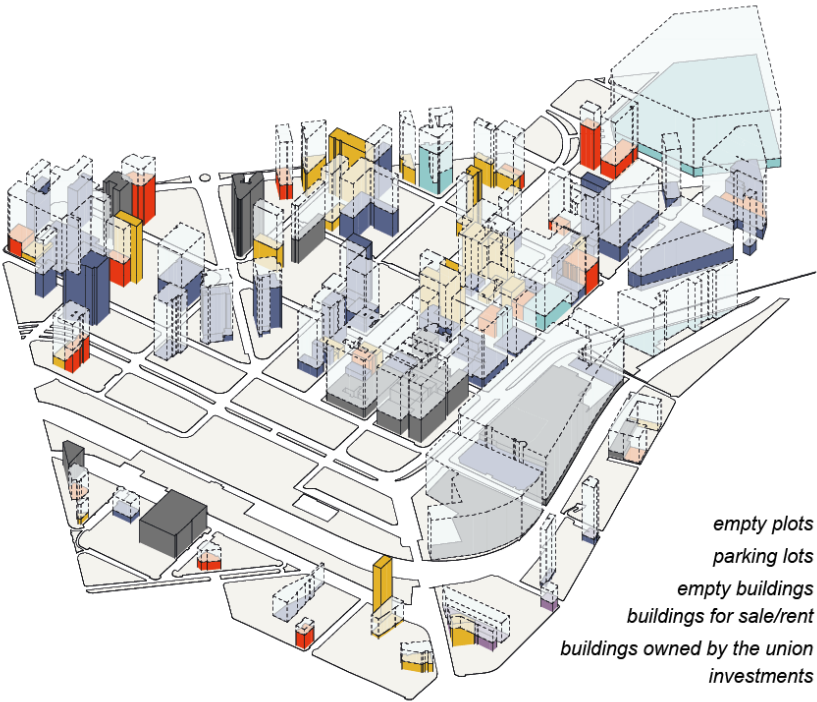
Fig 6. - Data landscape of the volumes representing the current FRA of the urban voids and their post-OUC FRA's. Source: Own creation based on (Neves, 2019).

0.0 - 0.3    0.3-0.5    0.5-1.0    1.0-1.5    1.5-2.5    2.5-4.0    4.0 - 5.9    6.0
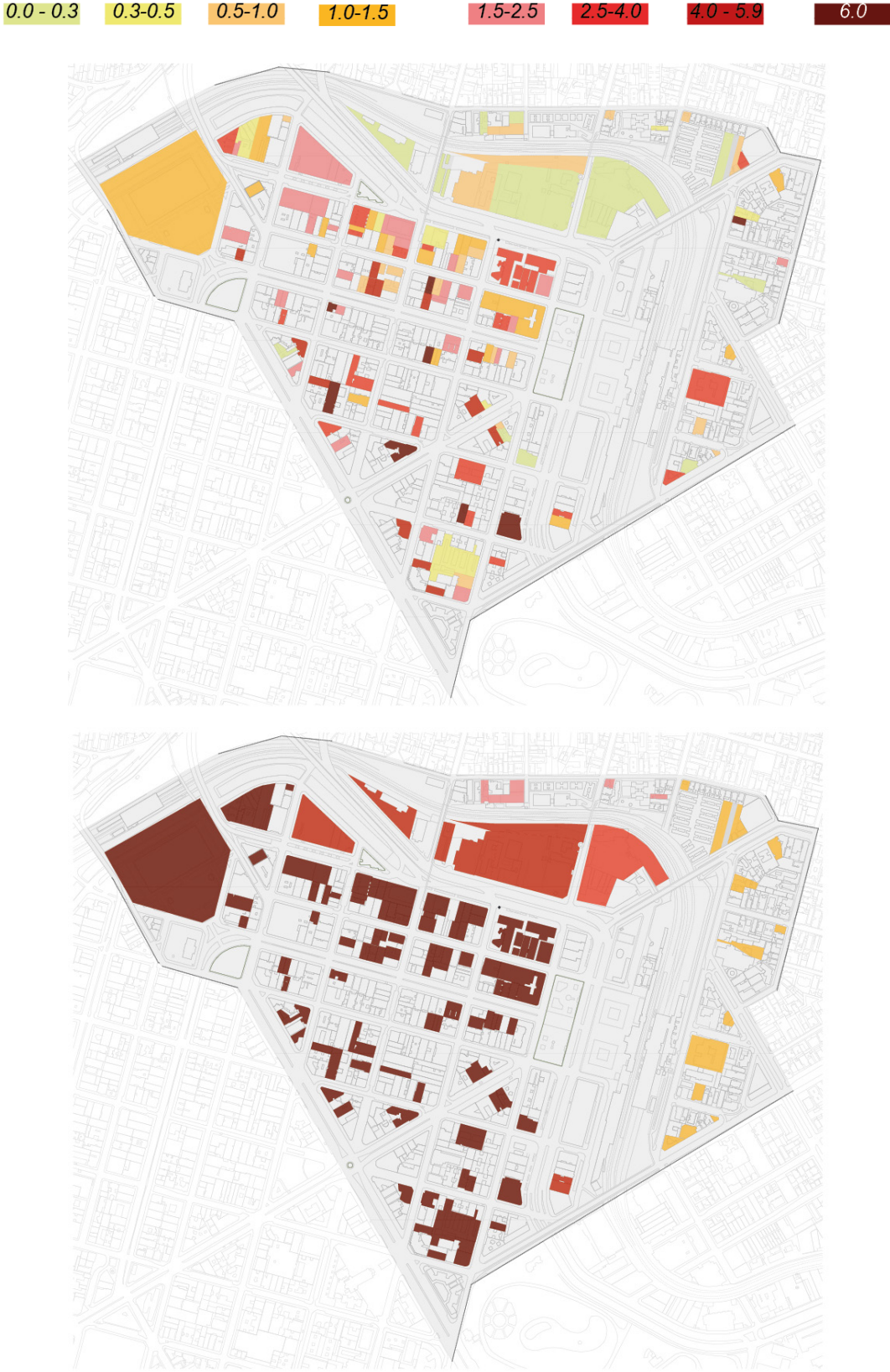




Fig 7. - M2 (above) and M3 (below), maps of the current and proposed FRAs of the urban voids appointed. Source: Own creation based on (Neves, 2019).

The cartography results are accompanied by maps that show the current CAs and the proposed CAs by the OUC. A relation can be established between these two data. This data was collected in January 2019. There were 108 reports of urban voids, divided in: 41 parking lots, 27 empty buildings, 18 buildings being sold/rent, 17 buildings owned by the union, 5 new projects and 5 empty plots.

Understanding that the data regarding the alterations in the Floor Area Ratio (FAR) are of crucial interest to this research by being an objective way to verify the changes in the properties' values, we can extrapolate a few conclusions when we juxtapose the urban voids map (M1) and the maps that show the current and proposed CA values (M2, M3) for the properties shown in M1. The valorization of the urban voids is explicit once we compare these two data.

A simple way to see how this value is crystalized in the territory is by examining the EST.19 report. Listed under parking lots, it is a corner plot of land bordered by Andradas Avenue. It is fenced in all its sides, and with the exception of a small space covered by a metallic roof, it does not have any constructions in its surface, which instead, is covered by cars. It has an area of 924m2 and a current CA of 0.3- This means that the maximum floor area that can be constructed in this property is 277m2. If we were to see the m2 price in the area, as of August 2019, it was set at R$3.691/m2. This means that this plot of land currently has a market price of R$1.022.407 (approximately 160.000 €).

Once the OUC is set in motion, we can see that this parking lot will then have a CA of 6, which means that it can support 5.544m2 of built floor area. This increases the market price to a value of R$20.462.904 (approximately 3.150.000 €). It is worth noting that this number is calculated by the current value of m2 price. Once the operations are concluded this value is surely set to increase greatly.

By this individual report we can see, structurally, how the differences made in the CA values are fondly cherished by the market, and is precisely this difference that is sold by the state through the CEPACs, so that the operation can be financialized. The trick however, is that not only this difference is sold at a time that the land value is vastly inferior than the one that it is planned to be, but this also transfers the risks and the onus of the operation to the state, while the private investors get to keep the profits and the bonus.

As Mariana Fix and João Whitaker wrote, one of the main problems with the selling of CEPACS is "the untying that the CEPAC title creates between the buying and selling of the constructive potential and the ownership of the plot. Because anyone can buy the title, having or not having a plot in the area, and its value -as any kind of financial asset- can variate, this creates a new kind of real estate speculation, financialized and that institutionalizes the real estate speculation as the main driver of urban development in the city" (Fix, 2000, p.5).

Through this untying of the constructive potential and the de facto ownership of the land, the CEPACs allow an advanced form of real estate speculation, since they can be bought by low prices on the beginning of the operation and be resold as the projects get concluded, and the titles, valorized. The urban voids, in this case, must be seen as spaces that guarantee a ownership of the properties that will be valorized when the infrastructure is built.

By focusing on the creation of value under the urban space, and all the tools available to develop it, we can start to see how the urban voids are a central piece in the creative-destructive processes of capitalism.

Under this perspective, we have collected and crossed data to analyse and correlate the context of individual and specific urban voids, before and after these operations, to realize how the value was being created through them. By comprehending this, we can proceed to the main critique to these OUC, and PPPs in general: that far from solving our cities problems, they are structurally designed to keep the contradictions and conflicts perpetually flowing.
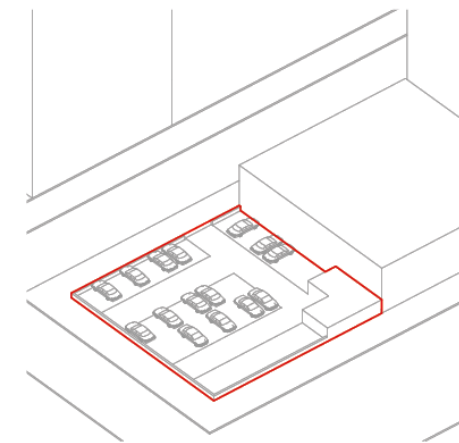


*Fig. 9 – EST. 19 report, pre-OUC.*
*Area: 924m2*
*Current CA: 0.3*
*Max. FA: 277m2.*
*R$/m2: 3.691R$/m2*
*Market price: R$1.022.407*
*Source: Own creation based on (Neves, 2019).*
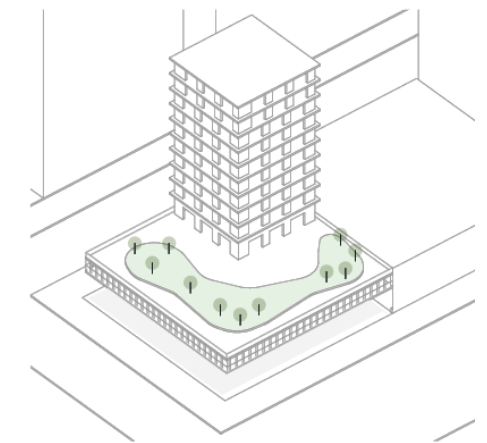
*Fig. 10 – EST. 19 report, post-OUC.*
*Area: 924m2*
*Proposed CA: 6*
*Max. FA: 5.544m2.*
*R$/m2: 3.691R$/2*
*Market price: R$20.462.904*
*Source: Own creation based on (Neves, 2019).*

### 2.1. How to fill the void?

Throughout this paper, we've shown how the neoliberal city is still the city of class struggles,and the conflicts and contradictions inherent to these struggles shape the urban fabric in unevenly and heterogenous ways. In the brazilian case, these contradictions and tensions are even more amplified.

Simultaneously, we've shown that the fact that there are so many empty buildings and so much homelessness and precarious housing standards in our cities, far from being a fault in the system, is precisely how it is conceived. The very urban policies that are theoretically designed to improve living and social conditions, in practice become a tool of capital accumulation. So if the maintenance of emptiness is political, so should be the answer of how to fill this emptiness.

The social-political dimension on how to fill the void can be found in the occupations that take place in some of these urban voids. As we've shown, the social function of property is an urban right supposedly guaranteed by the Federal Constitution, and if an empty building is not fulfilling this right, these occupations can not be seen in any other way than that of a direct exercise of democracy. This democracy, however, is not the one that is given or guaranteed by the Estate but is accomplished by the actions of an insurgent citizenship.

While claiming for a very concrete demand, the demand for a house, these peripheral groups conquer these demands through fight and resilience, and in the process of this conflict, new social formations and forms of organization are created.

What this shows us is that the urban voids are blank spaces that can be filled in numerous ways, be them within a logic of accumulation or be within a logic of resilience. This dispute around all the things that an urban void can be, resonate with the ponderings of the spanish architect Solá-Morales around the subject.

While writing about the etymology of the concept of terrain vagues the author points out that the concept vague has two latin roots that give the term its ambiguous character. The first root appoints to the vacuum, to the unoccupied, at the same time it signifies being free and available. The second root is related to the notion of undetermined and imprecise. It is where these two roots collide that the potency of the urban voids become explicit: they are wasted spaces, available and whose future is unknown. They are spaces and words that still haven't found their meaning and so have this unique potential of being able to be everything.

This article tries to show, at least on a superficial level, that the urban experience that an individual has is directly tied to its experience of citizenship. In this way, the empty spaces of our cities can and should be occupied in a way to guarantee a more fair exercise of democracy, creating a more fair city. If we're to remind of the 1968 claims for the right to the city, these occupations tell us that there's much to think on how these empty buildings could be filled in alternative ways, in processes that are tuned to a production of space that is turned to the common and the insurgent exercise of democracy.

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# 42   Luanda's Venice

## The Paradoxes of Postcolonial Coastal Masterplans

PAULO MOREIRA
Faculdade de Arquitetura da Universidade de Lisboa

### ABSTRACT

The city of Luanda is a paradigmatic case of the contradictions between global models of urbanisation and an incredibly complex local culture. At the heart of this paper is a doctoral investigation of the reciprocal relationship between Luanda and one of its central informal neighbourhoods, Chicala. The study situates Chicala among conflicts that have arisen in its urban densification process and their socio-political management.

The particular geographical location of Chicala, in the vicinity of Luanda's Bay, made the neighbourhood vulnerable to colonial invasions, and more recently to aggressive urbanism and masterplans. The paper discusses the large-scale projects that have been produced for the site and surroundings, since the late colonial perdiod. It uncovers some of their inconsistencies, claming for a more inclusive way of thinking the city, one that accepts and integrates informal settlements.

The paper concludes with a reflection about the places which are overshadowed by the 'top-down' modes of city-making. Such places are crying out for recognition and should be made conceptually and materially visible. In casting light on these incredibly diverse and vital, yet endangered, neighbourhoods, we may potentially uncover new modes of making architecture and contribute to a greater understanding of cities in all their depth.

**Keywords:** Luanda, urbanism, informal cities, large masterplans

# 1. Introduction

At the heart of this paper is a doctoral investigation of the reciprocal relationship between Luanda and one of its central informal neighbourhoods, Chicala. The study situates Chicala among conflicts that have arisen in its urban densification process. The particular geographical location of this neighbourhood, in the vicinity of the privileged district of Luanda's Bay, made it vulnerable to aggressive urbanism and masterplans. The paper discusses the large-scale projects that have been produced for the site and surroundings, since the late colonial perdiod. It uncovers some of their inconsistencies, claming for a more inclusive way of thinking the city, one that accepts and integrates informal settlements.

## 1.1 A Late Colonial Masterplan

The city of Luanda is a paradigmatic case of the contradictions between global models of urbanisation and an incredibly complex local culture. Throughout its history, the Baía de Luanda, or bay, has always been an affluent place to live. During the 1960s and 1970s, the intense architectural production seen in the area reached its coastal surroundings – places of informal inhabitation, where the Portuguese colonisers would spend their weekends at the beach.

In 1973, a masterplan for the area of Praia do Bispo and Chicala, south of the bay, was made public. An article in *Notícia* unveiling the project, entitled "Giving Luanda Back to the Sea", described it as "the most daring urban masterplan Luanda has ever seen". Lavishing praise upon the project, it welcomed the masterplan by offering "Congratulations to Luanda".[1]

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1   The project was published on 29th December 1973 in the weekly magazine Notícia. The article was shared with the author by Verónica Leite de Castro and Jorge Fernandes at the end of a presentation made at ISCTE, Lisbon on 3rd December 2013.

Fig. 1 - Noticia article, 29/12/1973

The article's title is rather intriguing. In a place where the sea has always been present, it may refer to the fact that the Ilha de Luanda, a sandbank along the coastline opposite the bay, was overlooked by the colonial elites, who failed to grasp its potential in comparison with the central areas of the city.[2]  The article includes an analysis of the *Baixa* [downtown] which concludes, most conveniently from the promoter's perspective, that it lacks sufficient capacity to remain the city centre. The article mentions that this area is expected to become "the real *Baixa* of Luanda" – not a downtown focused on business, but on leisure, cultural life, sports, cinemas, theatres, cafes, restaurants. It is described as nothing less than "Luanda's Venice", intersected by canals, in close relation with the water. Despite the canals seen in the plan, it seems difficult to compare the new skyline with Venice.

The ambitious scheme was made possible thanks to what was considered the "lucky factor": the fact that the adjacent Santa Barbara hill, which would provide earth for the landfill, had never been covered by houses. One of the engineers credited as responsible for the study, Mr. Barreto, was "astonished by this fact". In his view, the reason that this climatically privileged area had never been settled was because it was a private site whose owner neither built on it nor wanted to sell it.

The article gives the sense that it was only natural that the project should be built on the site. To confirm these premises, the text presents testimonies from

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2   Indeed, until the end of the 19th century, the population of the Ilha was not included in the statistics. Furthermore, the area was clearly under-represented, if not completely ignored, in maps of the city over the years.

the technical team. However, it does not include insights from the architect who designed the masterplan, Tomás Taveira (although he was present at the press conference, according to the photographs published with the article).[3]



Fig. 2 - *Notícia* article, 29/12/1973

A closer observation of the model photographs shown reveals that Chicala, an informal settlement on the sandbank, is visible. The article mentions that the urban study also included an analysis of the "illegal" settlements surrounding the site: it makes reference to Bairro de Santa Bárbara, Praia do Bispo and the *musseque* of Samba Pequena (also known as Coreia). Apparently, the "re-systematisation" of these areas was intended. However, according to the article, it was not the project's role to present proposals, because the intervention depended on the "policy to be adopted by the council", the one institution with the "competence to develop ideas for intervention [in these areas]", as well as the "formulation of the respective ordering principles" (*Notícia*, 29/12/1973). In other words, the masterplan did not accommodate the population living in and around the site of intervention.

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3   I tried to contact Mr. Taveira, who has been based in Lisbon for decades, for a first-hand testimony about the project. After several attempts by telephone and email, I finally received a response to my request: "Unfortunately this was one of the projects that was left in our office in Luanda and ended up being stolen." (email sent on 16/5/2014). Mr. Taveira did not want to add further statements, and was unavailable for an interview.

Fig. 3 - *Notícia* article, 29/12/1973

The masterplan also displays certain doubts and uncertainties: the possibility of completing the first part of the project "and waiting to see" was equally envisaged, leaving space for some flexibility and adaptability. This confirms the fact that, despite all of the expert and specialist studies, there was room for a more or less 'improvised' solution. In fact, the flexibility and adaptability of the plans was viewed as normal. The ambiguity between planned and unplanned, or formal and informal, design and engineering strategies would remain a common and widespread feature in postcolonial Luanda.

## 2. Transition Period

Soon after the late colonial masterplan was presented, Angola became independent. Surprisingly, despite the disruptions prompted by the decolonization process, the late colonial masterplan still went ahead (although it would soon be interrupted). This, at least, is what is made apparent by an equally surprising article in *Notícia* magazine (which was also still being published during this chaotic period). The article documented "the last photos before the destruction of Santa Bárbara hill" (*Notícia*, 31/8/1974).

Fig. 4 - *Noticia* article, 31/8/1974

The article demonstrates that, in some ways, the transition from the colonial to the post-independence periods was smoother than is often presented. They also show that in the late colonial period there was already a clear top-down strategy of investing and transforming this part of Luanda. This raises at least two topics worthy of discussion. Firstly, it is a strategy showing great complicity between private investors and public authorities: responsibility for the project lay with the company, even on sites that belonged to the city council (such as the roads, streets, paths, sewage and outdoor spaces). This evidence is important to understand the new masterplans to be described below.

Indeed, a study focusing solely on the postcolonial period would probably display surprise and amazement at the spectacular effects of the 'neoliberal trajectory' upon the regeneration of the city. However, a historical analysis offers a more contextually-situated perspective on current events. To put it differently, I argue that the current post-war reconstruction projects that are transforming Luanda are simply a magnified version of what was already being planned during the colonial period.

The second aspect worth noticing here is the resolution of the 'social problem'. The article clearly shows that it was the government's responsibility to solve the burning issue of the existing settlements and their residents. Although attempts were made by the project's promoters and designers to avoid responsibility for the residents of Chicala, they nonetheless recognised that there were people living in the area and that this was a 'problem' which needed to be solved. The role played by architects, planners and real-estate agents in regards to the 'social question' has

been a recurrent dilemma throughout the eras. The most common approach is to transfer responsibility to the government. Meanwhile, the role played by the people living in Chicala in the process of its future urbanisation is also of relevance. This topic, however, would exceed the word count of this paper.

## 3. Postcolonial Masterplans

During the postcolonial period, several large-scale masterplans have been proposed for the Bay and surrounding areas, of which the redevelopment of the Baía de Luanda, the SODIMO masterplan, the new Marina Luanda and the Bairro dos Ministérios (Ministeries' District) are the most significant. These masterplans may be seen to represent the epitome of efforts to position Luanda as a 'world-class city', reflecting the aim for economic and political affirmation inherent to the city as a whole.



Fig. 5 - Plan showing the various postcolonial masterplans in the Bay and surrounding areas
(pink: Bay of Luanda, orange: Sodimo, later Bairro dos Ministérios; yellow: Marina Luanda).
© Paulo Moreira, 2016

The desire for political affirmation has always been present in such interventions. This political dimension is most evident in the cases of the new Bay of Luanda – it was inaugurated on the birthday of the – at the time – President José Eduardo dos Santos (28th August, 2012, just three days prior to the general elections in Angola); and the Bairro dos Ministérios – it was disclosed in July 2019, over 1 year after the new President, João Lourenço, took office.

The Bay of Luanda redevelopment began to be conceived just after the end of the civil war in 2002.The initial project was commissioned by the Ministry of Public Works to a Portuguese businessman, José Carlos Moreira Récio (who had been

working in Angola since the late 1980s), in collaboration with his Angolan partner, António Mosquito (a businessman with ties to the ruling party). The expansion of the Bay's public promenade was also a reason for developing an ambitious private real estate project: to offset this venture in the public space, private entrepreneurs negotiated the concession of plots of land (and water). The initial project to complement the public promenade consisted of two artificial islands on reclaimed land, with an area of 900 m², located between the bay and the Ilha. The plan triggered critical reactions from (upper) civil society, and was eventually abandoned.



Fig. 6 - Bay of Luanda – initial Project, 2012. Unknown author. Courtesy: Sylvia Croese



Fig. 7 - Luandan public figures attempt to halt Baía de Luanda mega-project (*Agora*, 1/11/2003). Courtesy: Sylvia Croese

A new project was implemented, and upon conclusion it was acclaimed nationally and internationally as a successful waterfront redevelopment, promoting a face of the 'new Angola'. The project is complemented by three large-scale real-estate developments, already underway. These are divided into three plots. Plot A is located next to the port, to the far north of the bay. It consists of an area of 9 hectares, intended to receive 20 blocks of offices and high quality housing. The second plot (curiously, officially presented as Plot 1, creating some confusion between Plot A and Plot 1) comprises 6 hectares and is located at the southern edge of the bay, between the continent and the entrance to the Ilha. Next to this plot, a canal is envisaged to allow water to circulate between the bay of Luanda and the bay of Chicala. However, the canal has not yet been opened for fear that the water from Chicala will pollute the Bay of Luanda.[4] Plot 3 completes the project, alongside Plot A and Plot 1. It has an area of 27 hectares, and is located on the Ilha de Luanda, facing the bay.



Fig. 8 - Bay of Luanda – Aerial photo of Plot A. Sociedade Baia de Luanda, 2015. p.29

The SODIMO – Sociedade de Desenvolvimento Imobiliário (Real Estate Development Company) spans the whole of Chicala and several adjacent areas. The masterplan was designed by Dar Al-Handasah (also known simply as Dar), a global building contractor company of Lebanese origin, operating in Angola since the 1980s. The first stage of the SODIMO plan was completed in 2010-11, and it comprised a small set of affluent villas and several buildings opposite Chicala 3.

4  This argument was used by a spokesperson for the Baía de Luanda public space project, in a public presentation at the Viking Club in Maianga, Luanda (August, 2011).

Fig. 9 – Sodimo masterplan and demolition of Chicala 3, 2013. © Nadia Righele, 2014

The Marina Luanda is located in an area partially reclaimed from the sea, extending the Chicala area towards the south and running parallel to the coastline, in the vicinity of the SODIMO masterplan. Of the masterplans presented here, it is this plan which offers the most complete access to its architectural, urban and landscaping strategy.[5] The project description begins by stating that one of the main characteristics of the project is its "exclusive location on the southern tip of the Ilha de Luanda, at Ponta da Chicala" (Costa Lopes, n/d, p.12). From the very beginning, no reference is made to the Kilombo neighbourhood, or to any human activity in the area. Instead, the study focuses on the action of the sea, noting that "the Chicala district is a complex area, where highly dynamic erosive action is somewhat unstable" (Costa Lopes, n/d, p.32). According to the document, the first objective following implementation of the project was that the site would have "reduced occupation constraints" (Costa Lopes, n/d: 9). In other words, the possibility of informal occupations on the site is thought to be slim.

5   The content here presented and discussed is based on a 79-page unpublished (and undated) document by Portuguese architects Costa Lopes, entitled Marina Luanda - Estudo Preliminar (Preliminary Study). Costa Lopes is a studio based in Lisbon and Luanda. The following descriptions on the Luanda Marina are also based on the unpublished Estudo de Impacto Ambiental (Environmental Impact Study), enclosed with it, authored by Gabriela J.P.T. Pires and dated September 2010.

Fig. 10 – Marina Luanda. © Costa Lopes Arquitectos, n/d
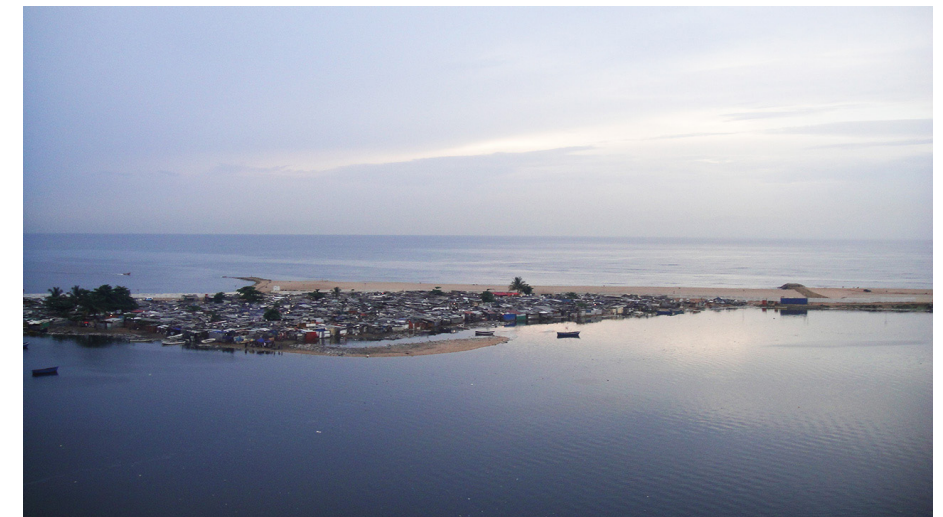


Fig. 11 – Kilombo neighbourhood seen from the Hotel Baía. © Paulo Moreira, 2013

#### 4. *Déjà Vu* Masterplans

Urbanism and economic profitability are certainly linked in the post-war phase of Luanda's development. However, this was also the case during the colonial period, as evidenced by the late colonial masterplan presented earlier. In the aforementioned *Notícia* article (1973), the CEO of Sagricol (the company who promoted the masterplan) said (*Notícia*, 29/12/1973): "The idea is to continuously invest. Always. And to earn a lot of money, too, of course."

According to the article, one of these benefits would be the reclamation of buildable land from the sea. This appears to suggest that the colonial and postcolonial

plans presented similar solutions, in particular the idea of reclaiming land from the sea to ensure economic profitability.

The Marina Luanda Preliminary Study, the one studied in greater depth, presents a rather sophisticated discourse. However, in truth, the language masks a content lacking in innovation, which is regressive in some aspects and even prejudiced regarding the role of the existing context. In reality, many of the Marina Luanda features and arguments appear identical to those of the 1973 project. To substantiate this claim, a number of these arguments will be explored and compared to the descriptions employed in the article published more than 30 years ago, at the end of the colonial period.

Firstly, the nostalgic notion of a 'return to the sea' appears in both projects. In 1973, the article in the *Notícia* newspaper entitled "*Devolver Luanda ao Mar*" ("Giving Luanda Back to the Sea") noted that the implementation of the project would be "a return to the most pleasant sites in the city which today, have shockingly been abandoned" (*Notícia*, 29/12/1973). Meanwhile, the new Marina Luanda project took the sea as a source of inspiration and as a metaphor for architectural creation: "maritime architecture and the swell of the Sea are fundamental references underpinning the rationale and compositional principles of urban design and its natural extension into architecture".

A second aspect which merits attention is the supposedly innovative nature of Marina Luanda, reinforced by the idea that the project would fill a gap in the city (Costa Lopes, n/d, p. 12): "The primary aim of the Marina Luanda project is to provide the city of Luanda with an infrastructure absent until now, which will greatly contribute to improving quality of life in an ever more cosmopolitan city."

In relation to the 1973 plan, it was said that following a study of "the potential and capacities of the area in question, its vocation as a site for some activities which either do not exist in the city or function in poor conditions in the Baixa was confirmed" (Notícia, 29/12/1973). In other words, almost 40 years after the first project, the lack of certain uses and functions in that area of the city continues to be discussed, despite the significant transformation and development which has taken place there over the decades.

In both cases, the project proposals are primarily linked to leisure and the creation of a site able to embrace multiple activities. This is another key idea of both plans. On the one hand, we read that the 1973 project sought "a downtown area promoting relaxation, cultural life, sport, a zest for life. Cinemas, theatres, cafés, restaurants, and entertainment venues will live in harmony, in a prime location right at the heart of the city" (*Notícia*, 29/12/1973). Meanwhile, the Marina Luanda project states that:

Besides its principal vocation as a site for nautical activity, the Marina Luanda project aims to be a multifunctional space focused on leisure, comprising a balance of services, commerce and housing duly served by a system of support facilities and high quality public spaces (Costa Lopes, n/d, p. 12).

Multifunctionality is always presented as the logical result of expert studies which, after analysing the (mal)functioning of the area common to both projects, conveniently conclude that the city does not offer everything that it could – a gap which these projects, at their respective times, would fill. It is also relevant to observe that these project decisions are always made with pronounced complicity between private initiatives and public powers. The Marina Luanda project description and the 1973 masterplan state this explicitly: "The aspiration presented in this document is based on a set of assumptions that aim to bring together public and private initiatives, including social, environmental and landscaping strands, as well as regional development (Costa Lopes, n/d, p. 13).

Given the complexity of the issues under study, a team was formed which undertook six compartmental studies in close collaboration with the Urban Development Department of the City Council. (*Notícia*, 29/12/1973)

A further salient feature concerns the way in which these new projects view the city. Marina Luanda proposes an alternative connection to the nearby Agostinho Neto Mausoleum, "predominantly for pedestrians and cyclists, which could establish a future link between these two parts of the system of public spaces in the city" (Costa Lopes, n/d, p. 26). Pedestrian bridges of this kind relate to an urban imaginary common to both projects discussed here: the image of Venice. The Marina Luanda and late colonial masterplans draw upon similar imagery in the following descriptions: "A sort of Island [is proposed], linked to the land by an 'umbilical cord'. (...) The Island would be a kind of Luandan Venice. Intersected by canals, it would interact closely with the water." (*Notícia*, 29/12/1973).

"Two very light metallic walkways are suggested, which rise up and curve in the centre, like a Venetian bridge, to allow recreational craft to pass below." (Costa Lopes, n/d, p. 26).

In other words, these ideas are nothing new. The Marina Luanda, and arguably all the recent masterplans presented here, takes up the idea of the design from almost forty years earlier. These analogies suggest that, in the minds of architects and planners, the topographic conditions of the area – a landfill and waterfront – automatically invoke the poetic imaginary of Venice. However, these studies fail to realise that the existing urban grain already reflects this sort of spatial condition. Like Venice, Chicala was built incrementally over time, contrary to these one-off attempts to reproduce a water-city.

Fig. 12 – Aerial photographs of Chicala and Venice. Google Earth, 2012.
The images display the urban grain of Chicala and Venice, on the same scale. The density of
construction and the curvilinear roads and alleys, organised hierarchically, are common to both
images.

There are certainly aspects which distinguish Chicala from other informal neigh-bourhoods, but many of these appear o be common to any human settlement. I clam for a more inclusive way of thinking the city, one that accepts and integrates these settlements. It is clear that despite all of the large-scale, specialised mas-terplans put in practice, informality will persist in Luanda – it is one of the city's essential characteristic, it always has been.

Places which are somewhat invisible to the standard measures of our modern states and economies are not simply dark holes. Such places are crying out for recognition and should be made conceptually and materially visible. We need to cast light on these incredibly diverse and vital, yet endangered, neighbourhoods. In doing so, we may potentially uncover new modes of making architecture and contribute to a greater understanding of cities in all their depth.

### Acknowledgments

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# 57    São Paulo from the 1990s to 2020s

## Ffrom the financialized "global city" to the systemic plan on the edges of the city

GUILHERME WISNIK
FAUUSP, São Paulo, Brasil

### ABSTRACT

Between the 1990s and 2000s, a series of public-private investments built the new "landscape of power" in the city of São Paulo, around Marginal Pinheiros. Region of occupation until then rarefied, which combined industrial uses and slums. Focus of massive Urban Operations carried out by the municipality, the area received a large public investment in infrastructure, and had much of its area cleared by the removal of slums. As a consequence, a kind of "globalized enclave" was created there amid a peripheral metropolis, in financialized capitalism. They are megaprojects with large office towers, luxury hotels, concert halls, shopping centers and mixed-use complexes, building a skyline that mimics the business centers of affluent cities in the northern hemisphere. In most of these cases the companies that occupy the properties do not own them, but only tenants, avoiding immobilizing their capital in a fixed place. In the logic of this financial and global economy, investors are pension funds, and the construction and incorporation of these complexes is done by mixed joint ventures between national and international companies. From an urban point of view, they are configured as autonomous mini-cities, separated from the reality of their surroundings, very fortified and closed, and dependent on individual motorized transport. Between 2013 and 2016, during the progressive prefecture of Fernando Haddad, a plan was elaborated for the new occupation of Marginal Tietê, an axis that is linked to this one, but which remained more lacking in investments. Entitled "Arco Tietê", the plan remains in the Grand Projects model, but seeks to balance the economic interest of companies with a policy that strengthens investments in social housing and public transport. With Haddad not re-elected, and with the cancellation of Growth Acceleration Plans (PACs), with the country's economic crisis, the "Arco Tietê" is, until today, paralyzed.

Keywords: Global city, São Paulo, Urban operations, Grand Projects.

## I.

"The profitability of the financial market with the security of the real estate market". Such was the miraculous promise announced in the euphoria of the globalization of the 1990s in São Paulo, following the transformation of buildings into securities sold in the financial market. In that decade, with the internationalization of the global economy, accompanied by a great wave of privatization of state-owned companies in the so-called Third World, new forms of Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) were created in Brazilian cities, becoming the dominant political and economic mechanisms in the transformation processes of vast areas in its urban fabrics. In São Paulo, along the axis of the avenues Nova Faria Lima, Engenheiro Luís Carlos Berrini, Jornalista Roberto Marinho and Marginal Pinheiros, a new skyline of mirrored buildings - and supposedly "intelligent" - was emerging, mimicking the business centers of rich countries of the northern hemisphere, and building our local portion of the "global city".

The process of displacement of centrality in the capital of São Paulo, guided by the mobility of capital, is not new. At least a century ago, the economic center of the city moved, for the first time, from the historic hill, where the old city of Piratininga emerged, to the area of Cidade Nova (New City) near Praça da República, crossing the Anhangabaú Valley in the west direction. Since then, there have been successive displacements that pushed the city's economic axis more and more towards the southwest, always looking for empty and profitable land. But such a process does not correspond to a deliberate intention to improve the city through a studied urban planning. Quite the contrary, it is the result of a predatory process guided by real estate speculation, which seeks new fronts for land valuation, occupying empty, swampy and slum lands, and attracting infrastructure investments by the government. The opening of new centralities unleashes great deals, opening fronts of speculation. The novelty of this most recent stage of the process is the stronger association that it presents between the real estate and financial sectors, reinforcing the fictitious value of capital.

With the international crisis of modern urban planning from the 1970s, as shown by Peter Hall, "the urbanist has become increasingly confused with his traditional adversary, the entrepreneur" (Hall, 2007), using plans and laws no longer to rule the growth of cities, but to boost it by all possible and imaginable means. Context in which, as John Logan and Harvey Molotch show, cities have gradually become "machines to produce wealth",[1] by transforming public wealth into capital. Ironizing this declared death of urbanism at a time when it would be, in fact, very necessary, Rem Koolhaas points out how, in such a context, the old role of the urban plan ended up being absorbed by the hypertrophy of architecture, in iconic buildings that became responsible by economic regeneration processes on

an urban scale.[2] In this historical passage, the social mediations that favored the most fragile populations were lost, as well as the articulations between the new and the old in the urban fabric of cities, proper to the science of urbanism. And in return, new enclaves were built with great media and tourist appeal. Enclaves of massive buildings, or groups of them, which we can call Great Projects, and which detach themselves from the tradition of urbanism, often associating themselves with exceptional large events, such as the Olympic Games, Universal Exhibitions and Cultural Festivals.

In the case of São Paulo, this new globalized "landscape of power"[3] arises in a region of occupation until then rarefied, which combined industrial uses and slums. Focus of massive Urban Operations carried out by the municipal government, the area received a large public investment in infrastructure: construction of tunnels, bridges, extension and opening of avenues, and, above all, removal of slums and expulsion of poor people, pushed, as a rule , for the watershed protection areas, in the extreme south of the city. As a consequence, a kind of "globalized enclave" was created there in the midst of a peripheral metropolis. A symbol of growing urban violence under the aegis of financialized capitalism. They are megaprojects with large office towers, luxury hotels, theaters, shopping centers and mixed-use complexes. In most of these cases the companies that occupy the properties are not their owners, but only tenants, avoiding immobilizing their capital in fixed locations. In the logic of this financial and global economy, investors are almost always anonymous (pension funds), and the construction and incorporation of these complexes is done by mixed joint ventures between national and international companies. From an urban point of view, they are configured as autonomous mini-cities, very fortified and closed, separate from the reality of their surroundings, and dependent on individual motorized transport.

The most notorious case, in this sense, is the United Nations Business Center (CENU), whose three towers were built between 1998 and 2000. With their chamfered volumes, they demarcate the landscape of Marginal Pinheiros, housing large multinational companies. With the Caixa Econômica Federal pension fund (Funcef) as its main investor, CENU was built by an association between the Brazilian construction company Método Engenharia and Tishman Speyer Properties, a well-known North-American developer, as shown by researcher Mariana Fix in the book *São Paulo global city: financial foundations of a mirage* (Fix, 2007).

At the beginning of the 90s, as Fix observes, with monetary stabilization, deindustrialization, the massive inflow of foreign capital in Brazil, and the resulting large asset transfer (privatizations), even the production of real estate began to

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1   See Harvey Molotch e John Logan, "The city as a growth machine", in *Urban fortunes: the political economy of place.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, pp. 50-98.

2   See Rem Koolhaas, "What ever happened to urbanism?", in *S, M, L, XL.* Nova York: The Monacelli Press, 1995, pp. 959-971.

3   See Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of power: from Detroit to Disney World.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

be governed by the search mobility and liquidity. In practice, large companies stopped establishing their own headquarters, historically thought of symbols of the stability of these brands, and started to rent floors in commercial buildings, being able to move more easily in the territory. As for the new owners, in this scheme, they are no longer traditional capitalist entrepreneurs, as we have seen, becoming, from then on, anonymous investors, such as pension funds.

Thus, while companies began to benefit from greater flexibility, being able to increase or decrease their staff suddenly, or simply leave the city and country very fast, investors began to profit more as a market was formed as a "new vector" of real estate valuation, in areas with cheap land (neighbors of slums, with modest infrastructure), which become the focus of major government works in Urban Operations and Public-Private Partnerships. This is what happened in this southwest area of São Paulo, to which around 85% of the city's public investments were channeled between 1990 and 2000.

These new high-end corporate buildings are therefore, as Fix shows, "host bases" for transnational capital in errant migration, often taking place as global enclaves amid peripheral metropolises. Her pioneering study is completed, in an important way, pointing to the fracture of this local globalization process, since in São Paulo the alliance between the real estate and capital markets proved to be imperfect, given the inexistence of an effective credit system in Brazil, as is the case with mortgages in the United States and Europe. Thus, with the global economic crises of the late 90s and early 2000s, plus the decrease in the privatization cycle that followed, the corporate real estate market in São Paulo experienced an oversupply crisis, witnessing a huge drop in prices and an increase in the vacancy rate of the properess, driving away investors. Only in the so-called Nova Faria Lima, for example, 70% of the properties became vacant, leading to the collapse of some developers involved in this process.

Although that crisis was overcome some time later, it is necessary to admit, after all, when analyzing this stretch of city that is more than twenty years old, that its urban quality is very precarious: intense car traffic, narrow sidewalks surrounded by high walls, little street commerce, and ground floors that are tightly closed and guarded. Spaces that seem to be perfectly characterized by the term "non-place", with which urban anthropology describes these desertified and unqualified spaces by the use of people on the local scale, or by any sign of belonging or identity.[4]

## II.

More than a decade later, in 2012, Fernando Haddad's campaign for the city of São Paulo was based on an ambitious plan for the transformation of the Marginal Tietê region, an axis that is linked to that of Marginal Pinheiros, but which was more lacking in investments. Entitled *Arco Tietê*, the plan differs significantly from the great works made by the real estate market with the support of the state, such as the new financial center of the city around the Marginal Pinheiros, which we have just seen. And it is also distinguished from the large equipment and infrastructure projects that supported mass sporting events, such as the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games.[5] This is indeed a project undertaken by the government as a proposal for an urban plan aimed at remedying certain structural problems in the city, and seeking to balance the economic interest of the companies involved with a policy that strengthens investments in social housing and high-capacity public transport. The project would become operational through large consortia and concessions of construction rights to companies, through Urban Operations and Public-Private Partnerships.

The plan's main diagnosis is the perception of the contradiction between the great centrality of this area - the Marginal Tietê and its surroundings -, which concentrates the largest flow of people, goods and services in the country, and the chronic precarious investment it receives, which makes this axis a space with suburban characteristics in the heart of the macro-metropolis. The *Arco Tietê*, in this way, was designed as a large-scale project, aiming at the territorial reorganization of this vast strategic area affected by the deindustrialization of the city (and the country), in the horizon of its possible productive restructuring. Area that concentrates important transport axes (railroad and expressways), the main river of the city, with its floodplains (now waterproofed), and stocks of obsolete industrial buildings, with urban subdivision in large plots.[6]

The main axes of the proposal are as follows: 1) underutilized industrial land must give rise to housing construction, meeting mainly the demand for housing of social interest and the popular market; 2) the railway system, which must be increasingly focused on the transport of passengers, and not cargo, must be linked to other local and metropolitan mobility systems, including bus, subway and bicycle lanes; 3) the river must be recovered environmentally and as a landscape, mitigating chronic urban drainage problems, and being protected by qualified public spaces, thus approaching the daily life of the city. Aiming to reduce the socio-territorial inequalities in the municipality, the plan identifies in the transformation of this large area the possibility of adopting public policies that bring housing and employment closer together, bringing housing density and a greater offer of work

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4  See Marc Augé, *Non-lieu: introduction a une anthropologie de la supermodernité*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1992.

5  See Andrew Jennings et all, *Brasil em jogo: o que fica da Copa e das Olimpíadas.* São Paulo: Boitempo/Carta Maior, 2014.

6  See: https://www.urbem.org.br/p3-arco-tiete

to an area with great centrality, where many people circulate daily but it is little enjoyed by the population as a place to be and stay.

Once elected, Mayor Fernando Haddad found no way to put into practice this great urban plan that had guided his campaign. Some reasons explain the fact. First, there has been a great judicialization of politics since then, paralyzing any larger and more complex project. And, secondly, his government coincided with the beginning of the country's economic crisis, which ended the previous long boom cycle, which was characterized as the "spectacle of growth",[7] in the words of former President Lula, and which was supported by Growth Acceleration Plans (PACs) of the federal government, through which the pre-salt oil was explored, and hydroelectric plants and large housing estates of the *Minha Casa, Minha Vida* (*My House, My Life*) program were built.[8] Thus, if *Arco Tietê* was conceived in the optimistic environment of PACs, in a short time it became only a conceptual, almost abstract guideline of a progressive municipal administration that managed, at most, to inaugurate large extensions of cycle lanes in the city at very low costs, painting them directly on the asphalt. And, with Haddad's defeat in the next election in 2016, the project was definitely shelved.

So, to end this reflection, I would like to propose another look at the urban experience of the Haddad government, which had the architect Fernando de Mello Franco as secretary of Urban Development (SMDU). If, on the one hand, the *Arco Tietê* project was the umbrella that structured many of that administration's strategic actions, on the other hand, Mello Franco and his team were quickly able to self-criticize that big project, which, in a way, still had uncomfortably utopian and technocratic aspects, which, during the four years of his administration (2013-16), proved to be outdated. And, being able to read the conjuncture with agility, operating within the conditions of restriction given, the city team developed a program that I consider exemplary to think about the systemic action of the public power in large metropolises today. I am referring to the *Connect the dots* program, developed in partnership with the International Architecture Biennale Rotterdam (Netherlands), and exhibited at the 7th edition of that event, which questioned the prevailing idea, today, that cities have become centers of circulation and consumption, discussing the way in which the productive sectors are territorialized in cities, in a pendular relationship between formality and informality.[9]

*Connect the dots* was a coordinated project, by the city of São Paulo, of regulations and incentives for the promotion of organic and family farming on the edges of the city, involving all stages of the chain: production, storage, transportation, consumption and recycling. And, with that, it helped to establish and maintain a belt of agricultural production around the metropolis, aiming to contain the unregulated spread of the urban spot and the deforestation of the fringes of the city, thus managing to avoid the predatory occupation of the territory through environmental awareness, and encouraging production, in addition to mitigating one of the serious problems of spatial segregation in the city, which is the lack of job offers in the peripheral areas, where many people live.

Allowing the definition of a Rural Zone in the city, the last Strategic Master Plan of São Paulo (PDE), approved in 2014, guarantees access to federal financing lines for the promotion of family farming in these areas, including training and capacity building actions.[10] At the same time, through this program, the city managed to guarantee a market for this production, encouraging organic stores and fairs, on the one hand, and carrying out a broad policy of public purchases for school meals, on the other. After all, the daily demand of two million meals for municipal schools has the scale to support a network like this, with the advantage of bringing healthy food to low-income children who study in public schools.

In this way, the title of the program is understood: *Connect the dots*. It is an inter-secretarial action that combines the policies of Environment, Education, Food Security, Urban Development, and Work and Entrepreneurship, from a systemic view of economic flows in the city, which strengthens agents of small and medium size. In addition, it is clear that the geographical approximation between food production and consumption reduces the movement of goods in and around the city, reducing traffic, fuel consumption and air pollution. Launched in 2015, the program won, at the end of the following year, the *Mayors Challenge 2016* grand prize, offered by Bloomberg Philanthropies for Public Innovation projects, which focused on Latin America and the Caribbean. Hitting cities like Medellín and Bogotá, São Paulo thus received an amount of five million dollars to invest in its border areas. And given its excellence, the program was maintained by the next administration of the city, attracting the attention of the state government, which now plans to implement it in other cities.

This plan of integrated actions by the city hall represented, therefore, an exemplary advance towards overcoming public actions in the city as isolated policies due to the always partial competencies of its departments, with its guidelines and budgets also segmented. This is, in fact, one of the most important marks of Fernando Haddad's management in São Paulo: the role he gave to urbanism as a means of integrating the complex social fabric into the city's conflictive space.[11]

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7   At the exhibition "Brazil: the spectacle of growth", at the 10th São Paulo Architecture Biennial (2013), curated by me with Ana Luiza Nobre and Lígia Nobre, we studied and analyzed the formation of a new urban Brazil in that period.

8   See João Sette Whitaker Ferreira (ed.). *Produzir casas ou construir cidades? Desafios para um novo Brasil urbano.* São Paulo: LABHAB/FUPAM, 2012.

9   See Fernando de Mello Franco, "Connect the dots", in George Brugmans, Jolanda van Dinteren e Maarten Hajer (eds.). The next economy. Roterdã: International Architectuur Biennale Rotterdam, 2016, pp. 124-131.

10  See São Paulo (cidade). *Prefeitura do Município de São Paulo – PMSP Plano Diretor Estratégico do Município de São Paulo: lei municipal n. 16.050, de 31 de julho de 2014.* São Paulo: PMSP, 2015.

11  See Guilherme Wisnik, "The new urban Brazil and its margins", in Mohsen Mostafavi (ed.). *Ethics of the urban: the city and the spaces of the political.* Zurique: Lars Müller Publisher, 2017.

An urbanism that does not favor major road infrastructure works, such as bridges and tunnels, nor removes favelas, but understands the flows and networks of the city, and seeks to integrate them at the different scales of a metropolis. And that, as is clear in this case, sought to promote ecology through economics.

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# 66 Progressions and new deals between urban rivers and dwellers: from an enclosed channel to a new fluctuating social space

## The Metropolitan Water Park, Expo 2008, Zaragoza

ERICA SOGBE
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

RICARDO DEVESA
La Salle Universitat Ramon Llull

### ABSTRACT

The 20th century defined a pattern in city's relationships with urban rivers on a global scale, based on criteria of exploitation and immediacy, where the riverside space was suppressed in pursuit of the supposed need to protect citizens and property. With the new millennium came the pressures of climate change, forcing a paradigm shift that translated into a new sensitivity toward these lines of conflict. Some international events, such as the 2004 Rotterdam Architecture Biennale, began to acknowledge this reality, but it was an International Exhibition in 2008 that materialized these changes in a grand project.

For three months, the city of Zaragoza became the headquarters for the international exhibition Expo 2008, which centered on the theme "Water and Sustainable Development". The exhibition grounds were located between the banks of the Ebro River and the edges of Zaragoza's fourth ring road. In addition to serving as a splendid emblem of the exhibition's intentions, the venue offered an opportunity to improve the city as a whole, mainly by opening the city toward the Ebro River, among other major infrastructural changes.

The relevance of the Water Park—designed by aldayjover and Christine Dalnoky— lay in recognizing that it entailed designing a transformation process, attuned to the surroundings and to the passage of time, in a process that defined architectural,

topographic and landscape logics to promote geographic, historic and territorial integration. And yet, the Water Park should not be understood as an isolated exercise; rather, it explains the strategies used in a series of pioneering projects on a radically different scale. At the same time, the Water Park kicked off a specific trend in subsequent designs, paving the way for a specific and globally recognizable progression in the use of innovative tactics that range from working with the idea of socio-ecological landscapes to a dilution of the classical partitions established by urban planning.

**Keywords:** Water urbanism, socioecological systems, sustainable river management, post-industrial water.

### Introduction

Since the dawn of civilization, water has been a cardinal element for the development of humanity, who has depended on rivers as a source of food and drink, as a system for irrigation, energy, transportation, commerce, and even sometimes as an important defense device. Therefore, it is no accident that for more than 2000 years of our common history, water structures were a key element in shaping the built urban environment (Shannon & De Meulder, 2008), defining the origin of settlements, the foundation of their infrastructure, and the engine of primeval productivity.

Despite this enormous tradition behind us, the value of river systems in the definition and management of urban structure saw a drastic disappearance from the conformation of the industrial city, coincidentally during what some historians of the urban form have called "the age of great hopes" and reorganization (Benevolo, 1979, p. 37), which coincided with the appearance of modern urbanism as a scientific discipline. From that moment on, urban rivers became authentic nauseating sewers, the main function of which—in cases where their navigability or use as energy for essentially productive purposes was inviable—was the disposal of domestic and industrial waste. Rivers became elements of shame, unworthy of being exalted and included in the design of the urban form. In addition to the sanitary problems inherent in their new use, rivers began to be understood as a clear hazard to public and private property, which meant that mechanisms had to be devised to protect against systematic overflows and onslaughts (Haidvogl, 2018). As a consequence, river engineering, until then incipient, established an unprecedented relationship of control and imposition with urban rivers that lasted until the end of the 20th century. The rivers were channelized, piped, relocated, and ultimately hidden and cast out of the collective worldview and of urban life, in a process that combatted nature.

Fortunately, the first decades of the current millennium are beginning to point toward a paradigm shift, possibly forced by the urgency of climate change and the resurgence of ecological concerns. Water academics, in their very diverse disciplinary approaches, have begun to build a critical mass of knowledge on the profuse dimensions of water, including new appellations that are helping to reconstruct the modern hydrological discourse. The consolidation of water in the post-industrial city understood only as a technical element, recently summed up by the term 'modern water' (Linton, 2014), offers a vision in which water is isolated and disconnected from its social, historical, and local contexts. In contrast, the process of reinterpreting the social value of water—in keeping with its ecological properties—has paved the way for the incorporation of other vectors, such as political implications (Swyngedouw, 2004), which allow for reading the relations of dominance over water bodies established throughout the 20th century as strategies rooted in governmental and economic power.

This paper attempts to detect the transition point between Linton's *modern waters* and what we will call hereafter *post-industrial waters*: a paradigm shift in understanding, but especially in acting on, urban rivers and their banks, distinguishing them as part of a socio-ecological renewal process. To that end, we will rely on a very particular case study, the project for the Metropolitan Water Park carried out within the framework of a major international event, the Zaragoza International Exposition held in 2008 with the theme of "Water and Sustainable Development".

The Water Park project designed by the firm aldayjover in conjunction with Christine Dalnoky's office, will be analyzed not as an isolated event, but as a direct consequence of a series of publications, events and designs that, simultaneously in different parts of the planet, helped shape this turning point in a process of cross-contamination that took place between the last decade of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st. Interpreting the Water Park as an example of the state-of-the-art at the turn of the millennium entails an exhaustive bibliographic review, in parallel to the use of a qualitative-descriptive methodology that makes it possible to establish comparisons with other project which are similar in their intentions, but contrast radically in their scale and geographic context. Finally, the city of Zaragoza, in the northeast of Spain, offers a unique opportunity to understand the impact of grand international events in the context of a midsize European city, where administrations are not always prepared to take on the management of large-scale projects.

### Indicators of the watershed moment

#### The outcome of ineffective approaches from engineered hydraulic infrastructure

Riverine ecosystems have been modified—with a significant recent variation in the intensity of the effects—since the invention of irrigation (Mays, 2008). These alterations have ranged from river channelization to dredging operations, weirs, locks and even levees to control flooding.

Engineered hydraulic infrastructure based on rigid criteria of defense and domination began to prove deficient in the 1970s, not only in response to nostalgic criteria or the apparent resurgence of the symbolic and ecological meanings of water. Paradoxically, the same engineering that had led to the collapse of riverside ecosystems shifted its focus towards much softer interventions where the urban river "is no longer engineered away, but is again an integral and indeed value-engineered part of urban reality" (Shannon, 2013, p. 165). In parallel, and with the emergence of the notion of transdisciplinarity, professionals in hydrogeology, geography, biology, ecology, landscaping and urban design, among other actors, have now begun to provide new parameters to justify this change of model. The reasons range from hydraulic to hydro morphological concern, maintenance and long-term management issues, environmental and social interests, and last but

not least those related to water policy and legislation (Wohl, Lane & Wilcox, 2015). One thing is certain, all of them seem to coincide in the need to reorient the interventions towards a long-term and sustainable restoration model (Hohensinner, Hauer & Muhar, 2018), which allows rivers to recover their natural adaptability in response to exceptional situations while, at the same time, making it possible to restore their socio-ecological potentials.

**Synchronous sensibility references**

The first unequivocal signs that a change in approach was brewing can be found in the early texts by James Gore (Gore, 1985) and in later publications that began to gain scientific relevance during the 1990s. By then, the issue had transcended the academic sphere, resulting in important events such as the Marrakech first World Water Forum of 1997, held by the newly founded World Water Council. Afterwards, with the celebration in New York of the UN Millennium Summit in 2000, which led to the publication of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), administrations focused on incorporating the sustainable management of water and quality of rivers into the political agenda for the first time. In the field of landscape architecture, specifically, the theme of water came to the fore at the second International Architecture Biennale in Rotterdam entitled "The Flood", held in 2005 and curated by Adriaan Geuze.

In the sphere of praxis, it is also worth highlighting a series of projects that were being carried out synchronously around the world. Perhaps the most relevant was the renaturation of the Aire River near Geneva—carried out by the Swiss landscape architect Georges Descombes in conjunction with ADR and Superpositions—in a project that began in 2002 and that ended in 2015. The project for the Aire River was pioneering in its approach, which harmonized natural and cultural logics, generating an honest progression in which the river and the passage of time played an active role. Even more ambitious was the Cheonggyecheon Urban Renewal in the heart of Seoul. The Cheonggyecheon urban stream, once channeled and covered by infrastructures, was the subject of a controversial and costly transformation that was also questionable from the perspective of sustainability, carried out between 2003 and 2005. However, it was able to reinvent citizens' relationship with one of the city's most important geographical elements. Two final projects that stand to mention are the restoration of the Drau River in Austria, developed in 2003, and the restoration of the Ruhr River in Germany, conducted between 2006 and 2011, both flagship projects of the European Union program *REFORM* to restore hydromorphological conditions in European rivers.

Given the prominence of these examples, and taking into account their dates of completion and their disciplinary significance, the project for the Water Park emerges as a timely and enlightening addition at a time when climate change was finally beginning to be treated as a relevant challenge.

### The Metropolitan Water Park, Expo 2008, Zaragoza

For a medium-sized city like Zaragoza, which had close to 700,000 inhabitants in 2008, hosting an International Exhibition was a major challenge. On the one hand, the event brought significant national investments, which offered the opportunity to undertake a series of ambitious urban improvements. On the other hand, the different administrations in charge of the management had to coordinate those investments effectively to ensure the success of the event while also introducing significant and durable improvements to the urban structure of the city. The Water Park project was just one of the proposed objectives founded on the idea of increasing relations between the city and the Ebro River which runs through it, in a process intended to generate a new structure for a comprehensive urban and metropolitan park system. Additionally, Zaragoza updated its traffic infrastructures with improved ring roads, enhanced its airport, augmented the performance of its rail system with a high-speed train, and expanded its services and facilities sector with a broad range of new hotels, shops and facilities.

The project for the Metropolitan Water Park, covering 125 hectares, was located adjacent to the main exhibition site, outside the city's ring road in a sector of the Ebro River called the Ranillas meander. Although its land use qualification defined it as a natural space, the Ranillas meander was far from being a virgin territory. Over the centuries, it had been subject to interventions that were not respectful of the riparian ecosystem and the river's dynamics. Agriculture had modified the topography, creating defenses to confine the channel, taking over space from the riverside forest, and reducing the areas where the river could overflow to reduce its energy and speed. In the northern part of the meander, the riparian forest had completely disappeared, buried under a series of unstable dikes made of waste material, whose slopes descended dangerously over the channel. In parts of the southern area, sand and gravel were extracted and rubble was dumped in proximity to large masses of trees and shrubs.

The project for the park was centered on the implementation of uses for city residents that would replace the agricultural uses. At the same time, it incorporated the return of a significant part of the meander's surface area to natural fluvial dynamics and the recovery and enhancement of the riverside ecosystems. The topography and the outline of the meander were preserved and reused. The agricultural plots changed their use, the irrigation ditches were widened into canals and the general structure of the meander was recycled without being substantially modified.



Fig. 1 – Aerial view of the Water Park project during flooding. Source: (Courtesy of aldayjover, 2008).

The recovered woodlands slow and filter floodwaters, while receiving irrigation and fertilization. The strategy of floodability establishes the ability to maintain function during flooding for a return period of up to 25 years. In these events, the water table will inundate the paths that run along the canals and the lowest lying areas of the park, while the swimming areas and auxiliary buildings remain protected. The park will still be partially accessible during an extraordinary flood event at 50 years. At that point, the paths that run along the canals at a higher level will provide access to elevated sectors, where the most delicate uses are located. Finally, the 100- and 500-year floods will submerge the meander nearly entirely, and only the main built elements will be protected.
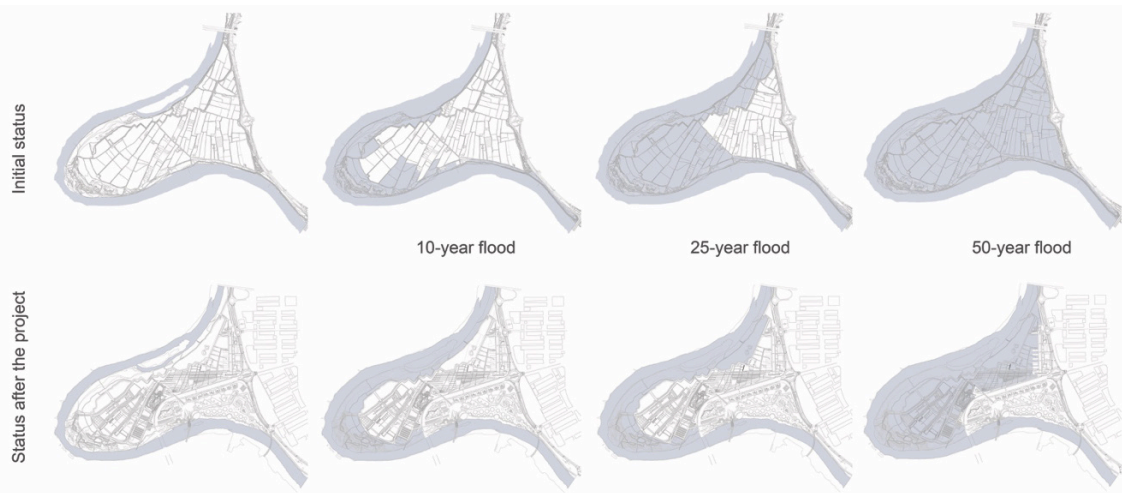


Fig. 2 – Flood schemes before and after the project. Source: (Courtesy of aldayjover, 2008).

Apart from flood management, the park has a complex internal hydraulic structure, founded on the definition of an aqueduct, which qualifies spaces for different uses over a stretch of 2.5 km. The aqueduct remains above the water level during flood periods, preserving the entire plant and mineral-based water treatment system and allowing an unusual viewpoint over the moving waters of the Ebro River overflowing its banks. The water is collected, its quality is improved using green filters, it is used for swimming and boating, it is recycled for irrigation, and it is returned into the river via infiltration, aiming for maximum water surfaces and minimum consumption. The water system is organized to harness the pre-existing agricultural layout: the irrigation ditches are widened to be used as canals for navigation, recycling the formal structure of the meander.
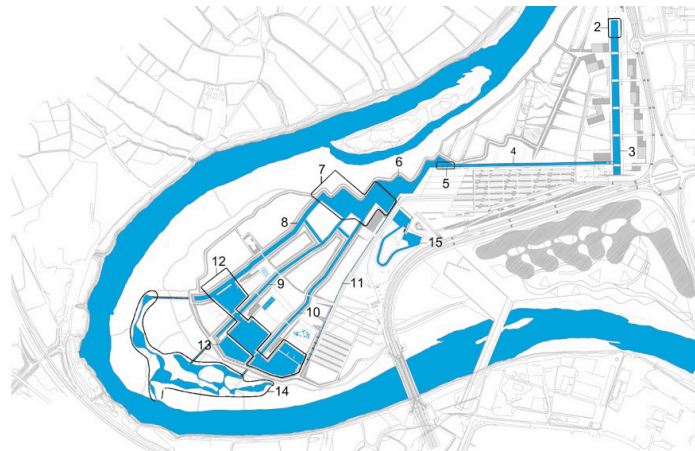


Fig. 3 – Overview of the park's water system: 1. Rabal's ditch. 2. Collection and pumping (rooftop reservoir). 3. Large reserve channel. 4. Aqueduct for cleaning. 5. Cascade aeration. 6. Dam. 7. Treatment ponds. 8. Main canal. 9. Channel 1. 10. Channel 2. 11. Ditch. 12. Swimming and boating lagoons. 13. Irrigation pond. 14. Infiltration lagoon. 15. Whitewater channel. Source: (Courtesy of aldayjover, 2008).

**Origin strategies and subsequent referrals**

The sensitive strategies towards the Ebro River presented in the Water Park are detectable in a much more modest but unprecedented project, also by the firm aldayjover, with origins dating back to 1996. The project for the recovery of the Gallego riverbanks in Zuera—also located in the region of Aragón—was pioneering in its recovery of the relationship between the town and its river. At the same time, it reversed decades of damage to the ecological and hydraulic structure of the waterway.

The project in Zuera, which began as an isolated commission for a bullring, was also groundbreaking in its ability to combine the interests of several agents— from local administrations to European bodies—that would make it possible to adapt the scope of the initial commission. Thus, the bullring ended up becoming part of a coordinated plan to redefine the city's relationship with the river, an

environmental cleanup effort, and the establishment of a wastewater treatment system, all in the context of a new river park with the added function of protecting the inhabitants of Zuera from eventual flooding.



Fig. 4 – Aerial view of the Zuera project. Source: (Courtesy of aldayjover, 2001).

Even so, the most revolutionary aspect of the project was its ability to bring the seasonal cycles of the Gallego River into harmony with the life and activities of the people living alongside it. The bullring, for use by a town of 6,000 inhabitants during one week a year for their local celebrations, is understood as an element belonging to the park. It can be used for bullfights, festivals, concerts and sports events, but also for sunbathing, gathering in groups, and watching the river and its vegetation. In parallel, during episodes of flooding, it becomes a floodable area, capable of reducing the intensity of the water's rise, while promoting infiltration processes and acting as a genuine socio-ecological space—an idea widely defended by aldayjover (Jover, 2019).

Along the same lines, and incorporating the lessons learned from the Water Park, the project for the Aranzadi Park, completed in 2013 in the city of Pamplona, shows an evolution of these concepts, reinterpreting the flood processes to introduce new ways of inhabiting the banks of the Arga River. A compromise was struck between the need to recover the land for public use and the dynamics of flooding, combined with a careful recognition of the social and cultural heritage of the pre-existing orchard, which resulted in a micro-topographic intervention to ensure the park can adapt to the functionality of the river system. The river territory became a shared territory: 350 days a year it is for citizens' use, and on the other 15 days the river takes back control—long enough to allow ecological regeneration.

Fig. 5 – Aerial view of Aranzadi Park project during the 2018 flood. Source: (Courtesy of aldayjover, 2018).

## After-event period. Effects on citizen dynamics

The specialized literature has written little about the conflicts before and after the Water Park project, as has been the case with so many other works of a similar scale and diffusion. Newspapers, on the other hand, have been able to publish articles, at length and for years, on the large number of scandals that plagued the management of the Zaragoza International Exhibition (D. L. G., 2016), from corruption scandals to disagreement between the various administrations in charge of management and innumerable problems with the management itself (possibly attributable to the size of the city and its lack of experience with this type of infrastructure, the high financial burden of the project and its subsequent maintenance). Moreover, with the effects of vandalism and abandonment that users are currently complaining about, the truth is that it is possible to elaborate a lot on the issue of how large projects fit into post-event civic and administrative dynamics.

However, in the case of the Water Park, a singular effect has been detected in terms of the perception and assessment of the users and city residents, who, despite harsh criticism of the management and of how the space has been maintained, continue to positively value the natural infrastructure, considering it to be an essential collective gain.

## Conclusions

The late 20th century gave way to an awakening of some previously neglected notions, like ecology, and their applicability in the political or social sphere. This awakening led to the emergence of ideas that were initially critical of the old relationships established by urban planning between water and the city—such as Linton's "modern waters". Later, terminologies were established to refer to the new management mechanisms that broke with classic dichotomies contrasting the urban sphere and its natural counterpart (Meyer, 1997) and, especially, cities and rivers. Consequently, the turn of the millennium saw a transformation in the discourse on water, which shifted from being exclusively centered on engineering and essentially defensive, to incorporating civic activities in a process of mutual tolerance between hydrological fluctuations and human activities.

As part of this progression, the Water Park project has been understood as one element in an active timeline between the last decade of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st, in which the transition to a new paradigm has effectively taken place. A succession of events and publications, the founding of new control agencies, and strategic projects have all overlapped during this chronological period to consolidate what we have defined as the birth of *post-industrial waters*, understood as a sensitive approach towards the dynamics of urban rivers and their surrounding societies in a respectful ensemble. Beyond these issues, the Water Park also exemplifies other up-and-coming concepts that include the consolidation of the hydrosocial management of the territory "as spatial configurations of people, institutions, water flows, hydraulic technology and the biophysical environment that revolve around the control of water" (Boelens et al., 2016, p.1). Finally, landscape architecture—and more specifically in regard to its action on hydric dynamics—has broadened the scope of its work, incorporating different vocabularies, disciplines and methodologies that have allowed it to become relational rather than exclusive.

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# 72 Jungle fever: Manaus and 2014 World Cup

GUILHERME RENE MAIA, MSC.
University of Coimbra, Portugal

## ABSTRACT

Isolated by the largest rainforest on the planet, Manaus is a Brazilian city of about two million inhabitants, chosen in a contradictory and controversial process since its inception as one of the venues of 2014 World Cup. The paper examines this process, especially aspects related to design and construction of the main equipment required by the event – Amazon Arena – as well as checking further use and evaluation of project impacts on Manaus society.

Contradictions of city's bid are highlighted by government effort to justify the heavy disbursement of financial resources, needed to make a city like Manaus host of such global mega-event: exaggeratedly unequal in social terms, quite apart from other Brazilian metropolitan areas in terms of geography and infrastructure, without a relevant representation in the national sports landscape that, among others, withstand this massive movement. To minimize these contradictions and justify such investment to society, direct benefits were attributed to the stadium construction like physical activity popularization, encouraging new sports talents and inclusion of Manaus in the major musical and sports events route, that lie upon this type of equipment; and indirect, such as real estate appreciation and tourist icon creation. It is from these compromises that the paper proposes to analyze changes caused by the construction of the stadium, with special attention to space occupation and use by citizens in the years following the event.

This analysis aims to further detail the panorama of the Brazilian response to mega sports events and their consequences, a key point for debate and understanding of those initiatives when carried out in underdeveloped countries. It was prepared with support in archival material and stakeholder's testimonies related to construction and post-event use of the equipment.

**Keywords:** World Cup, Brazil, Manaus.

### 1. Introduction



Fig. 1 – Arena da Amazônia on its opening day, in March 2014 (Maia, 2014)

Isolated by the major rainforest on planet, Manaus is a Brazilian city of about two million inhabitants, chosen in a contradictory and controversial process since its inception as one of 2014 World Cup venues. To provide an adequate background – and clarify that controversy is not new there, it is basically the city DNA – the paper will examine three feverish moments that defined Manaus.

In its history, the city has experienced three defining moments, of intense economic activity and large expenses on entertainment, instead of spending on infrastructure as expected. The three moments are related to the local response in relation to a global phenomenon: at the turn of 19th century, with the production of raw materials for a nascent industry; in the middle of 20th century, with an attempt to join the rising electronic industry, based on economic protectionism; and, in the beginning of the 21st, another attempt, now to be part of the tourism economy through mega sports events. Along the paper the contradictions of a city artificially kept, isolated from a major urban network of cities will bring the reader to the conclusion that, in the case of Manaus, the contradictions and the problems generated by hosting a sports mega-event is almost natural, not an accident.

### 2. Rubber years

Brazilian Amazon has been targeted by western explorers since the 16th century: Spaniards and Portuguese traveled the region in different ways, searching for wealth, especially precious metals. Spaniards occupied the fringes of forest, while the Portuguese dominated the central plain. Only in 1616 the Portuguese settled militarily, at the point where Manaus would be founded: immediately upstream of Negro and Solimões rivers confluence, where the Amazon river begins geographically.

Primarily military, Manaus experienced rapid growth at the end of 19th century, when the higher demand for rubber in the nascent motorized transport industry made the town dock the main outlet of products extracted from forest. The latex produced in the Amazon basin was tapped directly from native trees: handled by labor analogous to slavery, those trees were subject to diseases and insects' attacks, resulting in low productivity, which did not prevent the so-called rubber barons from accumulating immense fortunes. With all that resources available, came immediate consumption, especially entertainment: instead of financing long and costly trips to Paris to watch plays, local bourgeoisie paid for the construction of an opera theater, made with imported material from Europe. The *Teatro Amazonas* (Amazonas theater), located in the prime section of downtown, is seated on a podium, accessible from street by monumental ramps and stairs. In addition to the luxurious interior decoration, there is an exterior dome, bought in France, made from a metallic structure covered with ceramic tiles in the colors of Brazil´s flag, recently turned into a republic (*Teatro Amazonas Iphan*, n.d.) Theater´s surroundings and Manaus downtown are torn by new, wide and direct avenues, connecting the city's port with the empty interior: everything made possible by rubber money. Paris of tropics it is at full steam.

In 1876, an era prior to sanitary and economic controls at borders - and prior to Amazon rubber golden age too - seeds of the main source of latex, the *seringueira* (rubber tree, *Hevea brasiliensis L*) were taken from Amazon to England by the merchant Henry Wickham and from there to Southeast Asia. There, rubber trees did not suffer from Amazonian diseases and were under direct control of rubber artifact manufacturers. By 1920, Asian trees were mature enough to surpass Brazilian production. Slowly and steadily, the demand for Brazilian latex decreased – along with rubber barons' wealth and Manaus extravaganza. After the city was abandoned, there was a small resurgence of Amazon rubber during the Second World War, but this was not enough to remove Manaus from the status of advanced military post, which was its main role until 1964.

### 3. Free trade

At the end of WWII, Brazil is going through a moment of enormous economic expansion, under a strong ascendancy - but not effective power - of military forces. Juscelino Kubitschek, president-elect in 1955, will meet the military's desire to defend the northern and western territory of Brazil with several initiatives: the best known was to create Brasília and bring power to country's geographical center; a less known, but relevant one, was to sign the creation of the Manaus Free Trade Zone. JK government is also a turning point of the greatest Brazilian economic forces in middle 20th and beginning of 21st centuries (Campos, 2012): the *empreiteiras* - big construction contractors - which grow rapidly and will be the economic arm of the subsequent governments, effectively military.

Consistent with their geopolitical agenda, military governments encouraged the settlement in the northern territory. To make this settlement even more attractive, they implemented JK´s project in the city that over the years had fallen to a position of major military base: Manaus Free Trade Zone became a reality. Far from the emerging unionism in southeastern Brazil - the city was moving again thanks to a sheer volume of tax subsidies. If to military governments in Brazil hard power is about developmental economics, industry and large infrastructures, soft power is exercised through the most popular and successful mass entertainment: football. Those are the years of Brazil two, then three times World Cup champion; also, the period of empowerment of CBF (*Confederação Brasileira de Futebol*, Brazilian Football Confederation) as political entity of regime, with strong regional infiltration. It is also the period that experience the highest number of stadia construction, especially public, without need a sports mega event as background.

Manaus, as one of the state capitals of this "*Brasil Grande*", would not be left out: Severiano Porto designs in 1965 the Estádio Vivaldo Lima, a stadium for 40,000 people, officially opened on 05.04.1970 but completed in full capacity only in 1995. It is a partially buried stadium - which saves resources on finishing and concrete structures - sufficient to the needs of local fans (Cereto, 2020). On several occasions it had a larger audience than designed, with the tie set in 1980 between Fast FC – a local team - and NYC Cosmos of Pelé and Beckenbauer holding the record of 56,980 people. It is also Porto that suggests creating a "*Vila Olímpica*" (Cereto, 2020)[1]. In the case of Manaus somewhat sui generis, because besides sports venues - such as stadium, multipurpose pavilion, athletics training centers – it houses other equipment closer to entertainment than sport, such as a kartodrome and a *sambódromo.*[2] The *Vivaldão* was another milestone of military dictatorship years in Brazil: an ordinary element of an artificial city settled in the rainforest. Answered simply and honestly to the fundamental need of the stadiums built in the 1970s: allow citizens to watch football matches with a minimum of convenience – nothing else. Soon, it will become just a remembrance.

### 4. Dog days are over

Worn out by the truculence of their political repression and an economic crisis that led the country to a moratorium with the IMF in the early 1980s, the military left power in 1986, with a deeply ingrained legacy of economic protectionism, corruption and bureaucracy. Anxious for democracy and progress, Brazilians saw the birth of a new Constitution in 1988 and entered the 1990s with high expectations. These are times of hope and euphoria: it is time to update Brazil's image abroad - the country of the future wants to leave the loaded 70s and the lost decade of 80s behind. In the wake of the new constitution, Brazil carries out a series of reforms and privatizations, and manages to stabilize its currency against hyperinflation.

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1  *Vila Olímpica*  - literaly Olympic Village – it is a Brazilian name for sports district.
2  Typically Brazilian, it is an installation specifically designed to receive carnival parades and spectators in stands.

New laws detail aspects pointed by the constitution: among these, there is the Law 8,666 / 93, which regulates public procurement in all its modalities with similar principles, from staples purchase for public offices to contracts of infrastructure works. This law (still in force with some changes) protects and consolidates the economic power of construction contractors and the bargaining power of politicians who created it. Another important legal change is the end of protections to a series of domestic manufactured consumer goods, especially electronics and automobiles. On one hand, imported items at competitive prices forced – were able in some cases - to modernize the national industry. On other hand, the goods produced in the Free Trade Zone - as well as the factories that produce them - were decimated by foreign competition, which was more qualified and cheaper. Manaus Free Trade Zone becomes a zombie industrial region, with the few remaining industrial plants dedicated only to final assembly and packaging of goods[3] (*Aberração tributária - Economia*, n.d.). Excited by the economic recovery and willing to show their capacity of organization and achievement - and inspired by the extra-field success of the Barcelona Olympic Games - Brazilians invest in a sequence of bids for mega sporting events in the 1990s and 2000s. It all starts in 1992 with the bid of Brasília for the 2000 Olympics to mark the city 40th birthday; then, a semi-finalist bid from Rio for the 2004 games. Finally, on August 24, 2002, Brazil received the right to organize the 2007 Pan American Games: is the end of Fernando Henrique Cardoso's social-democratic government and the beginning of *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Workers' Party) term, led by Lula da Silva. In 2004, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro had their bids for the 2012 Olympics frustrated. It took the success - and the swelling - of the 2007 Pan American Games to technically endorse Brazil to host the main mega sporting events: on 30.10.2007, the right to host the 2014 World Cup was granted to the country (as only bid remaining) and on 02.10.2009, the right for 2016 Olympics. Lula da Silva ends his term in 2010 with several achievements: record popularity ensured by broad social policies, a growing economy (following the Chinese eagerness for raw materials and food), manages to elect its successor and on top of that, the "desired" right to hold the most prestigious mega sporting events on the planet.

Dilma Roussef, successor to Lula da Silva, in addition to all the duties of her position, is responsible for delivering the two mega-events, which implies managing popular expectations and local administrative pressures - which has an exceptionally large weight in a country of continental dimensions like Brazil. Creating these pressures are local allies who want - officially - to represent their states, cultures and population and - unofficially - to have access to the "investments bazooka", needed not only for stadia construction, but also for the infrastructures reinforcement – such as airports, urban transportation systems, among others - recommended by International Federation of Association Football (FIFA). Twenty-two major Brazilian cities have applied to host the World Cup: some already are

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3   Only if makes sense absorb subsidies to keep products competitive.

international known as touristic destinations, such as Rio and Salvador; others have a strong football fan base, which justify the long-term investment, as Porto Alegre and Belo Horizonte; others, like Manaus, hope that sports megaevents spark some mix of Barcelona and Bilbao effects to change their fate (Maia, 2020).

Usually, FIFA recommends, depending on the size of a competition such as the World Cup, an ideal number of 8 to 10 stadiums, to be distributed among cities willing to host the event; cities can also have more than one stadium. Through the CBF, a political articulation increased the number of host cities to twelve, as announced by FIFA on January 28, 2009, under the pretext of representing Brazil's diversity more adequately. Thus, the space to accommodate requests from local leaders was created - and perhaps to build equipment beyond necessity also. By their representativeness, eight cities are practically confirmed, requiring only to prove their technical capacity: Rio de Janeiro, Brasília, São Paulo, Belo Horizonte, Curitiba, Porto Alegre, Salvador e Recife. There are four positions open: two for the northeast region - a strong but underdeveloped touristic area - and two for the environmental Brazilian estates of Pantanal and Amazon. With this background, Manaus is challenged by Belém and Rio Branco the position of Amazon host city. Belém has in its favor one of the largest influxes of stadium audiences in the country among all football series and a stadium "with few changes to be made"; Rio Branco has a detailed plan and a proposal for a new, sustainable stadium; Manaus, however, has the strongest proposal, fully detailed.

Only on 31.05.2009 the results are announced: Fortaleza and Natal are the two Northeast cities chosen; Cuiabá will be the Pantanal host and Manaus is chosen to represent the Amazon. The controversy begins: Natal, Manaus and Cuiabá do not have representative football clubs on the national stage that justify the construction of stadiums with a minimum capacity of 44,000 seats and are immediately tagged as "white elephants." Brasília, which also does not have strong clubs like the previous three cities but has more potential to take advantage of its stadium with other uses – nonetheless, it will be swallowed up by its gigantism and resulting exorbitant cost. Recife, which changes the location of its proposal to a location further away in its metropolitan area, which requires a large investment in transport infrastructure. Rio de Janeiro, Fortaleza and Salvador, with reconstructions so deep that are virtually new stadiums - even more serious in Rio, considering the recent and costly transformation made to host the Pan American Games; and finally, São Paulo, with the technical-political vagueness over which stadiums re-purpose/build that almost removed the city from the World Cup.

### 5. New sensation

Manaus developed two proposals for its stadium: first applied with the retrofit of Vivaldão, developed by the Brazilian architects Vigliecca & Associados, abandoned for a totally new construction, developed by gmp architekten, a Germany-based

firm, responsible for Berlin Olympic stadium renovation for the 2006 World Cup and for three of the most iconic stadiums in the 2010 World Cup: Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Durban. In urban terms, the stadium – now an *Arena* - occupies the same plot as Vivaldão. It benefits from its privileged location: close to the city's business district, with direct road access to the airport and other areas prone to tourism, like the theater - symbolic ancestor of Arena in many senses - and the port, explored by several small tour operators.

The project details a more compact equipment: there is no running track or large voids around the playing field; the stands are more inclined; the seats are numbered and allow maximum capacity to be reached without compromise the spectator´s comfort. Sports lighting is world class and should be on at all times, including daytime games, to ensure very high-quality television broadcasts. Everything so that the spectator inside the arena feels also within the action of the game - and everything so that the spectator at home sees a spectacle more dramatic than the sport: the perfect stage for a play with an open ending. There are also no parking spaces for the audience, which drastically reduces the area needed for the venue: the predominance must be of public transport. Like the Teatro Amazonas, arena´s roof is the most remarkable architectural element of the building; it also allows naive associations with esteemed elements of local culture as indigenous basketry, which immediately gain traction with and affection from *manauaras*[4]. By design, the city would have an integrated harmoniously arena in a complex dedicated to entertainment and sport, which should receive the most diverse types of high-performance competitions as well as prepare athletes and somehow encourage physical activity among *manauaras*.

The most controversial point in the construction of Arena da Amazonia in terms of cost was the overprice indicated for almost all ordinary materials, caused by its "import operation": since there are no roads / railways connecting Manaus to the rest of the country, all materials come by boat or plane, increasing the prices of virtually all applied materials of the work. For instance, comparing the air-conditioning system of Manaus with Brasilia´s: both were about the same capacity, delivered by the same contractor but Manaus´s was four times more expensive than Brasilia's. In some cases, Free Trade Zone subsidies served to "reduce running costs": elements were assembled in Manaus to use tax rebates, a clear deviation of free trade area purpose. The extraordinary component of the arena, alike to Teatro Amazonas, could not be produced in Manaus due to technical incapacity; again, the iconic building roof would be imported from Europe (steel structure made in Portugal and textile panels from Germany).

Regarding time, there were delays in the start of the process due to undefinition of host cities; constant delays and interruptions in the financing by the federal

4  Citizens of Manaus

government pushed the delivery of Arena da Amazonia beyond the deadline for the main test event: The Confederations Cup, held in 2013. With new handover dates, the work was completed on time for test matches of the venue, made in stages as mandated by the FIFA protocol. The first game took place on 09.03.2014. Most spaces were ready: one cannot say that in one side workers painted walls while fans drink beer and wait for the start of the match. FIFA was quite strict in this regard: the beginning of its operation, months before the main event, it was done very softly. Everything was ready for the big party: neither the high number of deadly labor accidents during the construction (three - one of the biggest in the 2014 World Cup) nor the teams' widespread rejection on playing in Manaus, externalized by the England coach - with complaints about climate and distance - negatively impacted the city's image. From the list of infrastructure projects required for Manaus to meet FIFA standards during the World Cup, the most valuable in terms of legacy were canceled a year before the games: two complementary urban transport systems (BRT and monorail), estimated at 1.7 billion reais. Like counterparts in other ten host cities, the scope was reduced, modified or had its budget allocated in a different PACs:[5] with an open deadline, which means no expected start, let alone completion. The expansion of Manaus' Airport also took place due to the World Cup, but it was only partially completed in 2015, a year before the competition. It was possible to expand the runway capacity and improve the quality of terminal's facilities - with an overprice of 20%.

### 6. The aftermath

For two weeks, Manaus was part of a major global summer festival. Spectator movements before and after the games went well, without the expected crime, transportation, accommodation or sanitation problems. In immediate terms, tourists left in the local economy an amount equal to half of what was consumed in construction (about 300 million reais). In the long run, we can mention as positive results of World Cup in Manaus public initiatives in education and training: a great effort was made on volunteering training – which attracted the second largest contingent of 2014 World Cup, second only to São Paulo - as well as programs for English learning as a foreign language (called *Manaus Bilingue* – Bilingual Manaus), that remain active today and have improved skills of a rather large and diverse share of the population. Another gain was the training and equipment improvement of local security forces, now better prepared to deal with large crowds and crime prevention. All this effort has been recognized both by FIFA and the Brazilian tourism ministry, which pointed Manaus as one of the best venues of the 2014 World Cup, based on feedback polls carried out with fans. It also helped the city to easily host six football games from the Olympics two years later, given its equipment and human resources.

5   The acronym in Portuguese of *Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento* (Growth acceleration program).

After the championship, 116 games were played: thirty had an audience of less than 2000 people. Manaus hosted matches from popular southeastern Brazilian teams until the beginning of 2020 season, when CBF banned negotiate home field rights. Those teams transfer less attractive matches to further away places, like Manaus, Natal and Cuiabá, where the fans are eager to see any performance of their São Paulo or Rio idols. Local teams have no interest to play in the arena, given heavy operating cost of the venue compared to box office revenue: just the final season matches are staged at Arena da Amazonia. However, in 2019 first indirect results of hosting a World Cup – more than building a stadium – start to show and could present a silver lining to the stadium. Tree teams founded after 2011 (one year after the beginning of Arena's construction) reach great results on national leagues: on men's football, Manaus FC was promoted to 3rd league after close the championship in second place; 3B team and Iranduba made great campaigns on 1st and 2nd league of women's football. Manaus FC held the 1st and 3rd attendance records, with two games with +44.000 fans; Iranduba represented 77% of overall attendance of stadium, with some records of +20.000 fans.

*Manauaras* worst fear has come to reality: Arena da Amazonia really became a "white elephant", as a contractor who refuses to bid for the venue construction pointed in a judicial deposition[6]. The effort made and result of the mega event exceeded everyone's expectations, including citizens and FIFA; from a legacy point of view, as defined by Kassens-Noor (Kassens-Noor et al., 2015), human resources qualification and the rise of stronger sports teams on the national landscape. The chaos in Manaus and Brazil that followed the end of the World Cup – which resembles Colombian fantastic realism [7]- cannot be ignored, but it also cannot be used as an excuse for the nonexistence of deeper legacies of the World Cup in Manaus. The option taken - to receive a mega event and expect it to bring about positive and lasting changes, namely, to promote the city tourism through an iconic construction - and using the opportunity provided by mega-events to qualify and re-urbanize the city is legitimate, but naive. These results are much smaller than those desired by *manauras,* but they can make the city resilient and oriented towards economic sustainability: since industrialization and vegetal exploitation do not have a viable future, why not invest seriously in promoting tourism, beyond the silver bullet of the mega event, in more comprehensive actions, dealing with topics such as transport infrastructure and reinforcement of human resources?

6   Refuse just to bid, but not to weaken the *empreiteiras* cartel, as seen in (Petição 6709 Benedicto Júnior / Construtora Norberto Oderbrecht, n.d.)

7   Just to mention, without further description: nationwide, Dilma Roussef was impeached, Lula da Silva and the CEOs of almost all empreiteiras went to jail, the economy melted, inflation soared and the new government create more problems than solves; in the state of Amazonas, the governor went to jail because of ties with "Brazilian mafia"; a record massacre was registered in Manaus jail; as final note, Manaus was one of the worst hit cities by Covid-19 in the world.

Fig. 2 – Opening Game of 2014 World Cup in Manaus (Maia, 2014)

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# 134 Meta-cities XXI

## A proposal for a collage of generic morphological elements of contemporary Brazil

ANDRÉ PORTUGAL GODINHO
Faculty of Architecture of University of Porto

### ABSTRACT

Currently, it is widely held that we live in a globalized capitalist world in which global-local relationships and their consequences and contradictions are the object of interest in all areas of human knowledge.

Drawing from the notion that we live in a world marked by planetary urbanization, wherein the distinction between rural and urban is erased and in which we are all subject to the intrinsic functioning of a single global financial market, this paper seeks to foster discussion about whether the morphological and spatial results of planetary urbanization manifest themselves in similar ways in different territories. Specifically, it aims to address the question: can we identify "city fragments" that are similar to one another – or, further yet, nearly indistinguishable – under the same type of socioeconomic phenomena observed globally?

Using recurring phenomena (closed condominiums, shopping centers, allotments on the outskirts of cities, illegal occupation, spontaneous or planned business districts and housing programs, etc.) and actors (public authorities, real estate speculators, large international companies, local landowners, immigrants and local populations, among others), this paper proposes the creation of a collage of fragments from different cities that, due to their similarity to one another, can compose a type of "model city" (or "synthesis city") of the image of contemporary urbanization.

**Keywords:** Planetary Urbanization, Brazil, Generic city, puzzle

### 1. Introduction

This paper is presented in three parts: first, on a wider scale, it introduces the concept? of contemporary urbanization phenomenon, based on the perspective of Lefebvrian authors, who theorized it as planetary and extensive (2), and as a territorialization of relationships between the social and spatial fields, parts of the financialized capitalism that we are currently living under. In addition, different theoretical approaches of the current urban processes are compared, under the ideas of the generic and the identity (3), pointing out some of the risks in both types of analysis.

In the second part (4), it will focus on previous subjects in examples from Brazil, based on an analysis of previously developed research projects. These concern some remarkable and repetitive economic and socio-spatial urban phenomena identified in the beginning of the 21st century in the countryside.

In section (5), it is proposed to analyze these territories, starting from the identification of seven common morphological patterns that constantly take shape as pieces of an "urban puzzle". These serve to summarize contemporary urbanization processes, and include the avenue-road, the pioneer central core, (sub) urban allotments, precarious settlements and illegal occupations, state housing programs, closed condominiums, and shopping centers and megastores.

I will conclude by (6) by offering hypothetical arrangements of these pieces of the "puzzle", questioning the possibility of creating a "meta-city" (or several), that is, a generic representation of an urbanization model whose (apparent) "spontaneity" must be questioned.

Is it possible to characterize the growth of these urbanizations that have spread throughout all of Brazil as uncontrollable if the urban processes and their morphological consequences are so similar that they are almost identical?

### 2. The Planetary Urbanization

The idea that urbanization is in the process of dominating all planetary spaces was proposed by Henri Lefebvre in the early 1970s in the books Urban Revolution and The Production of Space and has been expanded by contemporary authors such as Roberto Luis Monte-Mór (MONTE-MOR, 2014), Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid, among others. The words of these authors will serve as the basis of the argument proposed in this article.

According to Brenner & Schmid (2011), the idea that human settlements can be defined by the urban-rural dichotomy is part of aa common 20th century theoretical understanding that in our modern world is no longer appliable. The authors

propose four points that configure this new perception of changes to the urbanization processes in recent decades, the first being the creation of new scales of urbanization which have resulted in extensive urbanization of polynucleated metropolitan regions around the planet, creating "urban galaxies". The second is the blurring of the urban territories and their spatial rearticulation by the dispersion of public facilities, which previously were typically located in urban centers, such as shopping centers, universities, corporate headquarters and big sports or cultural venues. The third point is the disintegration of the "hinterlands", connecting these territories to international networks of industrial production (as a source of extraction of raw materials, energy transformation, agricultural production, etc.) and to the urban network. The fourth is the end of the "wilderness", when it was observed that urbanization had achieved territories that the authors call "wild" areas, such as oceans, mountain ranges, tropical forests, polar zones, etc.

Thus, capitalism, in its contemporary financialized form, is responsible for the process of production that we call urbanization, and at the same time depends on that production by activating its own intrinsic cycle of capital accumulation (HARVEY, 2015 [1996]). Previously isolated areas are now included in the urbanization network – like the ones that will be presented later in this article. So, with different scales, typologies and functions, the entire planet is currently contributing to this urbanized and globalized system of capitalist production that we are living in, whether in the form of "traditional" urban agglomerations (formerly called cities), or by creating these networks of infrastructure and communication and product and migrant flow, among others. As a result, we can observe the direct or indirect interaction of some of these previously "isolated" territories" in this urban, global and interconnected system.

Even though urbanization is well known as a process rather than just as a set of concrete objects created from the agglomeration of people and buildings (BRENNER, 2011), morphological analysis is crucial to understanding the effects of architecture and urban regulation in the social relations in some specific areas.



Fig. 1 – Somewhere at the brazilian hinterland (Tuca Vieira)

### 3. The Generic City and the question of identity

The theoretical task of trying to create a panoramic view of a given subject will always be reductive. Drawing from the aforementioned concept of planetary urbanization, despite being understood as a process like a "fabric" that extends to and involves everything" (MERRIFIELD, 2014), it is clear that there are different materializations of this "fabric" in the most diverse urban territories around the world. Therefore, attempts to create a panoramic view, although very important for observing large movements and global trends, must always consider its inability to be entirely true and honest. It is a major challenge to understand what, in each case study, is a local manifestation of a global process, and what, in generic and panoramic observations, must be understood as local and specific examples..

As such, I propose to discuss some issues in relation to these two binomials: urban-rural and generic-specific. I also propose a reflection on the concept of identity, knowing that creation of our psychical identity as a subject passes through the construction of the identity of a place (BIANCARELLI, 2019). But what, exactly, creates what we can call the identity of each place? Is it their specific characteristics? Is it true, then, that planetary urbanization, from its generalization, necessarily constrains the creation of identities - and therefore  the creation of communities around the world? In Modernity at Large, Appadurai conceptualizes contemporary identity as a fusion of non-definitive (eternally changing) and very diverse expressions of aspects of the culture considered "global" with diverse local cultures (APPADURAI, 1996).

Rem Koolhaas, on the other hand, questions this, asking: "Is the contemporary city like the contemporary airport – 'all the same'? (...) And if so, to what ultimate configuration is it aspiring? Convergence is possible only at the price of shedding identity.  That is usually seen as a loss. But at the scale at which occurs, it must mean something. What are the disadvantages of identity, and conversely, what are the advantages of the blankness? What if this seemingly accidental - and usual regretted - homogenization was an intentional process, a conscious movement away from difference toward similarity? What if we are witnessing a global liberation movement: "down with the character!' What is left after the identity is stripped? The Generic?" (KOOLHAAS, 1994). Although expressed in a clearly provocative tone, Koolhaas is criticized for inserting neoliberal views into exemplary cases of this generalization and "lack of character", almost as an apology to the generic, even romanticizing some situations of extreme precariousness. However, panoramic works based on many surveys of data and statistics, such as the fundamental Planet of Slums, by Mike Davis (DAVIS, 2006), contribute immensely to the analysis of global trends at a fast pace, mainly in the so-called Global South (SASSEN, 2005).

 This discussion may not present anything new – since the illuminism and its rationalist ideals, guided by human reason, the techno-science theories and the logic of capitalism system and mass culture. However, the emergence of hypermodernization presents the most radical global standardization and, at the same time, local forms of influences. Ananya Roy warns of three points that are frequently incorrectly identified as from territories of the Global South, from the Eurocentric perspective: "(...) the misreading of historical difference as empirical variation; an analytical confusion between globalization and universalization and between generalization and universalization; and the valorization of Eurocentrism" (ROY, 2015, p. 8). Matthew Sparke makes it even clearer: "The Global South is everywhere, but it is also always somewhere, and that somewhere, located at the intersection of entangled political geographies of dispossession and repossession, has to be mapped with persistent geographical responsibility" (SPARKE, 2007). Neil Brenner also clarifies and justifies his previous work alongside Schmid, responding to some critics that classified their work as being universalizing and colonialist by ignoring local nuances of feminism, queer theory and post-colonial traditions (BRENNER, 2018).

It is such a challenge trying to summarize ongoing planetary processes. Thus, a good methodological approach to this subject is formulated by Schmid and others, based on the continuous comparison between local and global theories and realities. It is a "strategy of comparison that neither starts with concrete individual case studies, nor with generalized concepts, but applies a transductive strategy maintaining a dialectical relationship between theory and empirical research (SCHMID et. Al, 2017).

Considering these different points of view, each interesting and complementary in understanding these complex and diffused processes, we should consider the tightrope between the generic and the specific tracing before us, so that it becomes possible to participate in its development as planners, public politics, civil society and citizens.

### 4. The case of Brazil at the beginning of the 21st Century

In the first decade of the 21st century, Brazil became an "emerging country" due to a set of political and economic factors and driven by the rapid growth of the Chinese economy. In the same period, China became Brazil's largest trading partner (causing what was called "commodity boom"). Driven by this cycle of international economic prosperity and by increased prices of commodities, of which is one of the world's largest producers, and combined with more or less effective public programs intended to promote social inclusion and distribution of wealth, millions of people were included in the consumer market, boosting the national economy. However, political analyst André Singer defines this economic phase as "weak reformism" that resulted in some transformations, but which did not allow structural changes in Brazilian society and its economic system (SINGER, 2012). It consisted, more of a period predatory neo-depletion of raw material being export than a phase of effective development (COELHO, 2015: 41).

In this context, there were significant migration dynamics across the country, and the municipalities whose economic activities were directly or indirectly linked to the production of the various types of commodities were exactly those that suffered the greatest impact, observing prominent rates of population and income growth (GODINHO, 2020). Great examples of this phenomena can be seen in some regions that produce raw materials, such as various types of ores, oil and agricultural and agricultural products such as soybeans, corn, cotton, coffee, sugar, meat, wood, and wood pulp, among others. In addition, other urbanizations whose production is linked to large public investments in infrastructure for the development of the country's productive systems were also heavily impacted, such as railways, hydroelectric plants, and the transposition of the São Francisco River.

In contrast to previous decades of migration, in which the flows of people occurred mainly towards state capitals (and even between regions, with the biggest cities of the Southeast of the country as their main destination), the cities with the greatest population dynamism in the 21st century were small and medium towns in the countryside. Linked directly to the global market, these cities increasingly integrate a kind of planetary "archipelago" (BASSENS & VAN MEETEREN, 2014), in which different commercial islands are associated in the most varied types of interactions, becoming paradigmatic examples of the aforementioned phenomena of planetary urbanization.

As such, this paper presents an ambivalent proposition: when proposing the analysis of some specific places in the Brazilian context, it is possible to observe general issues of planetary urbanization. At the same time, it is a country of continental size, meaning comparisons of such distant and different territories comes at the risk of losing nuance and specificities, a risk inherent to all kinds of generalization.
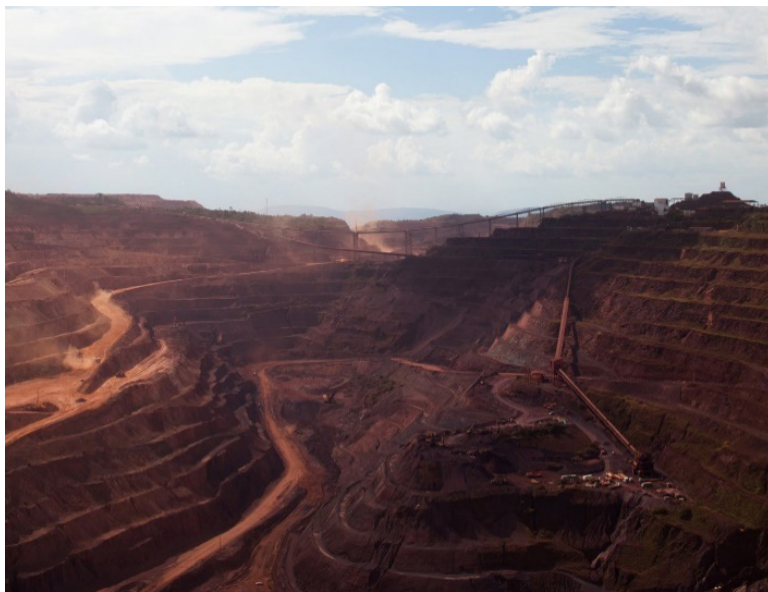


Fig. 02 – Carajás Iron Mine – Parauapebas, Pará (Tuca Vieira)

## 5. The Urban Puzzle

The entry of shared economy platforms in the slums (in this case, Airbnb) helped channel economic resources to their residents. This economic improvement was in fact momentary, since the lack of training and the little interest aroused by slum residents in learning to use this platform, in line with the reduction of public investments in the post-events and the return of some illegal activities, made it difficult to continuing to generate extra income through it. Especially in Vidigal, most of the houses listed on the platform were not managed by the residents, either because they did not have a computer or internet at home or because the residents themselves did not want to be trained to use the platform.

From the development and advancement of digital platforms, especially those of shared economy (Airbnb), their impacts were reflected during the period of mega-events (2014 to 2016) in a way that was beneficial to residents of the Vidigal slum, however after this phase the scenario returned to the level before the mega events, given that many restaurants, bars and hotels were closed; the state's financial crisis affected investments in public security (UPP); many residents who sold their houses during this period were unable to buy elsewhere or in Vidigal; and finally, the community's hope is sustained by tourism, where it is led by local guides.

Based on the observation of the types of Brazilian territories specified above, I propose the analysis of this urbanization process by arranging pieces of a puzzle that are repeated in many observed situations, questioning: is there a "formula" for creating contemporary cities?

**5.1 The Road-Avenue**



This piece refers to the formation of a linear type of urbanization that appears along regional or national roads at a given point of interest. Generally, it arises spontaneously due to some economic cause of attraction. In regions with a low density of available sociotechnical systems - from the most basic, such as the road network, electricity or piped water, to the most sophisticated, as high-speed telecommunications – such roads naturally become the initial target of aggregation of people and homes, commerce and services that are emerging – as well as the other necessary infrastructure.

Overtime, the number of buildings increases, street crossings begin to appear, and then the road becomes an avenue, and its initial function changes. The flow of vehicles and people walking also change, with its speed patterns adapting to the road's new functions. Then, essential construction work is performed to  adapt the road into an avenue, like barriers for the  high speed of cars, parking lots,  public areas such as squares, among others, these latter elements being more associated with permanent experiences, rather than transient ones.

> "(...) Neither road nor street,
> it seems to accumulate
> the disadvantages of each of them.
> For those who are passing through,
> There is the constant stops,
> congestion,
> the crosswalks, the traffic lights.
> For those who live by the road,
> There is the danger of traffic,
> the lack of sidewalks, the constant noise" (DOMINGUES, 2009).



Fig. 03 – State road PA-275 in Parauapebas, Pará (author's)
Fig. 04 – Salgueiro's central avenue, Pernambuco (Tuca Vieira)

## 5.2 Pioneer central core
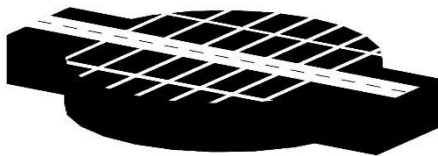


This piece is, in general, the more settled and dense set of the oldest buildings in a given urban agglomeration, a nucleus located around a transversal axis, along the lines of an "edge city" (GARREAU, 1992), which is the road-avenue itself.

With little or no regulation at all, the central core includes all types of constructions (houses, shops, markets, bars, small services such as hairdressers, lottery houses, etc.), without a defined urban morphology, featuring buildings with the most diverse structures, alignments and deployment area. Through the expansion of the nucleus and its propensity for centralization, continuous overlapping of new constructions over the old ones is common.



Fig. 05 – Juazeiro do Norte's city center, Pernambuco (Tuca Vieira)
Fig. 06 – Parauapebas city center, Pará (Tuca Vieira)

## 5.3 The Allotments
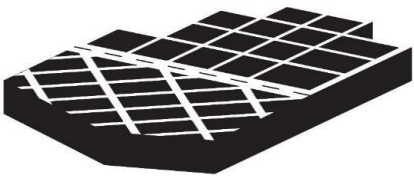


From the growing urban nucleus emerges the need to create new housing units for the new population, whose migration is motivated primarily by the search for job opportunities. The speed at which these processes take place requires that the real estate market offer a large number of these units in an abrupt manner, unlike territories where growth happens gradually.

The need for new housing units often requires widening of the limits of the urbanization core, transforming neighboring rural areas into urban allotments. This process can be done formally, through the change of the Municipal Master Plan, or informally. In both scenarios, portions of formerly rural land bordering the existing urban core become the focus of more or less structure urbanization processes and include the creation of streets and some infrastructure and services, such as pavements, public transport, garbage collection, electric power networks, public lighting and, with luck, basic sanitation and public equipment such as daycare centers, schools, health centers, among others.

In this context, (sub-)urban allotments begin to grow, according to their own morphological patterns. Their connection to one another and to the rest of the city have more to do with its promoters interests than with strategic, economic and functional planning and regulation of urbanization.



Fig. 07 – New allotment in Salgueiro, Pernambuco (Tuca Vieira)
Fig. 08 – Entrada do Residencial Jardim Imperial, novo loteamento em Marabá, Pará (Tuca Vieira, 2013)

**5.4 The Precarious Settlements**
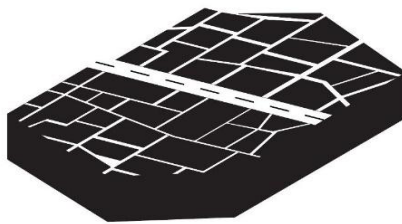


Another consequence of the need to create new housing units simultaneously with new allotments are the irregular occupations and so-called precarious settlements. Apparently contradictory, the population increase and the demand for housing creates numerous new housing units on the market while also generating intense financial speculation. This results in price increases that make access to the formal housing marketing impossible for a considerable part of the new population. In this context, families are forced to live in irregular settlements, where the State cannot provide minimal living conditions such as basic sanitation, transportation, garbage collection and electricity for example (FERREIRA, 2012).

It is characterized by the low or total lack of precision in the boundaries between lots, streets, and houses that are built with precarious materials and without infrastructure (ROY, 2005). Often, the facilities that exist are illegal and precarious, with open sewage ditches that discharge directly into nearby streams.



Fig. 09 – Suburban area in Marabá, Pará (Miguel Antunes Ramos)
Fig. 10 – Neighborhood in Cabo Santo Agostinho, Pernambuco (Tuca Vieira )

**5.5 The Social Housing**
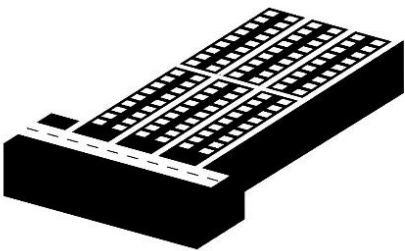


Another way of appeasing the issue of low housing supply is through direct State intervention, through the promotion of subsidized housing projects and programs, usually for the most economically disadvantaged population, with the basic goal of providing accessible housing. Combining this social struggle with the demand of capitalist and financial production by mega-construction companies,

the government encourages the construction of social housing units through financing and subsidies (FERNANDEZ & AALBERS, 2019), aiming to stimulate the economy and production while solving the pressing issue of homelessness. At the beginning of the century, it was released the program called *Programa Minha, Casa Minha Vida (My House, My Life Program)*, that was responsible for financing around 15 million house units.

However, often time the concerns of capital of the capital override the urban issues, creating whole new neighborhoods in ways that are already outdated and whose urban quality reiterates historical contradictions of exclusion (LEITÃO, 2009). Frequently, condominiums are dormitory neighborhoods, composed of small and identical single-family houses, repeated *ad infinitum* and on the edges of the city. With little access to basic services such as education and health, there is normally little or no provision of quality public transport to access the most consolidated urban cores, where most of the jobs are located.



Fig. 11 – MCMV Marabá, Pará (Tuca Vieira, 2013)
Fig. 12 – MCMV Salgueiro, Pernambuco (Tuca Vieira, 2013)

## 5.6 The Closed Condominium
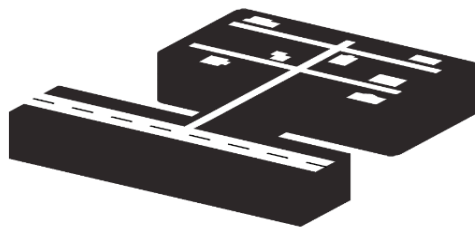


The issue of urban dilemmas are not restricted to precarious settlements and purely State-subsidized residential neighborhoods presented before. The existence of closed condominiums in wealthy areas are also an example of poor solutions to urbanization. In Brazil, one of the most unequal countries in the world, and especially in these territories connected with the global financial 'archipelago', issues such as urban violence and a total lack of infrastructure create an already culturally accepted demand for total social segregation, fostering a "dichotomous view of the city, as if each side - the rich and the poor - existed on their own, independently of the other, when in fact both interact and feed themselves, in a dynamic of codependency, for better or for worse" (FERREIRA, 2012).

These condominiums surrounded by walls and guarded by modern surveillance systems and protection against intrusions function as small "oases", of what is considered "quality of life" in the middle of chaotic urbanization. Within the high wall and the entrance gate that divides its residents from "the rest", there is an efficient system of public lighting, paving, drainage systems, landscaping, with non-walled houses and areas of common leisure equipment such as swimming pools, barbecues and party rooms, among others.



Fig. 13 – House at a closed condominium – Marabá, Pará (Miguel Antunes Ramos).
Fig. 14 – Condominium Residencial Rocha – Salgueiro, Pernambuco (Publicity photo).

## 5.7 The Shopping Centers
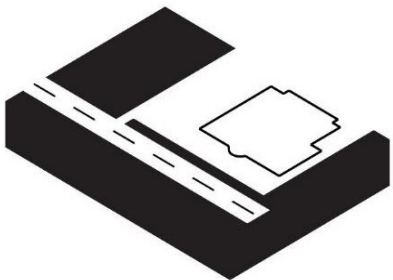
Shopping centers, megastores and department stores are the commercial version of the gated condominiums described before. The logic of exclusivity and segregation is reproduced using the same mechanisms of enclosure, in which the exterior represents the "danger" and the interior "security and exclusivity".

In this case, the role of segregation of this private space for public use is carried out not only by walls in but also through racist and classist selection of who can or cannot get into these buildings, performed by uniformed security guards trained to keep the "elite" segregated.



Fig. 15 –Havan Store, Parauapebas, Pará. (Publicity photo).
Fig. 16 – Partage Shopping Parauapebas. (Publicity photo).

## 6. Meta Cities
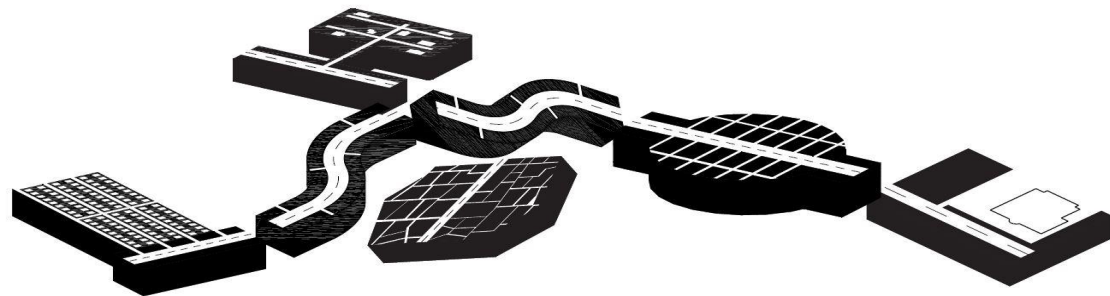


Fig. 17 – Meta-city 01

Within this globally urbanized and ultra-connected process led by a capitalist system of production and consumption, Brazil's main role has been one of commodity production and export. Considering the aforementioned theory of planetary urbanization, its most important expression is found in the Brazilian municipalities that are linked to this kind of production. These same cities are precisely the ones that displayed the greatest population and economic dynamics in the first two decades of the present 21st century – composing the "global archipelago"

of production and consumption, during the *commodity boom*. Despite the continental dimensions of the country, we can observe similar urban phenomena in areas affected by this macroeconomic scenario, even considering the enormous distance between several of them.

In 1978, Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter launched the book *Collage City* (1978), which converges with part of the architectural critical and producing theories that became known as Contextualism. The Italian architect Aldo Rossi was one of the main theorists of contextualism, mainly after the launch of his book *Architecture of the City*, in 1966. Rossi criticizes the functionalist utopias of modern urban design and in short defines the city as a cultural construction by over time and the place of collective memory - from elements such as monuments, buildings and characterizing urban morphologies (ROSSI, 1966). So, at this context, the *Collage City* was used as a optimistic liberal way to criticize the modern utopias, as Solà-Morales says: "Colin Rowe's liberal optimism allows him to still rely on the effectiveness of the collage, because for him a fragmentary dismemberment does not conflict with a certain type of broader strategy that authorizes a certain amount of control over the city and its architecture. But what happens with Colin Rowe and the collage is the same thing that happened with the terrified Pandora, wife of Epimetheus, when she let all the evils that afflicted humanity escape from her golden box, and she just kept the container to keep hope" (RUBIÒ, 2013). Those optimism and liberalism doesn't seems to make sense in the Brazilian example. On the contrary, the absent of State regulation and responsability on the extended urbanization has proved to be a great failure.

The Meta-City (or meta-urbanization) is a provocation. proposed in this paper, in line with a series of attempts to understand and systematize urban phenomena from different combinations the pieces of the puzzle listed previously, as in Ville Franchisée's example (MANGIN, 2006). It argues that it is possible to build a "complete urban agglomeration", which composes what we can call "new Brazilian contemporary cities", by arranging these puzzle pieces, precisely those that are more directly linked to the dynamics of global capital and that are reproduced throughout the Brazilian national territory regardless of their more specific social, population or environmental geographical contexts.
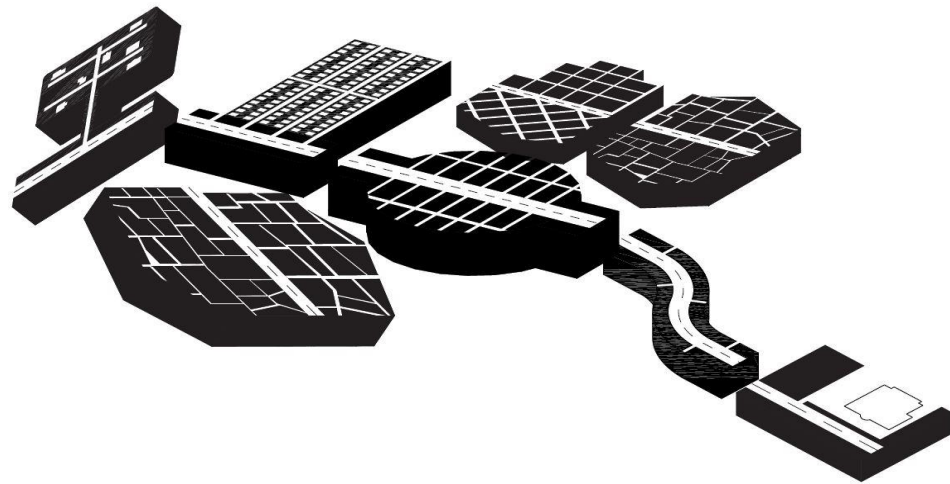
Fig. 18 – Meta-city 02



Fig. 19 – Meta-city 03

From the attempt to systematize and generalize the urban (and morphological) study of these territories – despite being aware of the danger of theoretical universalization tending towards a hegemonic and sometimes colonialist analysis of everything – the impact of planetary urbanization in the Brazilian context can be observed in these territories, featuring  a repetition of urban logic. The almost anecdotal creation of an urban puzzle, considering that the same pieces could be arranged in different configurations, seeks to demonstrate the common phenomena, their problems and solutions, as well as propose the discussion of how different social actors interact in these territories.

Although similar and comparable, each of these territories obviously have unique aspects and create specific identities. The identification of similarities between them helps to consider solutions that the trend of complete urbanization of the planet may develop, and identity may exist in the absence of character, as Rem Koolhaas provokes. However, it is extremely important that such an analysis does not produce "top-down" interventions across all territories. It is necessary to understand what is happening globally in order to act specifically on a case-by-case basis, using the local-global comparison methodology presented before.

If these phenomena are so repetitive and almost predictable, are they in fact "spontaneous"? Who is interested in this spontaneity? Between, firstly, assuming that the generic is dominant and that the understanding of identity may have to change, starting precisely from the absence of character; and, on the other hand, the search for the identity – or "sense of self" – of everything, there must be a midway point of action by joining the creation of State planning and regulation policies and increasing the participation of local communities, when perceiving their influence in global movements.
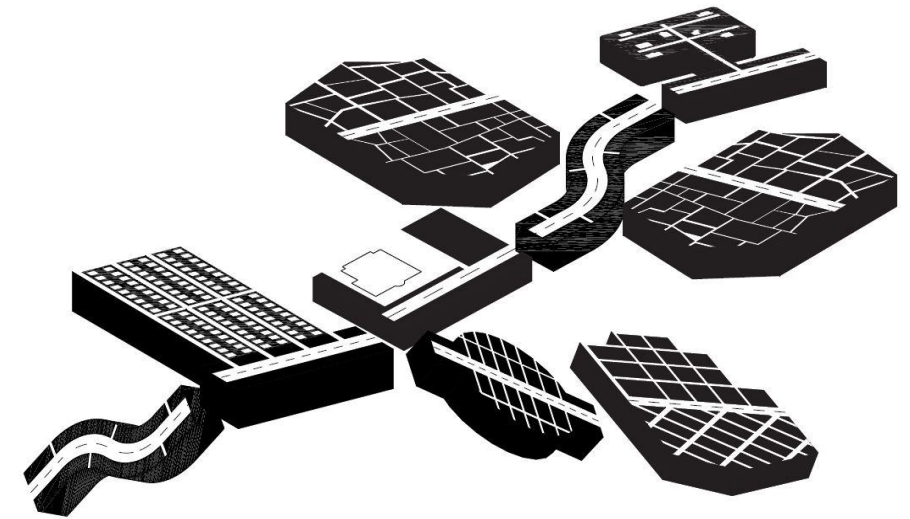
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# Track 10: Urban Analytics And City Design

ROSÁLIA GUERREIRO (CHAIR) | CRIA-ISCTE
SARA BISCAYA | SALFORD UNIVERSITY
TERESA HEITOR | CITUA – IST UL

Theory and practice have always been two distinct approaches towards the city. There are those who seek to understand cities and those who seek to practice their planning and design. In the last few decades this distinction has been narrowed down by the emergence of the new disciplinary field of urban analytics. Based on computational technology, urban analytics is a set of methods that can be used to explore, understand and predict properties and features of cities (Batty, 2019). The aim of the proposed session will be to discuss the understanding of the contemporary city between urban scientists and urban designers within the context of "Grand Projects" and according to the proposed themes. The focus will be on the application of quantitative, computational, design and visual methods to the spatial and morphological structure of cities, mainly over the last three decades.

This session calls for the presentation of papers on the following themes:

- City science and city design
- Cities and complexity
- Big data, urban patterns and city design
- Spatial network analysis
- Space and society
- Urban sensing and urban design
- Evidence based design
- GIS and urban planning
- Space Syntax, tools, theories and practices

# 110 King's Cross
## A Critical View On Urban Policies

**NADIA SOMEKH**
Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie

**GUILHERME HENRIQUE FATORELLI DEL'ARCO**
Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie

**FERNANDA DE ABREU MOREIRA**
Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie

**MUNIQUE NEVES**
Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie

**ABSTRACT** [1]

King's Cross, an urban project conceived in the late 1990's, is subjected to a critical analysis in this paper. Concerned with aspects ranging from the environment to housing, mobility, and local development in the dynamics of contemporary cities, the Urban Projects research group studied this concrete case of territorial planning by using theoretical concepts to evaluate the effectiveness of sectoral policies. Knowing that extensive urban projects are defining elements for the construction of cities and that economic attractiveness does not necessarily entail the promotion of urbanity, the research aims to reflect on the redevelopment process of this particular hub rail infrastructure area in London which, to a certain extent, had previously become obsolete. The aforementioned project attempts to avail the potential of the industrial reconversion space adjacent to one of the most relevant and historic intermodal transport integrations in Europe, with the goal of creating an efficiently articulated centrality that engages logic and function in the global city where it is implemented while also respecting local characteristics. Despite certain questionable matters – such as the insufficient volume of affordable housing produced – it showed an apparent effort to maintain a commitment to economic competitiveness, environmental sustainability, and social cohesion. After years of negotiations among different actors, including historical heritage agencies, shareholders, and civil society representatives, a complex, thorough chart of guidelines was designed, meeting the most diverse demands. This paper considers the relation between the plan and its execution by addressing the socio-environmental benefits and burdens associated to the interests of the financialized market. After all, is it possible for urban projects from the late 20th century to meet the demands of capitalism while simultaneously being advantageous to the city?

**Keywords:** King's Cross, Urban policies, Urban Projects research group

1  By option of the authors this article only included the lecture presented at the conference.

# 143 Utilizing gis for a critical heritage mapping of urban activism in Istanbul in the 1960s

MESUT DINLER
Politecnico di Torino

## ABSTRACT

Focusing on the social activist movements that took place in the historic urban areas of İstanbul during the 1960s, the main aim of the paper is to understand how urban heritage is related to social activism. Adapting digital humanities approach, the paper presents a critical mapping of the historic spaces of urban activism and investigates how these spaces of social movements were historically formed and/or transformed.

In Turkey, a new constitution was written following the 1960 coup d'etat formulating the state as a 'social state' and generating a liberated space for social movements. Accordingly, workers, students, and women's movements raised especially in the multicultural urban context of İstanbul. The urban developments in the previous decade had an important role in this rise of workers movements despite the completely different contexts of two decades. In the 1950s, a populist right-wing party had won the elections and became gradually more autocratic throughout the decade. In the late 1950s, the government launched an urban project that irreversibly changed İstanbul. Accumulation of a working class in the 1950s and immense construction projects in urban historic environments generated the urban milieu for the social movements in the 1960s. Focusing on these two periods, the paper investigates the relationship between urban historic space and social activism through georeferencing the projects of the 1950s and urban social movements of the 1960s.

**Keywords:** Historic environments, Social movements, Istanbul in the 1960s, Cultural heritage

**1. Introduction**

The relationship between social movements and urban space is already theorized by researchers such as Castell, 1977; Castell, 1983, Harvey 2012. Despite this considerable literature, the role of city in activating social movements still needs to be outlined (Miller & Nicholls, 2013). However, especially through mapping and georeferencing these relations through digital tools, one may gain an insight into the very nature of the relationship between social movements and urban environments (Fidan, 2019).

Investigating this relationship with a special focus on historic environments, the paper will present a case study about Istanbul in the 1960s. This decade is significant in terms of acceleration of social movements and developments in the urban historic environments but in order to understand this significance, it is necessary to look at the 1950s. Because in the late 1950s, the government initiated an immense urban operation allover Istanbul. In May 1960, a military coup ended the government's rule, performed a juridical process executing some members of the government including the prime minister, orchestrated the writing process of a new constitution that gave space for flourishing of social movements. The paper will outline the spatial dimension of this relationship through a georeferentiation of various resources on GIS platform.

**2. 1950s and changes in the mobilization network of the city**

After the foundation of the Republic in 1923, a single party regime had ruled the country with an immensely centralized power. With the 1950 election, for the first time a new political party, Demokrat Party, challenged the Republican rulers and won the elections, and followingly they either reversed or slowed down some of the reforms. The Democrat Party's electoral victory was attributed to many factors, including a bad harvest in 1949. However, at the bottom line, all the reasons represent the frustration of society after a quarter century of single party rule of the CHP.

The new government struggled in three main areas towards the late 1950s. The first of these is economics, despite the fact that financial restructuring helped the country to recover from the war. The private sector was encouraged, agricultural and industrial production increased. Moreover, literacy increased. In terms of the physical environment, the urban character of villages, towns, and cities physically changed with widened roads, new arteries, and demolished buildings. This sudden economic growth threatened overall economic policies leading to debts and eventually placing the government in economic hardship. The second problem was related to political freedom. The DP had made efforts to repress the press, universities, and intellectuals who opposed DP policies. Moreover, CHP's assets and properties were transferred to the Treasury. Halk Evleri were closed,

and the political activities of new parties were restricted. This political tension provided legitimacy to a possible army intervention. The third problem was about religion. The DP was accused in reversing many secular reforms. For instance, religion courses were re-included in the curriculum, and unless parents asked for an exemption, all Muslim students were required to follow the course. Islamic education schools, *imam-hatip* schools, were also established in this era. Religious leaders appeared in public and preached against secularism. There was an interest in restoring the dervish orders. Even though a generation was already raised under republican reforms, Islam was still a uniting force in society. As will be discussed further below, this interest in Islam would be seen in conservation projects as well (Zürcher, 2004; Shaw & Shaw, 1977)

For some scholars, DP government's time was an era in which an Islam-oriented rhetoric dominated the political atmosphere along with nationalism. Menderes-era construction activities are generally considered an echo of a populist nationalist Islamic discourse over architecture and urban planning. As will be discussed below, the 1950s implementations are considered damaging for historic structures, and the lack of a holistic town strategy (the lack of a master plan) is highly criticized. Menderes-era projects are narrated as piecemeal projects which aimed to win support from the Muslim community (Kuban, 1993; Altinyildiz, 1997; Akpinar, 2015). The project *İmar Hareketi*, or *İstanbul'un İmarı* (which means *the Development Movement*, or *İstanbul's Development*) was a project launched by the DP government in 1956, one year before the parliamentary elections. After the launch of the project, the whole city became a construction site in less than a year. The main criticism was centered around the pace of constructions, the wide extent of expropriations, and the lack of a master plan (Akpinar, 2015; Gul, 2009).

Regarding the impact of the *Imar* project on historic urban environments, one of the most important source is an article published in 1969 (Unsal, 1969) and an anonymous 1957 publication by Istanbul Municipality (-, 1957) which is called İstanbul'un *Kitabı* (the Book of Istanbul). A visualization of this impact is presented in the map below.
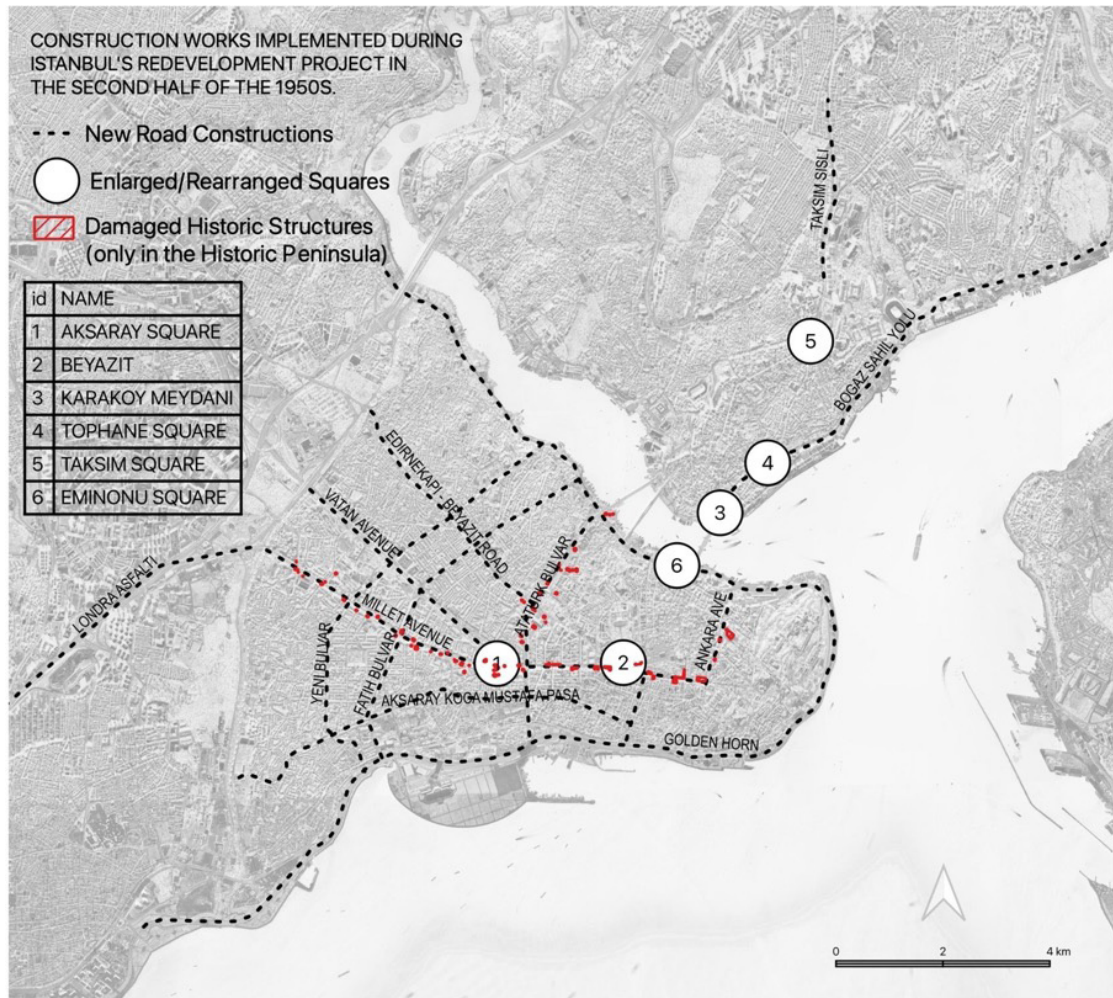
Fig. 1 – Construction works implemented during Istanbul's Redevelopment Project. Created by the author.

During the implementation of the project, the General Directorate of Highways (KGM -*Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü*) was the most influential decision-making actor. KGM was established in 1950 under the Ministry of Public Works as a part of the Marshall Plan and it was mainly needed for the distribution of agricultural products. Moreover, a new network was needed more than ever since the American influence had a profound impact on the automotive sector. The decisions on the construction were mainly based on the decisions of the KGM. However, for the engineers, the city's existing historic and topographic features needed to be 'fixed' for the city have a well-functioning road network. The KGM engineer Muzaffer Uluşahin's remark "this city has a hunchback; we need to fix it" is still used to outline the planning approach of the 1950s. This approach of KGM was to use the intra-cities highway construction standards in a historic urban setting without an adaptation process (Tekeli, 2009: 171). For the construction of Vatan and Millet Avenues, the section of the city walls that coincided with the new road was immediately demolished. The pace of these deconstructions did not allow any survey of these city land walls that remained between the buildings or on the courtyards of the building blocks.  Also on the Karaköy district, located on the other side of the Golden Horn, the new roads damaged historic structures.

### 3. 1960s and changes in the mobilization of the society

Following the 1960 coup d'état, within a year and a half, a new constitution was formed by referendum and the power had been handed back to civilians with general elections. Since then, the 1960 coup has been either praised for producing a liberal constitution or detested as a power-grab by a once-powerful but now discredited elite community (Keyder, 1961: 141).

The new constitution of 1961 had generated various control mechanisms to limit the actions of the government in order to prevent the re-emergence of an authoritarian centralized government. Nevertheless, it created a liberal atmosphere where political ideas could flower, especially on the left. Socialist parties were represented in the parliament. However, due to rising political tensions, in order to preserve the status quo that was threatened by the increasing leftist movement, the army made a second intervention in 1970 forcing the government to resign. The best word to describe the decade after the 1971 intervention is 'chaos'. Fragmented and polarized political movements confronted each other. Extremist militants also emerged in this era of conflicts, in which waves of violence gradually escalated. By the late 1970s, the parliament could not even select a president (Tachau & Heper, 1983).

The State Planning Organization (DPT- *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*), established in 1960, managed the economic structure of the new state by generating financial policies. DPT formulated three Five-Year Development Plans for this purpose. Structures similar to DPT were already active in Europe. However, in Europe, many states' resources had already increased following a certain period of capitalist development. In Turkey, on the other hand, this process of development was not yet reached. Nevertheless, DPT was devised to help Turkey recover from economic hardship. In the parliament, a financial structure like DPT received support from many parties (Ahmad, 1993). The First Plan was for 1963-1967. It included a series of reforms to restructure the central administration. Urban issues were also addressed in this plan, such as the definition of various planning schemes. The Second Plan was for 1968-1972. It was prepared to meet market demands. Modernization in agriculture, urbanization, and industrialization were formulated as integral goals, and urbanization, once more, was projected to provide a major income for the state budget. In addition, the need for social housing was highlighted in this plan. The third plan came in a completely different political context; the military had once more intervened with an ultimatum.

The 1961 constitution was a product of politician-intelligentsia collaboration. In a way, the new constitution re-emphasized the power of an upper class that was threatened by the peasant class who migrated to cities in waves throughout the 1950s. Those who immigrated from rural areas to cities formed a working-class movement which gained momentum throughout the 1960s. In fact, even in the 1950s, there was already a small political group among the workers of Turkey. Under the new constitution, this group was now given a liberated space to accelerate their political activities. These workers were organized under the *Türk-İş Union* founded with the advice of the American Federation of Labour–Congress of Industry Organizations (AFL–CIO). *Türk-İş* became a pro-government union in the second half of the 1960s. In 1967, a group of workers resigned from *Türk-İş* to unite under the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Unions (DİSK – *Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*). Afterwords, *Türk-İş* became a pro-government union whereas *DİSK* attracted left-wing sympathizers. The socialist intellectuals established the Turkey Workers Party (TİP – *Türkiye İşçi Partisi*) in 1961 to prompt a political movement uniting workers and intellectuals. In the next elections, TİP even won seats in the parliament. The new social state provided more liberties than ever; universities gained their autonomy, university students could protest, and workers could strike. Women's movements were also active. The second wave of Turkish feminism took place in this era. In a way, in the changing atmosphere of the post-war world, Turkey was also re-defining its position. This position, in a bi-polar global power struggle, was in the capitalist pole. Nevertheless, Soviet power was also still influential.

These developments disturbed capital owners who argued that in the development process of Turkey, it was too early for workers to gain the right to strike or to collective bargaining. The ultimatum of the army to the government in 1971 brought this early luxury for Turkey's working class to an end. The military intervention responded to the request of the business/industry community.

As one can trace, parallel to the societal changes, the 1960s was an era in which Turkey became politicized and a left tradition emerged from the liberal milieu that the new constitution produced. The students in the universities were following Marxist literature even in small towns. However, the US was still an ally to Turkey. The government was still committed to US policies. Strangely, Turkey's emerging left and the conservatives were both on the same page in criticizing the government's loyalty to the US. Both the left and the right became anti-American. International developments also had influence on Turkey's leftists; May events in France encouraged them be more involved and active in politics. The conservatives, on the other hand, established organizations such as the Association to Fight Communism as early as 1962. This was a global trend. In fact, the Union of the World of İslam was also established with a similar agenda, to fight communism.

In the 1960s, the society was changing and forming a strong working class

movements, but the urban condition of this change was inherited from the previous government. In a way, what remained unfinished due to a coup d'état generated the urban space for a next generation of social movements.
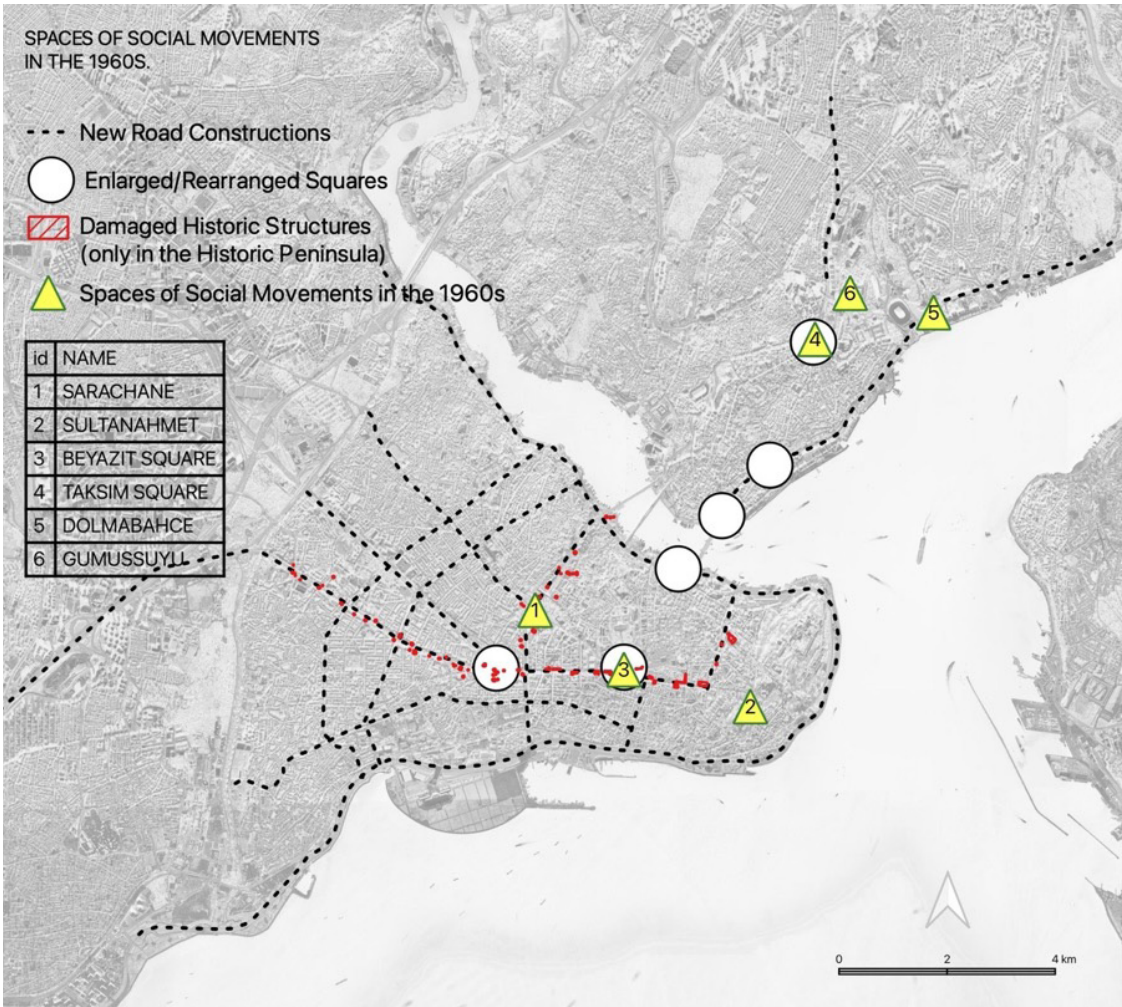


Fig. 4 – Juxtaposition of the Istanbul's Redevelopment Project with the spaces of social movements in the 1960s. Created by the author based on Fig.2 and (Fidan, 2019).

### 4. Spaces of social movements of the 1960s

Among the spaces of the 1960's social movements, in the early 1960s, Sarachane was the most popular place for worker manifestations. With the widening of the Atatürk Bulvarı in the 1950s, this main transportation axis gained a monumental character. Moreover, the construction of the Istanbul Municipality Building designed by Nevzat Erol in 1953 increased this popularity. The most visible instance of this popularity was the protest on December 31, 1960. Approxiamtely 150.000 people came together on this day. This meeting was one of the most important demonstrator of the accumulation of a working movement throughout the 1950s.

The new constitution was not even promulgated but workers organized the largest meeting until then and demanded their social and political rights, and most importantly, their rights to strike (Koçak and Çelik, 2016).

Similar to Sarachane, Sultanahmet Square and Beyazit Square is also another important space for social movements. Beyazit Square, which is constructed in the seventeenth century over the Theodisus's Forum, or the Forum Tauri which was the largest forum of the Constantinople constructed in the fourth century CE, has always been an important urban space. The entrance to the Istanbul University is also from the Beyazit Square with a monumental nineteenth century entrance door constructed with an Ottoman neo-classical style. Due to the existence of the university, this square has always been the main stage for the student movements. One of the major protests took place on April, 28 1960. The impact of this protest and the death of a student (whose name was Turan Emeksiz) by police activated other students in other cities.

In the 1950s, during the implementation of Democrat Party's *Redevelopment of Istanbul* project, one of the most heated debates emerged during the widening of the Ordu Avenue, which is the avenue traversing the Beyazit Square. This was due to the destruction of several monumental seventeenth century Ottoman buildings. As mentioned above, in the late 1950s, Democrat Party was ruling the country with an autocratic manner. The protest on April, 28 1960 was also organized against this autocratic regime. Only one month after this protest, on May 27, 1960, the army staged a coup and terminated the government. However, even after these developments, Beyazit Square never lost importance as a protest space. An architectural competition was launched in the 1960s for the square. Even though Turgut Cansever's winning project was not fully implemented and the square remained inefficiently used, it never lost its meaning as a historical protest space (Kuban, 1993; Fidan 2019).

Taksim Square, which was also the main space during the 2013 Gezi Resistance (a nation-wide protest movement that started against the conversion of one of the most important public parks of Istanbul into a shopping mall), has a historic significance in terms of public protests. However, not in the 1960s but in the 1970s it became a urban memory space for the worker's movement in Turkey because on May 1, 1977, a huge assembly of fractions met on the Taksim Square to celebrate the Workers Day. However, a mass shooting by unknown forces created a massacre. Since then, May 1, 1977 is referred as Bloody Sunday. Gumussuyu was also another important space of students movements due to its proximity to the Taksim Square. In addition, the Istanbul Technical University's Mechanical Engineering Faculty was also located in Gumussuyu.

In terms of the anti-Americanism of the 1960s, Dolmabahce Palace has an historical importance. In fact, Ataturk had also spent his last times here and lost his

life. Thus, "In '60s part of protesters, mainly right- wing student organizations had a tradition to come Dolmabahçe and pledge their commitment to the Republic in the presence of Ata" (Fidan, 2009: 61). The most major event that took place when US Sixth Fleet paid a visit to Istanbul anchoring near the Dolmabahçe Mosque. The anti-war, pro-Vietnam tendencies and in general, the global atmosphere of the 1968 generation had already influenced the Turkish students. When the US soldiers disembarked from Sixth Fleet, students blocked them and prevented their reach to Taksim Square. The closeness of the Istanbul Technical University was also helped students outnumber the American soldiers. Moreover, students from the campus occasionally throw stones to the hotels of the American soldiers. This was a turning point for the 1960s' student movements which would become more radicalized in the 1970s (Alper, 2016).

In all these spaces, even though there is a historical continuum in terms of some patterns in the manifestation of social movements, it is noteworthy that the urban operations of the 1950s unconsciously contributed to the urban condition of the acceleration of the social movements. Indeed, the new constitution had an important role in this acceleration, but the infrastructure and social context of it was formed in the 1950s. Although the Democrat Party had repressed the opposition and blocked the rise of a social movement, political developments and urban transformations of the 1950s had prepared the background for 1960s' social movements.

## 5. Conclusion

The 1950s marked a milestone for the development of democracy in Turkey because a new political party, Democrat Party challenged the power of republican rulers and eventually won the 1950 general election and followingly, they won several other general and local elections until 1960. The US support helped the Democrat Party implement its agenda throughout the 1950s. In fact, in the late 1940s, the United States had already supported Greece and Turkey with the Truman Doctrine as a precaution against the spread of communism in the Middle East. As the next step in American support, the Marshall Plan provided economic support to encourage investments to reshape the country. This followed Turkey's accession to NATO membership which reinforced the US-Turkey alliance. What followed was the Americanization of daily life in street markets, universities, gastronomy culture, journals, theatres, cinemas, books, night life, home appliances, etc. (Alkan, 2015). As Democrat Party concentrated more power in its hands, it also became more repressive and autocratic. Moreover, the changes in the national strategy generated a huge flux of migration from rural to urban areas. İstanbul was the main stage of this areas.

In the late 1950s, the Democrat Party launched the Development of İstanbul project which transformed the whole city into a construction site. The projects were

mainly about the widening the roads and any structure that obstructed this process was demolished or removed without hesitation. However, a military coup put all the government officials into prison and eventually executed prime minister. What followed was the formulation of a new constitution. The 1960 constitution was written by intellectuals and university professors under the management of the army. In the 1950s, the intelligentsia and the politicians had been two confronting communities. With the new constitution, power was re-balanced. This new constitution formulated the state as a 'social state' and generated a liberated space for social movements. In the global cold-war context, the tension between right-left wing sympathizers accelerated. In the late 1960s, everyday life in Turkey became politically explosive.

In the current literature, the 1960 coup is referred as the termination of the Democrat Party era and passage to a new era. Two decades are generally separated as different contexts. However, there is also a continuity which is outlined in this paper. This historical continuity is embedded in the urban space and in social movements and social mobility patterns. However, the relationship between these two is not always easy to detect. One of the main methods to understand and visualize this relationship is using the digital tools. In this paper, mainly GIS is used for a georeferentiation of two periods. It is done in two ways; firstly, the urban change that came in the 1950s is mapped through the use of several resources. Secondly, the spaces of social movements are linked to this GIS visualization in order to understand how social movements of the following decade are linked to this change. The conclusion is that the developments in the 1950s had prepared the urban and social context for social movements of the 1960s.

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