TICYUrb'18

3rd international conference of young urban researchers

TICYUrb · **vol. VI**

UCITY

UTOPIAS AND DYSTOPIAS

CAROLINA HENRIQUES
(EDITOR)

UCity

utopias and dystopias

Carolina Henriques (editor)

UCity
utopias and dystopias

Rafael Tavares
Cassandra Fontana
João Silva Jordão
Cecilia Di Marco
Borbála Jász
Rafael Silva Brandão,
Fernanda Martins de O. Correa
Flávia Nacif da Costa

Lisboa, 2018

Index

Figures and Tables Index

Figures

Introduction

Carolina Henriques

A part of the Third International Conference for Young Urban Researchers (TICYUrb) held in June 2018, the track UCITY was designed to help participants reflect on the roles of Utopias, Dystopias and Heterotopias in reflecting about and rethinking the city in the present, past and future.

Particularly, utopian and dystopian literature have influenced the debate throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, helping to make the city the center of our most fertile imaginaries about the future, social progress and transformation. Cities evolved to symbolize the future of Humanity and thus utopian, dystopian and heterotopian scenarios became alternative reflections of who we wished to become.

With the rise of the ubiquitous Smart Cities paradigm, it is extremely important that we collaborate with the Arts and Humanities to imagine and discuss alternative ideas for the future of our cities. From a collective project to an insurgent tool for urban inquiry, the term *utopia* is explored in the following discussions as a representation of the much needed space for dialogue about what is possible, desirable and valuable.

This call asked participants to reflect on the existing city *versus* the projected city; on visions under construction or the utopia realized; on imaginary cities, or cities represented in the arts; on multiple cities, or cities as represented in the media and social networks, or on virtual cities. We received incredible contributions from diverse perspectives and standpoints. These are the topics a reader will find enclosed in this book:

In **Utopian project and practices in the Auroville intentional community**, Cassandra Fontana takes us on a journey through the concept of utopia, questioning its epistemological ambiguity and identifying different interpretations of it within Utopian Studies. By looking at the Auroville community, in Tamil Nadu, India, Fontana studies the tension between "*an interpretation of utopia as perfection characterized by the definition of blueprints for the imagined space, and one that looks at the concept as a transformative and dynamic process of imagining possible alternatives.*"

In **Do People Dream of Radio Centric Cities (as urbanists often do)? Opportunities and Dangers of Contemporary Urban Utopias and Dystopias** João Silva Jordão reflects on technology's capability to solve all urban planning challenges and, through the case of the radio-centric designed city of Lisbon, Portugal, questions how utopian visions can entail negative results, by looking at the steep divisions that split this urban, physical and social fabric.

Next, in **Garden cities: a model for healthy cities**, Cecilia Di Marco reflects on the green utopia as an urban model aiming at solving health and lifestyle problems that are at least partially caused by the sedentary urban metabolism. Using the case of Ebbsfleet Garden City in the United Kingdom, Di Marco seeks to understand whether "*the garden cities model might be an answer to the challenges of today's health issues and might push cities to provide a more attractive living environment, promoting an active sustainable and healthy lifestyle.*"

Our fourth paper, **Living and Liveable Utopia, Socialist Realism in Eastern Central-European City Planning**, is written by Borbála Jász, an author is concerned with the concept of utopia as used in Eastern Central-European urban planning and design during the years of socialism. In this paper, Jász distinguishes different periods of urban design in Eastern Central-Europe during the socialist era to examine the different embodiments of the concept of utopia in city planning.

Finally, in **Deconstructing micro-utopias**, Rafael Silva Brandão, Fernanda Martins de O. Correa e Flávia Nacif da Costa help us reflect on the use of different narratives in contemporary thinking to envision the ultimate goal of cities. For these authors, utopia as a non-place constitute the ultimate model for considering urban action, looking at micro-utopias as references for an ideal way of life. Here, they bring into the discussion the concept of heterotopia, however quickly realizing that a shift is needed, to go from thinking in finalized models to open ended systems. The authors conclude that a processual understanding of urbanism could be beneficial even though it would need a more spatial approach, in which planners and designers work as activists and activators, relinquishing most of the control they intend to have over urban processes.

We hope all readers enjoy reading our participants' papers as much as we did and that the reflections in this book can help young academics find new inspirations for their own research, into the soul of utopias and dystopias and thus, into the core of who we really want to become as a society, as citizens and as humans.

You can watch the TICYUrb'18 session in which these papers were debated here.

Utopian project and practices in the Auroville intentional community

Cassandra Fontana | c.fontana@stud.iuav.it

Università IUAV di Venezia, Regional planning and public policy, Department of Design and Planning in Complex Environments

Abstract

The paper focuses on the concept of utopia to highlight its epistemological ambiguity and therefore identify the different interpretation of it within the Utopia Studies literature. The intentional community of Auroville, Tamil Nadu, India, will be taken as case study to deepen the tension between an interpretation of utopia as perfection, characterized by the definition of blueprints for the imagined space, and one that looks at the concept as a transformative and dynamic process of imagining possible alternatives. Beside the comparative, critical, prefigurative and transformative functions of utopia (Levitas, 2013), the attention given to the experimental and concrete dimension will serve as a bridge for an in-depth reflection on the emancipatory and political nature of utopian everyday practices.

Key words

Experimental utopia, everyday practices, blueprint

Introduction

The etymological ambiguity that the term utopia implies entailed the development of two main interpretative currents, as much in the social sciences as in literature: one related to the understanding of utopia as a good (*eu*) place, therefore potentially attainable even if not in present conditions - a desirable future state able to steer current action; the other related to the understanding of utopia as no (*ou*) place, unattainable state of things "[that] remains just around the corner or just over the horizon" (Sargisson, 2004, p. 3). Although it is not possible to mark a clear line between the two, according to Levitas (1990, 2007, 2013) it is the latter one that became, during time, the prevalent interpretation, beholding utopia "dismissed as an irrelevant fantasy or traduced as a malevolent nightmare leading to totalitarianism" (Levitas, 2013, p. xiii). On the contrary interpreting utopia in terms of desires and imagination of alternatives potentially reachable lead us to the challenging process that moves from imagination to action encompassing within the broad set of utopian contributes "the attempt not just to imagine, but to make the world otherwise" (*ibid.*).

This paper draws on the epistemological ambiguity that the term utopia implies: we can recognize on the one hand an interpretation that implies seeking for perfection and thus defining blueprints; while on the other utopia can be understood as a transformative and dynamic process of imagining possible alternatives which may lead to the challenging process that moves from imagination to action, to way of doing, of living and inhabiting. The first paragraph will acknowledge the critiques that utopia gathered over time in order to understand a more recent tradition that attempted a rehabilitation of the term (Bloch, 1986 [1959]; Moylan, 1986; Sargisson, 1996, 2000). Driving on the refusal of the fixed character of the utopian plan, the critical (Moylan, 1986), transgressive (Sargisson, 1996) and experimental (Lefebvre, 1961) utopias will be

explained. "Critical utopianism is a practice of simultaneous and on-going critique and creation; it is not only critical of what exists, but is explicitly self-critical and proceeds through immanent critique" (Firth, 2012, p. 16) and thus it abandons the tendency of constructing absolutes on one hand and drawing blueprint vision on the other, hence liberating space for a processual, always open, and internally multifaceted, interpretation of utopia. Acknowledging the utopian character of many intentional communities (Kanter, 1972) the second paragraph will consider the role of prefigurative utopian projects in fostering social change along with a broader consideration upon the meanings and potentials of *utopian everyday practices* (Cooper, 2016). To explore deeper the tension between the utopian project - characterized by a vision of the desirable future state more or less detailed - and the utopian attitude or tension - in terms of processes needed to reach the vision as well as everyday practices - int the third paragraph the intentional community of Auroville (Tamil Nadu, India) will be presented.

An utopian desire

The oscillatory movement of the concept of utopia from a maximum abstraction, typical of the early utopias, to a worldly rooted level - tracing its evolution in the last centuries we can recognize a concretization turn parallel to the process of industrialization and the emergence of socialist utopias - made utopia understandable both as a means as well as an end. As a mean to question ourselves about the future and to experiment in the present, utopia in its dialectical form "continues to provide an extraordinarily useful orientation for the activities of radical scholars" (Brenner, 2008, p. 245-46).

Nevertheless, the important warnings given by the totalitarian drifts of the first half of the twentieth century fueled the development of a vast body of criticism mainly based on the recognition of how the logical passage utopia-perfectibility-imposition could give form to the potential relationship between utopia and violence. The understanding of totalitarian drifts developed by thinkers like Popper or Arendt brings out a concept of utopia as inevitably tending to coercion, to imposition through the use of force. Although according to Levitas "laying totalitarianism at the door of utopia is a political move that is intended to make any aspiration to social change impossible" (Levitas, 2013, p. 98), it is undeniable that the appeal to utopia was in the darkest periods of recent western history "functional to development as a reserve area of trend models and as a weapon to build political consent" (Tafuri, 2007 [1973], p. 67)[1]. Therefore, although utopia as a political project has gradually lost its strength in the face of the events of the first half of the twentieth century - "Stalinism, National Socialism, the 1930s crisis of capitalism, the Holocaust and two world wars had shattered people's beliefs in modernity's claims to reason and progress. Utopia as a cultural genre has never really recovered from this crisis" (Beaten, 2002, p. 14) - it is not, nevertheless, advisable to make slippery generalizations. In fact, although the tendency to prefigure a state of perfection has been part of the history of utopia "Sargent, the foremost authority on utopian literature, endorses this, saying that «[v]ery few actual utopias make any pretense to perfection», and that «many utopias welcome the possibility of change». And yet it remains the case that «conventional and scholarly wisdom associates utopian ideas with violence and dictatorship»" (Levitas, 2013, p. 8).

Wright's (2007, 2010, 2011) and Levitas' (2007, 2013) works well represent, even if differently, the attempt to abandon the solidity of static and detailed visions, of rationally constructed blueprints, in favor of a greater awareness of the changing and adaptive process of social antagonism, of the force of diversity within the battle between rationality and irrationality that characterizes the collective (Firth, 2012). Similarly, Tom Moylan (1986) and Lucy Sargisson (1996, 2002) highlighted with

---

[1] All the texts that, as the one just quoted, will be found in bibliography in different languages from English have been translated by the author.

their work the emergence of a body of contributions that focused on those experiences and explorations articulated around the process of building collective desires - or, said otherwise, what Sargent calls 'social dreaming'. This set of contributions has seen the emergence of Moylan's 'critical utopianism' of and Sargisson's 'transgressive utopianism', two concepts that have in common the belief that the utopian intent does not necessarily induce the design of blueprints or the search for a state of affairs based on a sense of absolute truth from which to descend the choice of an ideally perfect future. The importance given by Moylan to the critical dimension of utopia and, therefore, to the capacity of re-articulating over time with the changes of society and its structures emerged together with an understanding of reality as strongly conditioned by the structures that define society itself and therefore socially oriented, if not produced. According to him, only remaining open utopia will be able to guide action, to push individuals to articulate and experiment, and thus lead to the extreme the limits of the possible. "In the 'critical utopia' the attitude of the inhabitants of the utopia has also changed; they are no longer passive followers of orders, but individuals who are actively involved in the creation of possible alternatives" (Fortunati, Ramos, 2006, p. 5).

Although the tension towards change plays a fundamental role in both *perfect* and *critical* utopias, the mechanisms at work to implement such change are significantly divergent. The first, characterized by the "fantasy of achieving some kind of social harmony – whether through the idea of the rationally functioning market, or through communist modes of organization – coupled with the structural impossibility of achieving this, is a dialectic of desire which continually produces new political identifications and renewed attempts to grasp social totality" (Newman, 2011, p. 351). While referring to the latter "we should not dismiss the powerful drive and political value of the utopian imaginary as a form of critical reflection on the limits of our world. However, rather than seeing utopia as a rational plan for a new social order, we should see it, as Miguel Abensour suggests, as an 'education of desire': 'to teach desire to desire, to desire better, to desire more, and, above all to desire in a different way' (see Thompson ,1988, p. 791)" (ibid, p. 356).

This suggests a methodology of interpreting (some) utopias not as blueprints but as explorations and articulations of the process of desiring production (Deleuze and Guattari 2004, p. 35), thus dividing utopias into two different functional types. On the one hand, we have the utopias of dominant ideologies such as neoliberalism and conservatism (Levitas 1990, p. 188) as well as the counter-hegemonic utopias of Marxism (Day 2005), which are based upon truth claims and specific assumptions about human nature and can have totalizing effects. On the other hand we have utopias which are active, playful or experimental articulations of the imagination, to be found for example in the theories of Nietzsche (McManus 2005) or in those fictional or practiced utopias which are self-critical and reflexive, and contain internal processes for the articulation of multiple different hopes and desires (Moylan 1986, p. 28; Sargisson 1996, 2000), (Firth, 2012:, p. 90).

Imagination and exploration are therefore the pillars of a process that advances by trial and error, and which would characterize what Lefebvre called *experimental utopia* and that is "the exploration of human possibilities, with the help of the image and imagination, accompanied by the incessant criticism and the incessant reference to the problems posed by the 'real'" (Lefebvre, 1961, p. 192). In attempting to explore the relationship between the real and the possible, to reclaim what is possible because already part, often in a repressed form, of what is real (Brenner, 2009), utopia would become an evocative tool, an image of constant tension towards a desirable future. Lefebvre in *The Right to the City*, emphasizes precisely the need to rethink the category of the real not as a field of today's possibilities but as a interpretation of the reality that embraces the paradoxical and puts it to work (Lefebvre, 2014, [2009], p. 109).

The forms of space and time will be invented and proposed to practice, unless proven otherwise. Lets imagination manifest itself; not the fantasy that fosters escape and evasion, which conveys ideologies, but that which engages in appropriation (of time, of space, of physiological life, of desire). [...] The reflection that tends towards the fulfilling action could be seen as both utopian and realistic at the same time, since it proposes an overcoming of the opposition between the two terms. It can even be said that the maximum of utopianism will reach the maximum of realism. (Lefebvre, 2014, [2009]: 110-112).

Lefebvre's utopia is therefore immanent and potential, but at the same time practiced and real; already alive, both in urban planning and in daily action and imaginary. Its presence must only be revealed. Therefore, the experimental approach to utopia that Lefebvre proposes would involve the study not only of the underlying impetus, but also "implications and consequences. They may surprise you. What are they, what will the socially successful places be? How to find out? According to what criteria? Which times, which rhythms of daily life are inscribed, are they prescribed in the spaces created, that is favourable to happiness? Here is what is interesting" (Lefebvre, 2014, [2009], p. 106).

An utopian experiment

The emphasis given to the experimental dimension, where everyday life is a fundamental element in the movement from the real to the possible, opens to a broader reflection: if "utopia is not simply a place, it is a practice" (Moylan, 1986, p. 89). Therefore, its transformative and breaking role emerges strongly in the movement that passes, without a pre-established order, from criticism, to desire, ideation, actualization and finally to transformation. The link highlighted by Moylan between utopia and autonomous social movements and by Sargisson between utopia and intentional communities tells precisely of the dialectical relation between theory and practice (Pasqui, 2008). Abandoning an interpretation according to which praxis is a "circumscribed but unitary field of human action" (*ibid*, p. 49) separated and subordinated to theory, it is possible to recognize the growth of researches that looked at the utopian in its materiality - the literature that interpret intentional communities as concrete utopias is quite abundant (Kanter, 1972; Sargisson, 2004; Schehr, 1997).

Cooper, in the wake of Levitas and Bloch contributions, focuses on the concept of *everyday utopias*: rich in the dynamic and procedural dimension that admits failure and conflict everyday utopias, even if supported by a vision, do not interpret and raise the latter as final goals but as orientative lights. According to Lefebvre the everyday life is intrinsically ambiguous, dynamic, and oscillating; thus "the notion that Lefebvre regards the everyday as the sphere of mindless, dehumanizing routine to be contrasted unfavorably with exceptional events and experiences, whereby daily life must be 'liberated' through a transformative praxis that ushers in some sort of idealist utopia, is therefore a distorting caricature". (Gardiner, 2004 p. 239). It is not a matter of preferring the exceptional, the creative as opposed to the repetitive but rather of grasping the connection and the oscillating motion between the two. According to Gardiner (2013) it is precisely within the configuration of the 'moments' - points of contact between ordinary and exceptional that reveal themselves within the field of possibility - that the utopia of everyday life unfolds. If the 'moment' arises from the immanent possibility of the real and is therefore intimately connected to the context that shapes it, then its breaking character in a stereotyped everyday - which on the one hand is influenced by and on the other supports the structures of society - becomes interesting as it represents metaphorically the awakening (Harrison, 2000). The everyday as an explicit field of action, where the individual does not passively endure but is an active agent, involves a deeper attention to the logic underlying everyday practices and their modes, 'rituals', of acting.

As said, intentional communities have been extensively interpreted as "places where people try alternatives and try to live their dreams on a daily basis. They are utopian social experiments in microcosm from which we can learn as social scientists" (Sargisson 2004, p. 4). These experiments are often characterized by the delimitation of boundaries of influence, by the definition of a specific "*place* capable of being circumscribed as *its own space*" (de Certeau, 2010 [1990], p. 7). But how to recognize such boundaries? Is it the presence of a definite plan, also in terms of spatialization, the element that aggregate or is it the voluntary choice, the embracement of values and scopes or as Bohill (2011) would say ethics as a practice, that creates the pillars on which the utopian, in terms of everyday, deploys?

An utopian space

As just mentioned, the spaces that utopia creates and shapes can differ considerably. Without deepening here the evolution over time of the relation between utopia and its space, it can be useful to recall how More's "Utopia is an artificially created island which functions as an isolated, coherently organized, and largely closed-space economy […]. The internal spatial ordering of the island strictly regulates a stabilized and unchanging social process. Put crudely, spatial form controls temporality, an imagined geography controls the possibility of social change and history" (Harvey, 2000, p. 160). Oversimplifying we can look at the conceptual distance between the early utopias and the contemporary ones as the firsts aimed at a state of perfection either imaginative (therefore mainly critical) or achievable through a process that would involve authoritative means – one's idea of perfection might, and probably will, differs from other's one in any plural society. Regarding the organization of territory, this aim for perfection found its expression through fixed and static visions of the organization of space achievable thanks to an already planned sequence of actions. On the other hand, the more recent interpretation that looks at utopia as an attitude highlights its transformative character and therefore, understanding it as a dynamic and not linear process, liberates space for a processual, always open, and internally multifaceted approach to planning.

The chosen case study, the intentional community of Auroville[2], is peculiar for the presence of a strong utopian character which can be interpreted both as the search for final state of perfection and as an open process of experimentation, two interpretations that seem mirrored in the inhabitants' positions about the vision of the future Auroville. On one hand the process of making Auroville's utopia concrete is interpreted as strongly intertwined with the implementation of the initial vision also in terms of spatial planning, on the other the attempt to abandon any *blueprint* visions toward a more incremental and open process, therefore dismissing the initial masterplan, recalls assonances with the contrasts between the interpretations of utopia itself within the academia. I argue that the two previously described epistemological visions of utopia (as a *blueprint* and as a *process*) coexist, interact and constrain each other, with crucial implications on the process of *production of space* in this utopian community (Lefebvre, 1976 [1974]). If, as Lefebvre puts it, "each new form of political power introduces its own particular way of partitioning space, its own particular administrative classification of discourses about space and about things and people in space. Each such form commands space, as it were, to serve its purposes" (Lefebvre 1991 [1974], 281) then, what makes Auroville is a particularly interesting case study is precisely the existence of both tendencies. Auroville, as other intentional communities with strong utopian characters, deploys a pre-figurative function that implies the aim of demonstrating the possibility of organizing and living otherwise: it can be understood as an attempt, an utopian experiment, willing to address "what is not by developing alternative imaginary societies" (Stillman, 2001, p.

---

[2] Auroville is a intentional community based on the teachings of Sri Aurobing. Located in the south of India, near the city of Ponicherry in Tamil Nadu, the community was founded in 1968 by Mirra Alfassa, la Mère, and gathered over time more than 2.700 members.

11). Guided by the idea of unity in diversity, to be understood as an appreciation of differences and not homologation under a single creed, the number of people who have decided to take part in this unusual and ambitious experiment is slowly but steadily growing[3]. Auroville is not a local authority in the administrative sense of the term; however it has its own independent governmental structure protected, and participated, by the Indian Central Government[4] by virtue of the value recognized to the experiment. Therefore on the one hand Auroville can be interpreted as an *autonomous space* "where people want to build non- capitalist, equality and solidarity forms of political, social and economic organization, through combinations of resistance and creation" (Pickerill, Chatterton, 2006, p. 730) given the high level of autonomy and the possibility of developing with great flexibility internal forms of self-government; on the other the strong link with the Central Government entails some constrains that cannot be underestimated. Without being able to express worthily the complexity and variety of forces that move the development of this experiment as well as the problems that accompany it - first of all the relationship with the context both on the local scale, characterized by a considerable gap in terms of wealth and lifestyles; and on the global and national one if we look at "the dynamics of normative integration beyond the nation-state that are clearly at play" (Kamis, Pfister, Wallmeier, 2015, p. 15) - the restitution that follows can only be partial.

Going back to the dialectical relation between *perfect* and *critical* utopias we can state that are precisely these two extremes, on the one hand the perfect form for the imagined society and on the other the willing to leave the experiment intrinsically open, and their projection on the issue of material manifestation - the forms and the kinds of spaces that the community will create - that have restrained along time the development of a shared vision about the spatial organization of the community. Acknowledging the critiques that Sri Aurobindo and the Mother moved towards the dogmatic crystallization typical of religions affirming their dangerousness and totalizing drifts, it is fundamental to highlight how the importance given to the concept of freedom, to the absence of rules or immutable laws and the lack of definition of a predefined political structure have led to the development of an interesting experiment of self-government tending to anarchy. "She explained that the experience of Life itself «should slowly elaborate rules which are as flexible and wide as possible, to be always progressive. Nothing should be fixed» (Mother on Auroville, 7-21)As for the social organization of Auroville, she foresaw to 'divine anarchy' (Vrekhem, 1997, p. 413). She also pointed out that the world will not understand it, however, «men must become conscious of their psychic being and organize themselves spontaneously, without fixed rules and laws – that is the ideal» (Words of the Mother, Vol. 13, 219)" (Datla, 2014, p. 28). According to these words we can recognize a strongly incremental approach in the definition of the physical, institutional and political structure of the community. Thus, although over time the level of formalization of the internal governance and decision-making processes has gradually increased, the tension between anarchy on the one hand and the need for organization, albeit incremental and spontaneous, on the other has continued to influence the development of the city. The concept of self-guided society (Lindblom, 1990), capable of listening and adapting its forms through questioning and confrontation should not however be imagined, in relation to the studied context, as immune of difficulties and problems. While on the one hand the progressive growth of institutionalization does not seem to have involved, yet, a crystallization of procedures and an inability of institutional learning, Auroville finds itself in an extremely delicate moment in this sense. The distance between the city plan as imagined at the foundation time[5],

---

[3] From 200 members in the early '70; 800 in the early '90; 1.500 around the beginning of the millennium; and finally more or less 2.700 today.

[4] The relation between the Central Government and the community is intense. In order to face a legal dispute in 1980 the Government issued the Auroville Act to centralize temporarily the legal responsibility of the community. This emergency provision (n.59/1980), "an Act to provide for the taking over, in the public interest, of the managment of Auroville for a limited period and for matters connected therewith of incidental thereto" (http://bombayhighcourt.nic.in/libweb/actc/1980.59.pdf last access 25/08/17) was followed in 1988 by the approval if the "Auroville Foundation Act": "the Auroville Foundation Act constituted Auroville as an Autonomous Body of the Ministry of Human Resource Development. The township as an experiment in Human Unity including recognition of its original Charter now had a formal legal status" (Stuart, 2011: 110). Still today the community is economically supported by public funds.

[5] The initial plan for the city of Auroville, ideally imagined of 50.000 inhabitants, was developed by Roger Anger between 1965 and 1968 under the supervision, in the early stages at least, of la Mère (Auroville's founder and guide).

confirmed through a Master Plan in 2001, and today reality is extreme: the growth expectations have been largely disregarded and the settlements have grown up responding more to contextual needs than to the presence of a plan; the division of functional zones was only partially respected and the current density is far from the predicted one. However, albeit this distance has raised questions around the appropriateness of such plan in today circumstances and therefore around the possibility of revisioning it, collective and constructive discussions around the topic seem extremely complicated given their interlace with the level of spiritual beliefs. Oversimplifying we can recognize in the Auroville experiment both the tendencies toward crystallization of a spatial imagined form and toward the complete abandonment of any form of formal spatial planning in favour of spontaneous development. Accordingly, if we interpret "the constitution of lived space through practices [as what] makes rule visible in its spatialization" (Kamis, Pfister, Wallmeier, 2015, p. 2) then it is indeed the utopian attitude of the inhabitants that are looking for self-determination and freedom that undermine the possibility of reaching the (*perfect*) city as imagined.

Conclusions

It can be surely argued that Auroville is an utopian community, but what makes it so? As we have seen, perfectibility in a plural society cannot be taken as a viable ambition and therefore the progressive abandonment of static and fixed solution toward incrementality and adaptability becomes vital in leaving the experimentation process open. However, even if the Auroville experiment seems still open, within the community is taking place an important drift toward the definition of an ideally perfect state of things that seems to find in the image of the desired city its highest representation. Will then be utopia reached only when the city will be built? As a community that eminently shows the ability to aspire as understood by Appadurai, and finely read by de Leonardis and Deriu (2012), where the close interconnection between desire, aspiration, context and practicality is constantly explored and the limits of imagination are questioned, Auroville exemplifies the understanding of utopia as desire for change, as ability to aspire.

Recalling the concept of *everyday utopias* it can be argued that the elements that make this community such a persuasive context to study utopia are not mostly residing in the image of the city itself but rather within the everyday: "there is the acknowledgment that trivial and ordinary things can be done in a different way, for which the re-imagination of the everyday operates as a device of transformation *in actu*. The change is achieved precisely in the conviction that it can be achieved in the micro-social dimension of the seemingly insignificant gestures of the ordinary (Croce in Cooper, 2016, p. 11). Accordingly, utopia is no longer interpreted solely in the light of its ability to break the frames and create new equilibriums and new forms, but also as an expression of the unexpected and the bizarre, a way of acting in the lines of everyday life with the aim of subverting assumptions, rethinking the basic concepts, the stereotypical readings, that characterize these daily practices.

Bravo (1977) highlights the strongly contradictory features of utopia within the relation between an understanding of it "as a component of progress, of the process of advancement of humanity in a vision of general evolution of relationships among men and between men and things" and its tendency to contain "in itself factors of immobility, of preservation of the status quo" (Bravo in Firpo, 1977, p. 361). Thus, Bravo emphasizes an important conceptual node: the balance between utopia as a vision to strive for within a path whose dynamism is given precisely by the tension toward change; and the static nature of an ideal that, even when revolutionary, endangers its own transformative potential due to the fixity that characterizes it. Auroville is an exemplary case to look at the relation between fixity and spontaneity because of the great autonomy that

characterizes it. If according to Tamdgidi we identify the desire, individual and collective, accompanied by critical function, as the necessary ingredients for the development of the utopian attitude, as it "involves making effort, whatever their scope, towards imagining, theorizing and/or practically realizing that future goal in the here and now" (Tamdgidi, 2003, p. 131), then Auroville has a great potential precisely given its unique autonomy and its capacity to aggregate people that have in common a strong dissatisfaction with the world as it is (La Mère, 1966). "The inhabitants of the [critical] utopia force themselves to explore human potential and revolutionary strategies and tactics to confront and change an unsatisfying reality. Utopia, then, is no longer static and is no longer a system which has been planned one time for all, but a continuous battle to achieve a better world" (Fortunati, Ramos, 2006, p. 5).

References

Beaten, G. (2011). Western utopianism/dystopianism and the political mediocrity of critical urban research. *Geogr. Ann.*, Vol. 84 B (3– 4). (pp. 143–152). doi: 10.1111/j.0435-3684.2002.00120.x

Bloch, E. (1986). *The principle of hope*, Vol. 1-3. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bohill, R.R. (2010). *Intentional communities: ethics as praxis.* Lismore, NSW, Southern Cross University

Brenner, N. (2009). What is critical urban theory? *City analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action.* Vol. 13, 2009 - Issue 2-3: Cities for People, not for Profit. (pp. 198-207). doi: 10.1080/13604810902996466

Brenner, N. (2008). Henri Lefebvre's critique of state productivism. In K. Goonewardena,S. Kipfer, R. Milgrom, & C. Schmid (Eds.), *Space, Difference, Everyday Life. Reading Henri Lefebvre*, (pp. 231-249). London & New York: Routledge.

Cooper, D. (2016). *Utopie quotidiane. Il potere concettuale degli spazi sociali inventivi.* Pisa : Edizioni ETS.

Datla, C. (2014). *The Constructive Role of Conflict in an Intentional Community: Auroville as a Case Study,* Master thesis. Boston: Northeastern University.

de Certau, M. (2001). *L'invenzione del quotidiano.* Roma: Baccianini, Edizioni Lavoro.

De Leonardis & O., Deriu, M. (2012). *Futuro nel quotidiano. Studi sociologici sulla capacità di aspirare.* Milano: Egea.

Firpo, L. (1977). *Studi sull'utopia.* Firenze: Olschki.

Firth, R. (2012). Transgressing urban utopanism: autonomy and active desire, *Geogra ska Annaler*: Series B, Human Geography, N.94 (2). (pp: 89–10). doi: 10.1111/j.1468-0467.2012.00398.x

Firth, R. (2012a). *Utopian Politics, Citizenship and Practice.* London & New York: Routledge.

Fortunati, V., & Ramos, I., (2006). Utopia Re-Interpreted: An Interview with Vita Fortunati. *Spaces of Utopia: An Electronic Journal*, N. 2, pp. 1-14. (http://ler.letras.up.pt > ISSN 1646-4729).

Gardiner, M. (2004). Everyday Utopianism. Lefebvre And His Critics. *Cultural Studies,* Vol. 18, No. 2/3 March/May 2004, pp. 228–254, Routledge.

Harrison, P. (2000). 'Making sense: embodiment and the sensibilities of the everyday'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol. 18, (pp. 497–517).

Harvey, D. (2000) *Spaces of hope*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Kamis B., Pfister J., & Wallmeier P. (2015). The Constitution of Rule in Political Spaces beyond the Nation-State*, Internationale dissidenz*, Goethe University Frankfurt, Working Paper 1 | 2015 (dissidenz.net/workingpapers/wp1-2015- kamis-pfister-wallmeier.pdf)

Kanter, R. M. (1972). *Commitment and Community. Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective*. Cambridge, Massachusets: Harvard University Press.

Lefebvre, H. (1961). Utopie expérimentale: pour un nouvel urbanisme. *Revue Française Sociologie 2.3*, (pp. 191–198). (http://www.persee.fr/doc/rfsoc_00352969_1961_num_2_3_5943)

Lefebvre, H. (1976 [1974]). *La produzione dello spazio*, Milano: Moizzi Editore.

Lefebvre, H. (2014 [2009]). *Il diritto alla città*, Verona: Ombre corte.

Levitas, R. (1990). *The concept of utopia*, New York/London: Philip Allan.

Levitas, R. (2007). The imaginary reconstitution of society: utopia as method. In T. Moylan & T. Baccolini (Eds.) *Utopia method vision: the use value of social dreaming*. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Levitas, R. (2013). *Utopia as method: The imaginary reconstitution of society*. Hampshire: Palgrave, Macmillan.

Lindblom C. E. (1990). *Inquiry and Change*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Moylan, T. (1986). *Demand the impossible*, London: Methuen.

Moylan, T. & Baccolini, R. (2007) *Utopia, Method, Vision: the use value of social dreaming*, Bern: Peter Lang.

Newman, S. (2011). *Postanarchism and space: Revolutionary fantasies and autonomous zones*, Planning Theory Vol. 10, N.4, (pp. 344–365). Sage. 10.1177/1473095211413753

Pasqui, G. (2008). *Città, popolazioni, politiche*. Foligno (Pg): Jaka Book.

Pickerill, J. & Chatterton, P. (2006). Notes towards autonomous geographies: Creation, resistance and self-management as survival tactics. *Progress in Human Geography* 30(6): (pp. 730–746). doi: 10.1177/0309132506071516

Sargisson, L. (1996). *Contemporary Feminist Utopianism*. London: Routledge.

Sargisson, L. (2002). *Utopian Bodies and the politics of transgression*. London: Routledge.

Sargisson, L. (2004), Utopia and intentional communities. Paper for discussion at the *ECPR Conference at Uppsala 2004, Panel: The politics of Utopia: Intentional communities as social science microcosms*. Ecpr, avaiable: (https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/6f663586-f966-4e87-a36b-eb85f4bb8334.pdf)

Schehr, R. (1997). *Dynamic Utopia*. London: Bergin and Garvey.

Stillman, P. (2001). Nothing Is, But What Is Not: Utopias as Practical Political Philosophy. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 3(2 & 3) (pp. 7-24). doi: 10.1080/13698230008403310

Tamdgidi, M. H. (2003). De/Reconstructing Utopianism: Towards a World Historical Typology. *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self Knowledge*, Vol.2, N.2, pp. 125-141.

Wright, E.O. (2007). Guidelines for envisioning real utopias. *Soundings*, Vol. 36 : 26-39, (pp- 183-184).

Wright, E.O. (2010). *Envisioning Real Utopia*, London: Verso.

Wright, E.O. (2011). Real Utopias. *Contexts*, Vol. 10, No. 2, (pp. 36-42), American Sociological Association.

Do People Dream of Radio Centric Cities (as urbanists often do)?

Opportunities and Dangers of Contemporary Urban Utopias and Dystopias

João Silva Jordão | jlsj023@hotmail.com

Lisbon School of Architecture, University of Lisbon

Abstract

Technological advances have increased mankind's capacity to shape its environment through urban planning and ambitious building projects so that that formerly unobtainable utopian design can be made into a reality.

Through urbanism we are now capable of approaching real life dystopias that is some ways exceed works of fiction. Dominant visions of what cities can and should become will have a profound impact on the paths that mankind takes and the modes of living that it adopts. Urbanists may consider that one of their most important missions going forward is that of trying to influence popular utopian and dystopian visions, not only of what cities can be, but also their very meaning and place in humanity's present and future.

Furthermore, urban utopian designs often depict rigid zoning and a highly hierarchical organization of space, and none more so than utopian radio centric cities where a central building represents the nexus of political, social and religious power. The ubiquity of the radio centric design within urban utopias is notable- it is a very common element that is found in urban utopias of old and present alike. This element has been incorporated into real urban planning instruments, with Lisbon being one such example - through its subsequent Municipal Master Plans, a radio centric outline was introduced and has endured, profoundly shaping the city.

The radio centric design has made Lisbon into a deeply divided city, with its minutely planned and varied centre in stark contrast with the primary and secondary peripheries occupied mainly by vast swathes of housing, with the peripheries being starkly divided from the centre by natural boundaries, highways and train lines. Paradoxically, as one of the main marks of Lisbon's socio-economic divisions, the radio centric design is an example of how the fulfilling of utopian visions can entail negative results.

Key words

Hierarchy of space, Lisbon, Municipal Master Plans, Radio Centric Cities, Urban Utopias

Resumo

Os avanços tecnológicos aumentaram a capacidade da humanidade de moldar o seu meio ambiente através do planeamento urbano e de projetos de construção ambiciosos, fazendo com que projetos utópicos anteriormente inacessíveis se possam tornar realidade.

Através do urbanismo, somos agora capazes de nos aproximarmos de distopias reais que, de certa forma, excedem as obras de ficção. Visões dominantes sobre o que as cidades podem e se devem tornar terão um impacto profundo nos caminhos que a humanidade segue e nos modos de vida que ela adotará. Os urbanistas podem considerar que uma de suas missões mais importantes no futuro será a de tentar influenciar as visões utópicas e distópicas populares, não apenas do que as cidades podem ser, mas também seu significado e lugar no presente e futuro da humanidade.

Além disso, os projetos utópicos urbanos muitas vezes retratam um zonamento rígido e uma organização espacial altamente hierárquica, sobretudo as cidades utópicas radioconcêntrica em que um edifício central representa o núcleo do poder político, social e religioso. A onipresença do design radioconcêntrico nas utopias urbanas é notável - é um elemento muito comum

que encontramos nas utopias urbanas do passado e presente. Este elemento foi incorporado em instrumentos de planeamento urbano reais, sendo Lisboa um exemplo disto mesmo - através dos seus sucessivos Planos Directores Municipais, foi introduzido uma disposição radioconcêntrica que perdura, afetando profundamente a cidade.

O design radioconcêntrico transformou Lisboa numa cidade profundamente dividida, com um centro minuciosamente planeado e variado em contraste com as periferias primárias e secundárias ocupadas principalmente por vastas áreas de habitação, com as periferias sendo divididas do centro por fronteiras naturais, rodovias e linhas de comboio. Paradoxalmente, como uma das principais marcas das divisões socioeconómicas de Lisboa, o design radioconcêntrico é um exemplo de como o cumprimento de visões utópicas pode gerar resultados negativos.

Palavras Chave

Cidades radioconcêntricas, Hierarquia espacial, Lisboa, Planos Diretores Municipais, Utopias Urbanas

Introduction – Zoning

"Be careful what you wish for, you may receive it" - W. W. Jacobs

Zoning is perhaps the urbanist's prime tool. It is natural, then, that schools of urbanism, as well as political and economic ideologies, produce approaches and methodologies of zoning that are not only different amongst themselves, but which are often incompatible, and inevitably aligned with their interests and ideologies. And zoning is not only the main tool of the urban planner. Even if the urban planner does not intend it, any underlying ideology will always inevitably affect the urbanist's theory and praxis, and in particular the manner in which we go about territorial planning, just as it will inevitably affect specific planning instruments such as Master Plans. Our priorities, our strategies, and overall urban philosophy are built upon various philosophical, ideological, and political axioms, and our approach to zoning will inevitably be one of the most visible, tangible and evident emanations of our latent ideology.

Utopian Urbanism and the Radio Centric Obsession

Urban utopias and dystopias are of primary importance in contemporary culture. The battle for the future is also fought in the arena of imagination, and in turn, contemporary imagination continues to be affected by our visions of what cities are and of what they could be. As we shall see, the conventions which permeate urban zoning are intimately connected with the urban utopias of the past and present, and throughout these utopias we can identify a common and transversal axis - the ubiquity of the radio centric arrangement and the rigid hierarchization of the city it entails, which subsequently tends to shape cities in such a way that the relative proximity to the center indicates a rank within the city's hierarchy, which in turn results in serious socio-economic inequalities between the center and its periphery.

We can trace back many of modern day cities' main problems to the reverberations of centralized planning- so much so that incremental, participatory and organic planning schools of thought are increasingly gaining ground as the dominant alternative planning methodologies within contemporary urbanism. Overly centralized planning, often criticized for its deterministic nature and perceived authoritarian rationale, has come to be seen by some as the main flaw of the dominant urban planning system, defined as *Rational Comprehensive Planning* by Banfield (1973).

Let's first look at different examples of how radio centric urban design has evolved through the ages, and how recurrent it is within different visions of ideal cities:

Image 1 - A map of the city of Palmanova, designed by Vincenzo Scamozzi

Image 2 - The city of Palmanova, Italy, maintains its original design

Image 3 - Campanella's City of the Sun is an example of utopian urbanism, where the ancestral symbol of the Sun represents the nature of the perfect city
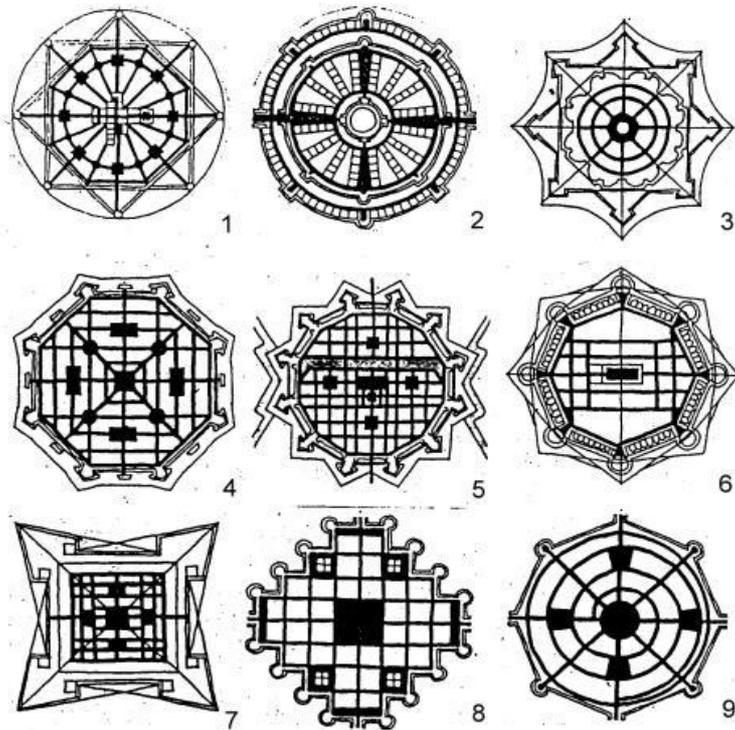
Image 4 - Different Renaissance conceptions of the ideal city: 1. La Sforzinda by Filarete (1460 – 1465); 2. Fra Giocondo (Giovanni of Verona), c. 1433 - 1515 ; 3. Girolamo Magi (or Maggi) (c. 1523 – c. 1572) (1564); 4. Giorgio Vasari (1598); 5. Antonio Lupicini (c. 1530 – c. 1598); 6. Daniele Barbaro (1513 – 1570); 7. Pietro Cattaneo (1537 – 1587); 8/9; Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439 – 1502)
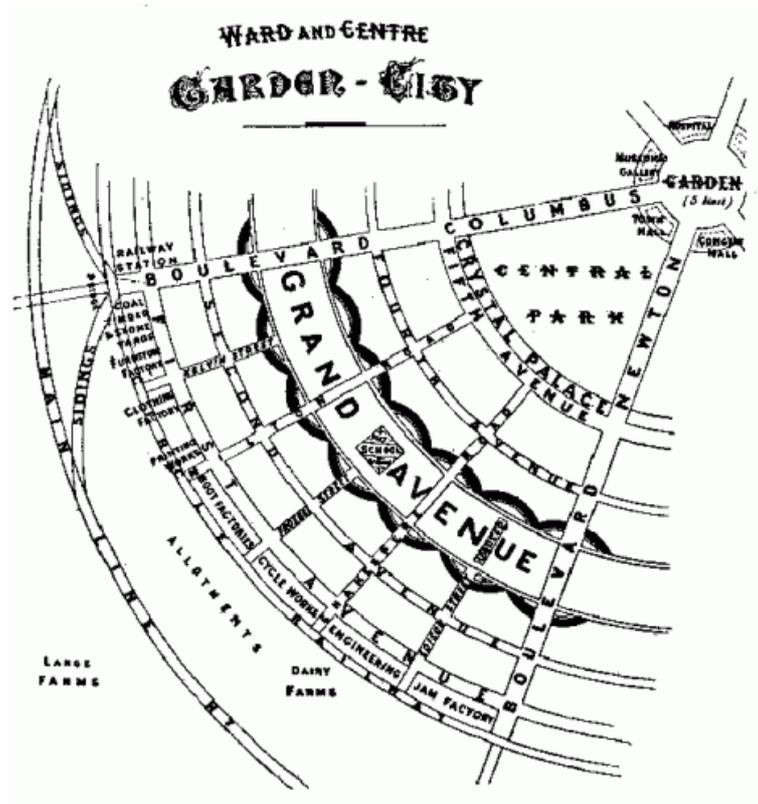
Image 5 - Sir Ebenezer Howard's radio centric utopia of the Garden Cities of To-morrow (1902)

Image 6 - Many of the modern urban utopias continue to follow the radio centric design

Image 7 - The ideal city of the Venus Project, clearly inspired by Renaissance urban utopias. It is a completely centralized, radio centric city

Image 8 - The Burning Man Festival adopted, after years of growth and evolution, a radio centric arrangement, to the detriment of previous dispositions which were more disperse and diffuse

Image 9 - The utopian city of Auroville is designed like a radio centric vortex

Image 10 - The city of Mecca also shows, in the vicinity of the Kaaba, a disposition with radio centric tendencies

Image 11 - This design is directly inspired by the Islamic rituals during which believers pray in the direction of the Kaaba and walk around the black stone

We also find that even when cities' layouts aren't visibly radio centric, their transportation systems, in this case the underground transport systems, can be represented in a radio centric way with stunning ease without it being necessary to distort their main characteristics:

Image 12 - The London Underground represented in a radio centric form (Tube Map Central, 2017)

Image 13 -The New York Subway represented in radio centric form (Tube Map Central, 2017)
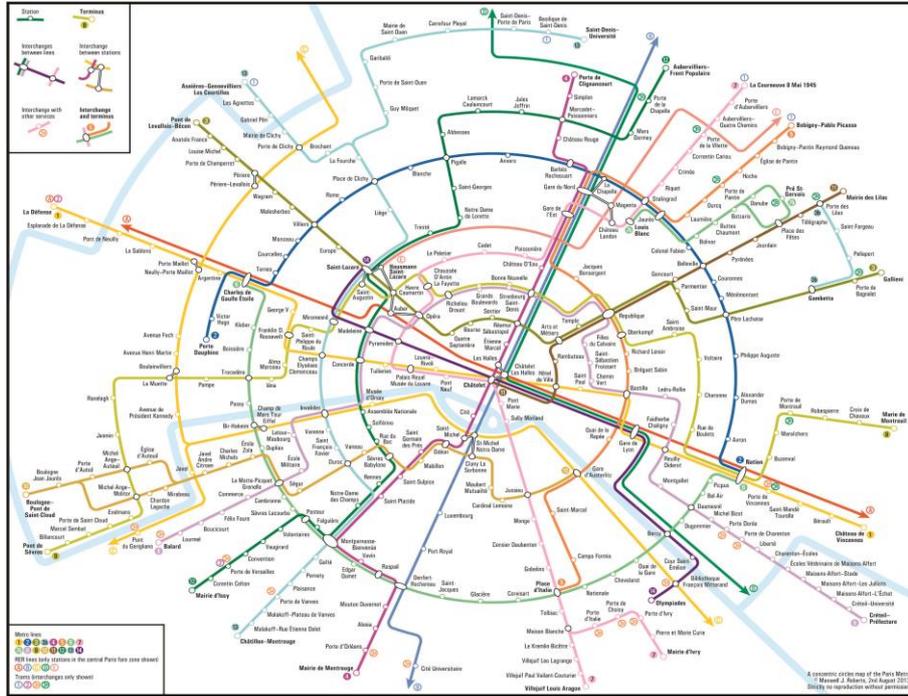
Image 14 - The Paris Metro represented in a radio centric form (Tube Map Central, 2017)

Letter from Athens, Le Corbusier and the Exacerbated Zoning

Regarding the evolution of Zoning Practices, Lewyn argues:

> For most of the twentieth century, American land use regulations sought to segregate land uses and to reduce population density, while American parking and street design regulations sought to facilitate driving by mandating wide streets and forcing landlords and businesses to build parking lots for their tenants and customers. These policies have combined to create a pattern of land use often described as "sprawl": low-density, automobile-oriented development. Where "single-use zoning" separates housing from commerce, and residential zones cover large amounts of thinly populated land, few people live within walking distance of commercial zones. Where wide streets speed up motor vehicle traffic, walking is unpleasant and perhaps even dangerous. And where parking lots surround buildings, pedestrians must walk through the parking lot in order to reach those buildings, making pedestrian commutes longer and more unpleasant. (Lewyn, 2006, pp. 257-258)
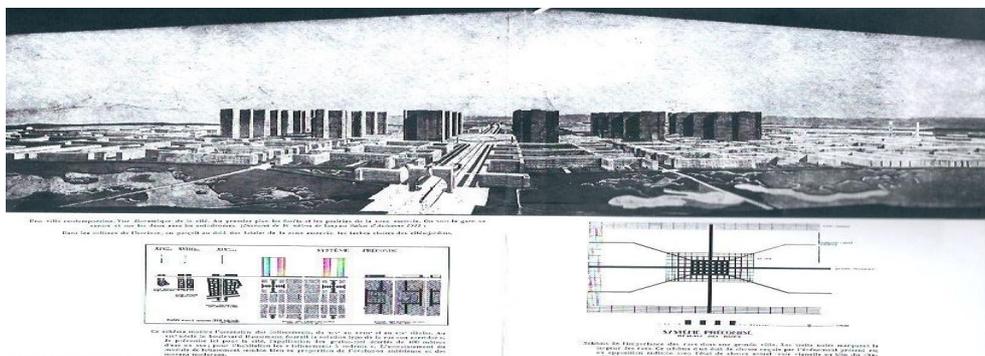
Image 15 - A model by Le Corbusier (Le Corbusier, 1925)
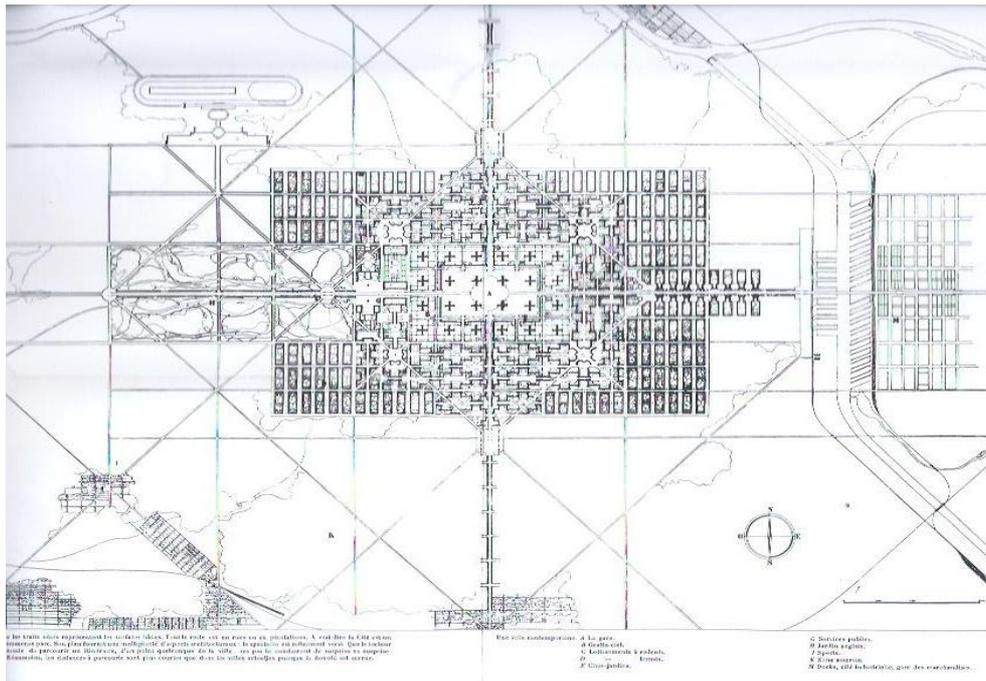
Imagem 16 - Le Corbusier's ideal cities are characterized by an exacerbated, even exaggerated zoning, where land uses are rigid and highly segregated
(Le Corbusier, 1925)

But we can go even further than Lewyn- and say that the modernist view of the city is somewhat materialistic and considerably reductionist, wherein the city becomes an object to be shaped by calculated engineering. In contrast, we can say that the city is a stage for life where physical spaces are made up of as much by ethereal connections as they are of material nodes, while they often also serve as places of pilgrimage, socialization, and perhaps most importantly, cultural interactions the dynamics of which are hard to encapsulate using linear, simplistic compartmentalization. The vision of modernist urbanism is summarized by Harvey, quoted by Lippoli as follows:

Modernism had lost any aspect of social criticism. Its pre-political and utopian program, based on the transformation of all social life through the transformation of space, had failed, and modern style had become closely linked to the accumulation of capital in a Fordist modernization project characterized by rationality, functionality and efficiency. (2016, p. 13)

Lippoli himself concludes:

> Capital had decided that the only functions of life to which the urban organization was to respond efficiently were those of production, resting-consumption, inhabiting and circulating rapidly (the four categories of the Athens Charter, formulated by Le Corbusier and others in 1933. (ibid, p. 14)

Polycentrism and New Urbanism Zoning

As a response to the exaggerated zoning of modernist urbanism, New Urbanism emerged as an alternative with a new conception of zoning:

Over the past two decades, a group of architects generally known as the "New Urbanist" movement has sought to design

more pedestrian-friendly neighborhoods. New Urbanists argue that:

- Automobile-dependent sprawl reduces individual freedom by immobilizing Americans too young or too old to drive.
- Sprawling development increases driving, which in turn has led to increased traffic congestion and pollution.
- Sprawl is ugly, produc[ing] nothing in the public realm worthy of aesthetic contemplation...
- Pedestrian-friendly communities might improve public health by allowing their residents to get more exercise.
- Pedestrian-friendly neighborhoods, unlike sprawling subdivisions, foster community by encouraging chance meetings between their residents.
- Sprawling development consumes more land than more compact development, thus reducing the supply of farmland, open space, and wildlife habitat.

The New Urbanist remedy is to build Traditional Neighborhood Developments (TNDs) -neighborhoods with streets narrow enough for pedestrians to safely cross and with housing within walking distance of schools, workplaces, shops, and other human activities. TNDs often conflict with conventional zoning and street design regulations. While New Urbanists seek to build mixed-use, compact neighborhoods, conventional land use regulation favors single-use, low-density sprawl…

Because existing zoning is so hostile to New Urbanism, New Urbanists have begun to develop alternative zoning codes codifying New Urbanist principles. (Lewyn, 2006: 258-259).
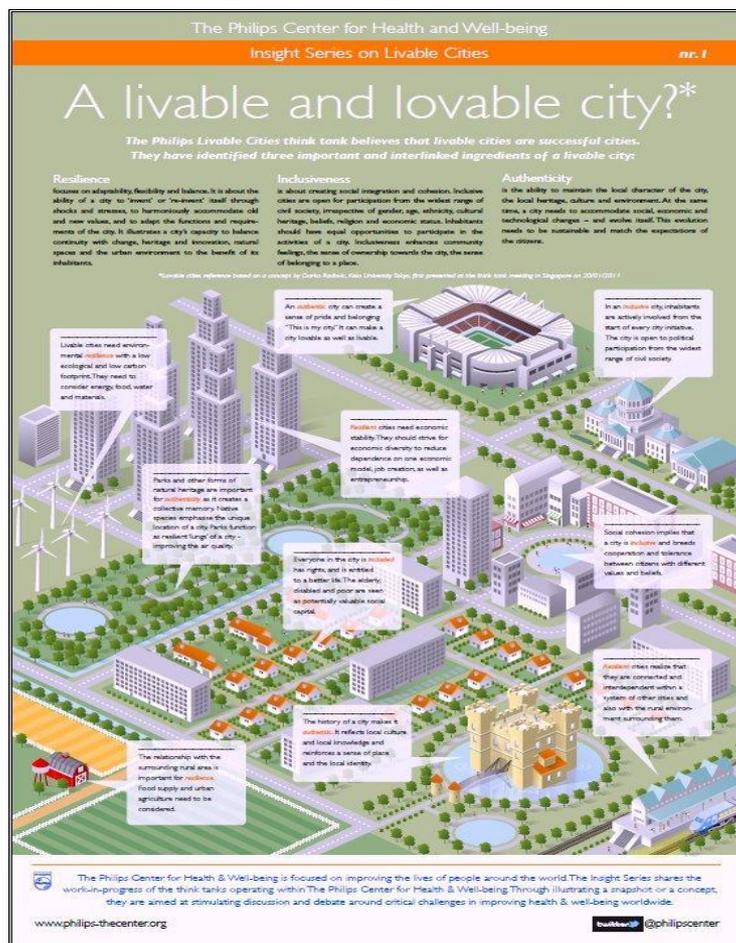
Image 17 - Contemporary utopias sometimes opt for more egalitarian configurations, where zoning aims for a juxtaposition of different uses, phasing out the highly hierarchical, radio centric disposition

Image 18 - Urban configurations demonstrating a more polycentric and flexible outline, with less rigid zoning (Simpson, 2015)

However, the emergence of alternative zoning practices, such as those associated with New Urbanism, has not, at least until now, managed to decisively contribute towards the bridging of the great divide between center and periphery that we find in many cities - on the contrary, the fosset difference between center and periphery not only survived- *in some cases it has tended to deepen further*, partly as a result of the aggressive gentrification of neighborhoods and places where typologies favorable to New Urbanism concepts can be applied or *where the original construction already demonstrates the characteristics that New Urbanism tries to resurrect*.

The city of Lisbon is a particularly paradigmatic example of the contrast between an eminently Corbusian periphery and a center that we can classify as classical and historical, characterized by the more "human" scale that New Urbanism tries to apply - these characteristics are highly desirable not only for the upper middle classes and the national petty bourgeoisie, but increasingly, for young professionals around the world looking for a so-called "genuine" urban experience (regarding the concept of "genuine" and its relation to gentrification, see Brown-Saracino, 2010, Semi, 2011, Slater, 2011, and Zukin, 2011). However, the Lisbon periphery is still marked by socioeconomic deficiencies, spatial segregation, incidents of police violence, poverty and marginalization- a Eurostat study of 2011 drew up a ranking of 20 European cities, classifying the cities according to their inhabitants' perception of the presence of poverty in their city – Lisbon appears in the podium, tied in third place with Budapest, surpassed only by Riga in Latvia and Miskolc in Hungary. 91% of Lisbon's inhabitants say there is a problem of poverty in the city (Business Insider, 2011). At the same time, Lisbon was being referred to in mainstream publications as "the new capital of cool" (Guardian, 2016).

The *touristification* and gentrification of the city of Lisbon has not only entered into the collective consciousness of Lisbon's inhabitants, it is now a subject of national and international concern and attention. Several conferences around the subject have been organized, such as the Lisbon Architecture Triennale of June 2016, which spoke of the urgent need to "stop the bleeding" (of residents from the city centre), an event during which residents expressed concerns, experiences and frustrations, while words such as "expropriation" and "occupation" were mentioned in reference to possible responses to gentrification and rising housing prices (Observador, 2016). Petitions have gathered hundreds of signatures demanding a "Clamp Down on Local Accommodation". Several collectives dealing with issues of housing have arisen or resurfaced, such

as the *Lisbon Solidarity Network*, the *Living in Lisbon* group and *Habita*. Lisbon's touristification and gentrification are the subject of reports and opinion pieces from some of the world's best-known publications, wondering whether urban rehabilitation projects will negatively affect the poor (Guardian, 2016), as well as reporting on the rise of evictions (Guardian, 2016b). We can also find reports on how a tourist stay in Lisbon caused the founder of an innovation and technology centers company, *Second Home*, to open a branch in Lisbon (Business Insider, 2016), with some predicting that Lisbon will become a global center of creativity and innovation (Business of Fashion, 2016). Media reports abound regarding how Lisbon has become one of the most coveted art centers (Artnet News, 2017) while others praise its nightlife (City Metric, 2016).

In short, over the last years, touristification, gentrification and the subsequent housing shortages in central areas has become the object of growing academic and civic interest, and has been widely reported on in national and international media. It has also become one of the preferred arenas for social movements looking to gain traction, who identify anxiety and difficulties around issues of housing as one of the more likely sources of public mobilization. The touristification and gentrification of the center of Lisbon has made considerations about some of the harmful dynamics of gentrification and the effects of the housing crisis transcend the abstract sphere and become real, tangible. Housing is today a considerable source of popular dissatisfaction and unrest, and this also means that urbanism has an unquestionably growing political potential.

However, few authors have tried to analyze the extent to which the polarization between the center and the periphery of Lisbon will be affected by the phenomenon of touristification and gentrification, and whether it will be exacerbated or mitigated by the new financial and demographic dynamics it is generating, and above all, the extent to which the so-called 'hotel monoculture' that has been promoted by the Lisbon Municipality will not reduce Lisbon's polycentrism and the tendentially mixed-use layout of its city center, one of the city's greatest attributes.

Let us see, then, what clues that Lisbon's recent history offers us in order to better understand its present situation.

Zoning in Lisbon
20th Century

The Lisbon Council was managed by administrative commissions between 1901 and 1903, and likewise in 1907. It was in November 1908 that the Council had its first Republican Municipal government, two years after the monarchy was overthrown. A new administrative code was implemented in 1913, which fixed the number of city councilors to fifty-four, who then comprised the *Senate of the House*, elected through direct and universal suffrage (CML, 1997).

In 1916, through Law no. 621, the ecclesiastical and civil parishes were separated, producing the Parishes that continue to this day (Universidade Lusíada, 2009, p. 4).

In 1918 there was heightened tension between the central and local government, with President Sidónio Pais dissolving the Lisbon City Council, accusing it of having conspired against the central government, and following up by appointing an administrative commission, with another being named in 1926. The period between 1926 and 1932 was characterized by a generalized negligence towards local government, with "the government being limited to dealing with the establishment of an urbanization plan for the city of Lisbon, trying to solve the housing crisis as well as establishing a fundamental road network" (Silva, 1994, p. 9). In this period the Council gave particular emphasis to private investment as an engine for

urbanization, due in part to its lack of financial capacity (Silva, 1994). A new Administrative Code was published in 1940, and the Council president was appointed by the central government (CML, 1997).
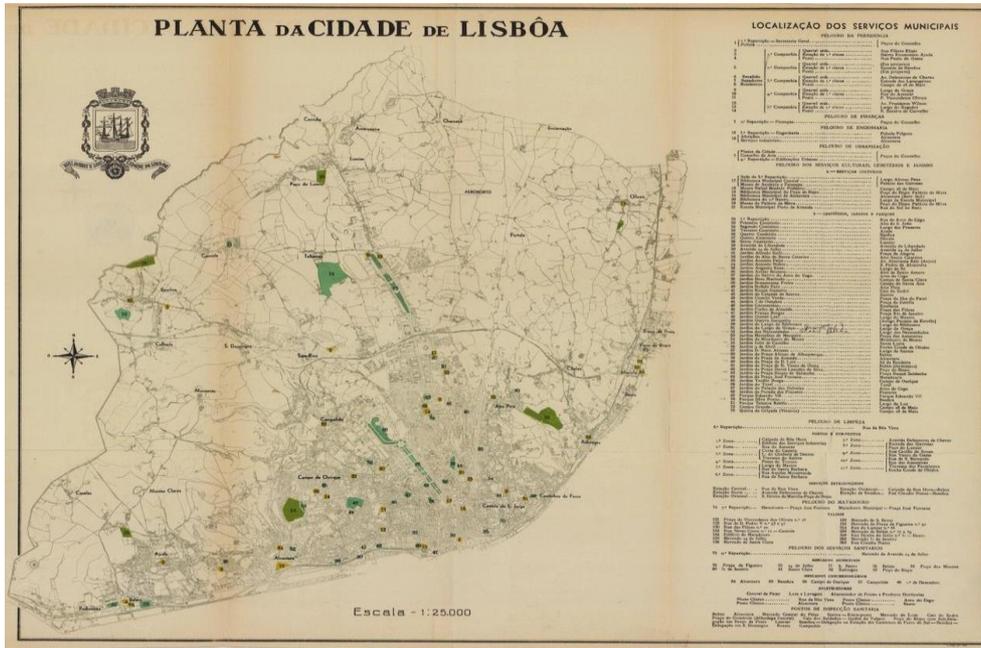
Image 19 - Location of Lisbon's Municipal Services, 1935
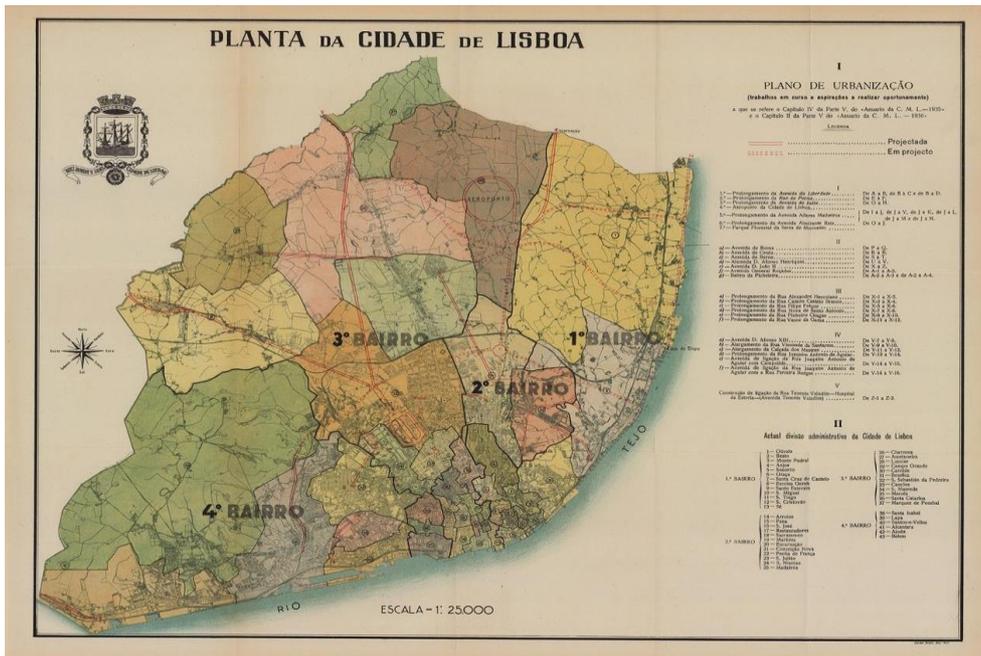
Image 20 - Lisbon's Plan of Urbanization, 1935

In order for the preliminary studies of the Lisbon Master Plan to be undertaken, J.C. Forrestier's experience was called upon - he was a landscape architect, and the Council was indeed very much preoccupied with improving Lisbon's landscape and overall aesthetic appeal. This collaboration, however, also resulted in other important contributions, perhaps the most important of which was a basic road network, *which laid the foundations of the radio centric nature that was to be imprinted on the city in the future* (Silva, 1994).

This period in Lisbon's history was marked by rapid, anarchic, disperse and territorially inconsistent urbanization with large amounts of informal housing being built as a result of rural immigration, especially after the 1930s. This type of urbanization was also spurred by the introduction of new means of transport, i.e., suburban railways and roads, along with higher rates, though not significantly, of access to automobile ownership and use, which facilitated the transit between the suburbs of Lisbon and central places of work, favoring the growth of peripheral or suburban neighbourhoods. The areas that were better serviced by these novel means of transport naturally saw a higher population growth, as was the case of Almada, Barreiro, Cascais and Oeiras, with Loures, Sintra and Vila Franca de Xira having lower rates of growth (Silva, 1994). A greater need to coordinate the management of urban planning led to the establishment of "bases for the technical and financial collaboration between the State and local authorities" in September of 1932 (Silva, 1994, p. 12). Infrastructural and economic development were the main drivers of urban planning at this time; "in short, the new urban policy consisted of creating the basic infrastructure that would have allowed for the expansion of the internal market" (Silva, 1994, p. 13).

Urbanization and urban planning became increasingly important for the Council at this time. This increased emphasis resulted in the Government replacing the regime for the approval of plans and constructions, which dated back to 1864, in 1934, with the new regime having been jointly drafted by Duarte Pacheco and Alfred Agache, the latter having presented the document titled "*Modèle de lois, règlements, et servitudes*" to the former (Silva, 1994, p. 14). The first factor of note in the general urbanization plan was the fact that it was not conceived as a regulatory instrument, that is, it did not link the licensing of private construction projects to the provisions of the plan (Silva, 1994, p. 14). In this context, it is important to emphasize the importance of the use of land resources in urban areas within the urbanization plan.

In 1938, a new Administrative Code came into force, under the administration of the first Council that was formed since 1926, this time presided by Duarte Pacheco himself. In 1938, the general process of urbanization was the exclusive responsibility of the Council (Silva, 1994). In turn, and in order to deal with this area of activity, the Council's technical staff increased significantly from 1939 onwards. But the Council did not have the capacity to carry out all the construction work that was needed, and by this time began to promote private construction projects as an alternative to the building exclusivity with which Duarte Pacheco had endowed the Council- private initiatives were, however, still regulated by Council's plans and licensing powers (Silva, 1994).

The fiscal consolidation policies of 1948 led to a change in the urban development strategy, leading the Lisbon Council to "concentrate its financial resources and technical capacities on the completion of the works already begun and / or foreseen in the 1947 Plan, before beginning new undertakings" (Silva, 1994, p. 17). The scarcity of funds also caused the Council's most qualified cadres to leave, seeking higher remuneration.

By the time the Municipal Master Plan of 1948 was drafted, the prevailing planning tendencies of the time started to manifest ever more clearly, that is, by virtue of the implementation of rigid zoning, promoting social segregation, *and the imprinting of a radio centric structure*, whilst also giving greater emphasis on the development of the systems of transportation and commuting. This particular plan was deeply influenced by E. de Groer (Silva, 1994).
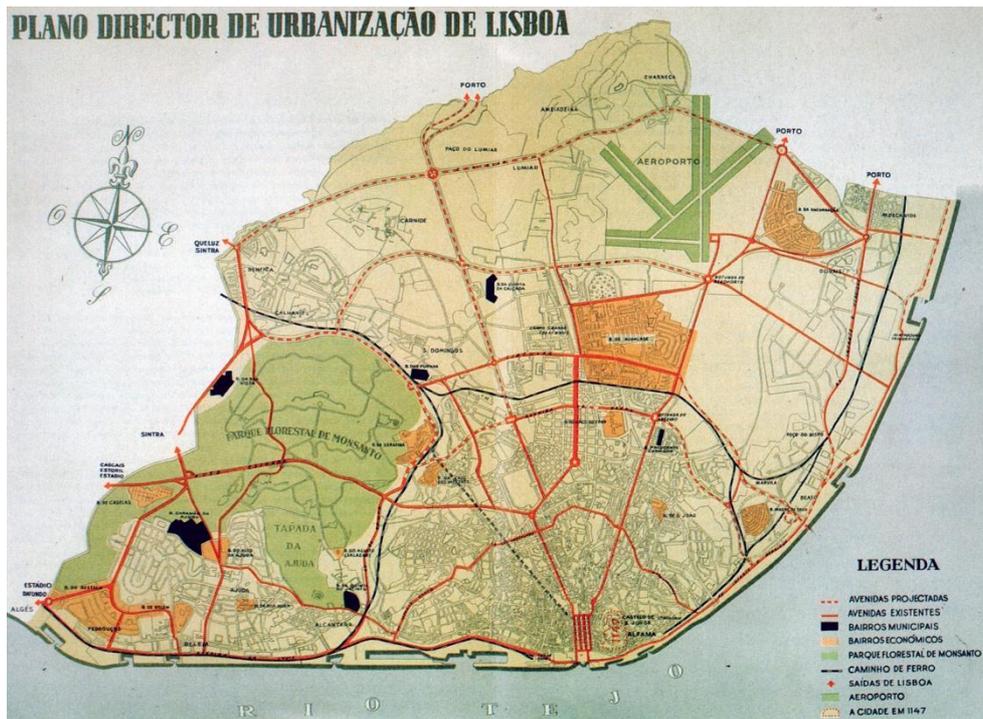
Image 21 - Lisbon's Municipal Master Plan, 1948 (CML, 2012a)

The effectiveness of this plan, particularly in its ability to solve the housing crisis, was somewhat limited by Law 2030, which removed the municipality's urban strategy responsibilities, which lead to an increase in precarious housing (Silva, 1994). This factor was compounded by the rural inflows of the 1960s, a rise in the cost of labor and subsequently a rise in the overall cost of construction, adding to the rising costs of the colonial "Overseas War" (*Guerra do Ultramar*). All of these factors reduced the Lisbon Council's investment capacity and aggravated the housing crisis. It was this crisis that França Borges, who chaired the Council from 1959 to 1969, had the intention to solve, which ultimately resulted in an even greater reliance on private housing construction (Silva, 1994).

In 1966, the bridge over the Tagus river was inaugurated, and in 1967, the Council published the the Lisbon Master Plan of Urbanization, completed in 1966. Its publication meant that other previously realized studies had to be revised, which in turn significantly slowed down the urbanization process. Silva (1994) mentions that "this plan replicated the rigidity that was found in equivalent international plans, which in turn made it a somewhat inappropriate plan for Lisbon's particular needs". This plan, among other aspects, "proposed a decentralized urban structure in hierarchically integrated planning units, and yet however, failed to take into account the effective, real development capacity of the Lisbon Council, which was largely transcended by those of private construction agents..." (Silva, 1994, pp. 27-29).
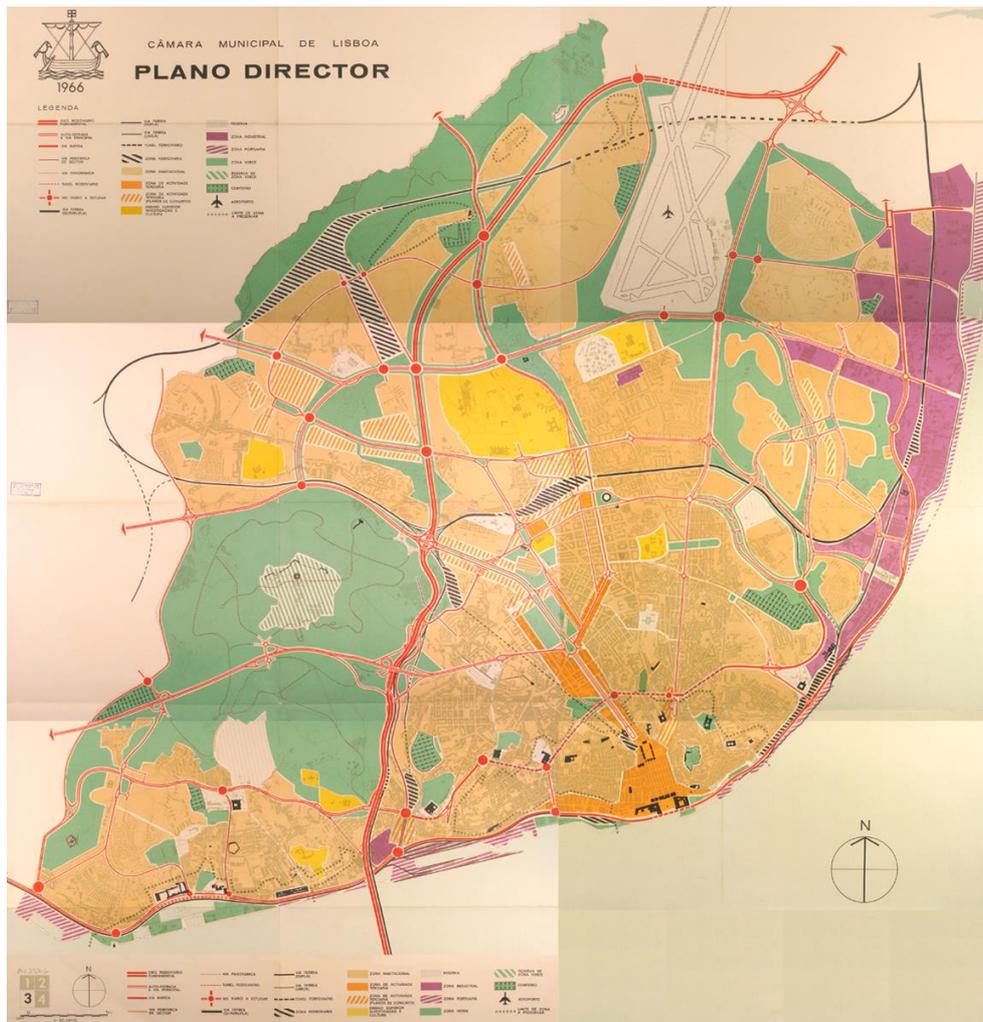
Image 22 - Lisbon's Urbanization Master Plan of 1966, published in 1967, by Meyer-Heine (CML, 2012a)

The April Revolution

The April revolution resulted in an increase in the government's willingness to allow for greater municipal independence. Among other measures, elections with universal suffrage were introduced. Voters voted on lists of competitors, electing sixteen councillors, the most voted of which takes the presidency. As for its organization, the City Council was an executive body while the Municipal Assembly was deliberative (CML, 1997).

The constitution of 1976 considerably changed the Local Administration's organization by granting municipalities and parishes greater autonomy. This process "was not only a decentralization of administration, but an expression of the political power associated with the idea of a local democracy, insofar as the municipalities have their own democratically elected bodies" (Universidade Lusíada, 2009, p. 5). With the constitution of 1976, municipalities' dependency on the central State was diminished, with the establishment of three categories of local government: administrative regions, municipalities and parishes. In this model, the parishes are not a direct part of the municipality, having an independent character, being represented only in the municipalities by the presidents of the Parish Council in the Municipal Assemblies. The constitution stipulates in paragraph 1 of Article 6 that "The State is unitary and respects in its organization and operation the autonomous regional regime and the principles of subsidiarity, the autonomy of local authorities and the democratic decentralization of public administration" (Constitution of the Republic, 2005, p. 2).

In 1992, the Lisbon Strategic Plan was published, and its main aim was to establish a plan for the capital's economic development. Its main component was a plan to revitalize a particularly blighted section of the Northeast riverside, taking advantage of the redevelopment opportunities made possible by the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition (CML, 2012a).
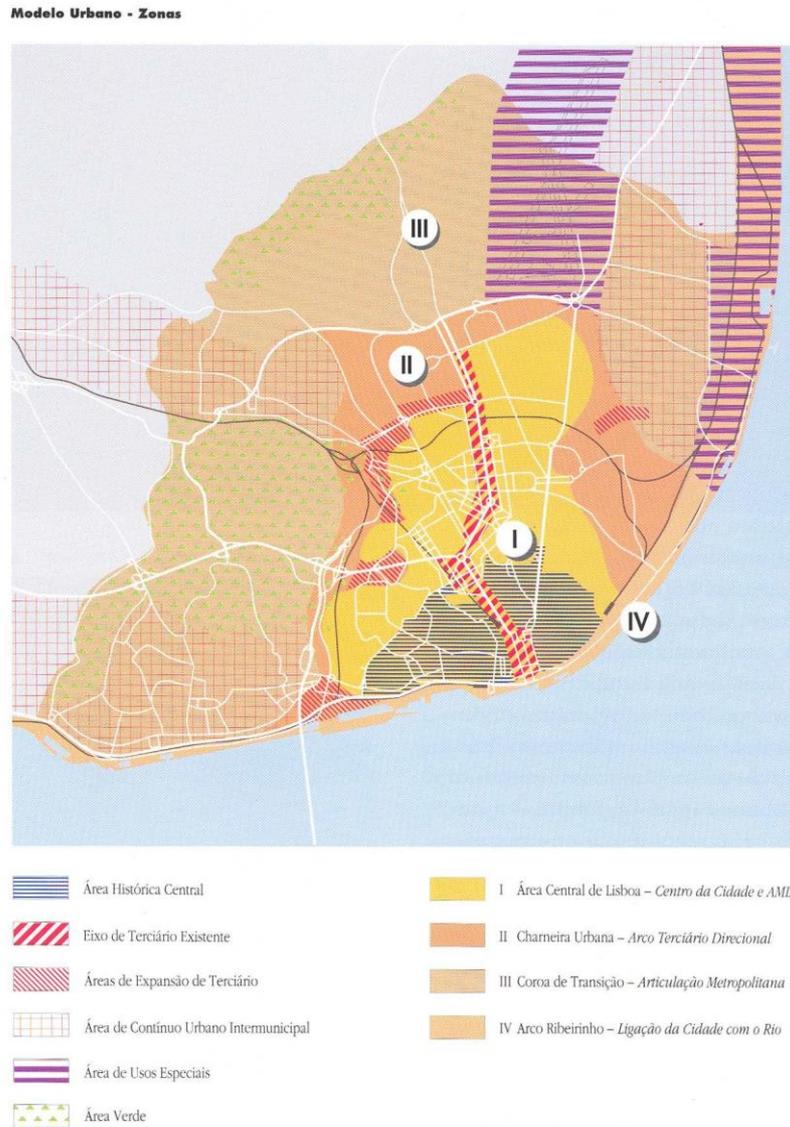
Image 23 - The Lisbon Strategic Plan of 1992, depicting Lisbon divided into strategic areas (CM Lisbon, 2012a)

The 1994 Municipal Master Plan established that the Urbanization Plans and Detail Plans should be drawn up in parallel with the Municipal Master Plan. It also established different categories of urban spaces, and produced the *Letters of Heritage and the Environment* as well as establishing the regulations related to *Municipal Territorial Planning*. However, *it did not solve the fracture between the center and the periphery of Lisbon*, neither did it sufficiently address the need to revitalize the center, nor the housing crisis (CML, 2012a).

Image 24 - Lisbon's 1994 Municipal Master Plan (CML, 2012b)

Image 25 - Lisbon's 2011 Municipal Master Plan (CML, 2011)

Image 26 - Lisbon's 2011 Municipal Master Plan, key (CML, 2011)

Lisbon's 2011 Municipal Master Plan demonstrates the extent to which the substantial divide between Lisbon's periphery and center continued. Lisbon's center is dense, consolidated and continuous, characterized by its mixed-use and built at a smaller scale, with small parks never too far away from classic, "popular" neighbourhoods which have their own cultural and commercial hubs; this configuration extends somewhat timidly by the riverside. However, this typology ceases abruptly at the borders marked firstly by the Monsanto park and the train line, both of which form the barrier that separates the centre from the primary periphery, and then by a second barrier, the secondary circular highway (the *segunda circular*), beyond which is the secondary periphery. These barriers scar Lisbon's territory and represent urban moats that profoundly mark the city's layout, preventing it from developing in a cohesive and socially equitable way. Beyond these barriers one will find extensive housing areas with little commercial areas, even fewer cultural hubs and very little in way of urban variety.

And yet Lisbon is now faced with another daunting prospect, which is the considerable reduction of the demographic and socio-economic variety of its city center due to the influx of tourists, the proliferation of hotels, and perhaps most importantly, the transformation of private housing into informal tourist accommodation (for example, via digital platforms such as Airbnb...) While Lisbon, if anything, *should seek to expand its city center's variety progressively to the peripheries*, *it is now faced with the possibility of the inverse happening- the periphery's lack of variety expanding inwards*. Much like the zoning in Lisbon's 1967 Master Plan, which adopts rigid segregation of land use, and even to some degree, *excessive mono-functionality*, the city centre risks becoming increasingly dedicated to a sole purpose, in this case- *tourism*. The proliferation of hotels as well as the new phenomenon of local accommodation pose a threat to some of the more remarkable positive characteristics of Lisbon's city center; concepts such as polycentrism and the introduction of zoning policies that promote mixed-use zones are now central concepts of urbanism that gather a considerable degree of consensus- the Lisbon council however seems to be using its capacity to influence Lisbon's landscape, which itself has already been somewhat limited by the private sector's dominant position in urban development as well as the public debt crisis, to do, or at least allow for, the exact opposite to take place.
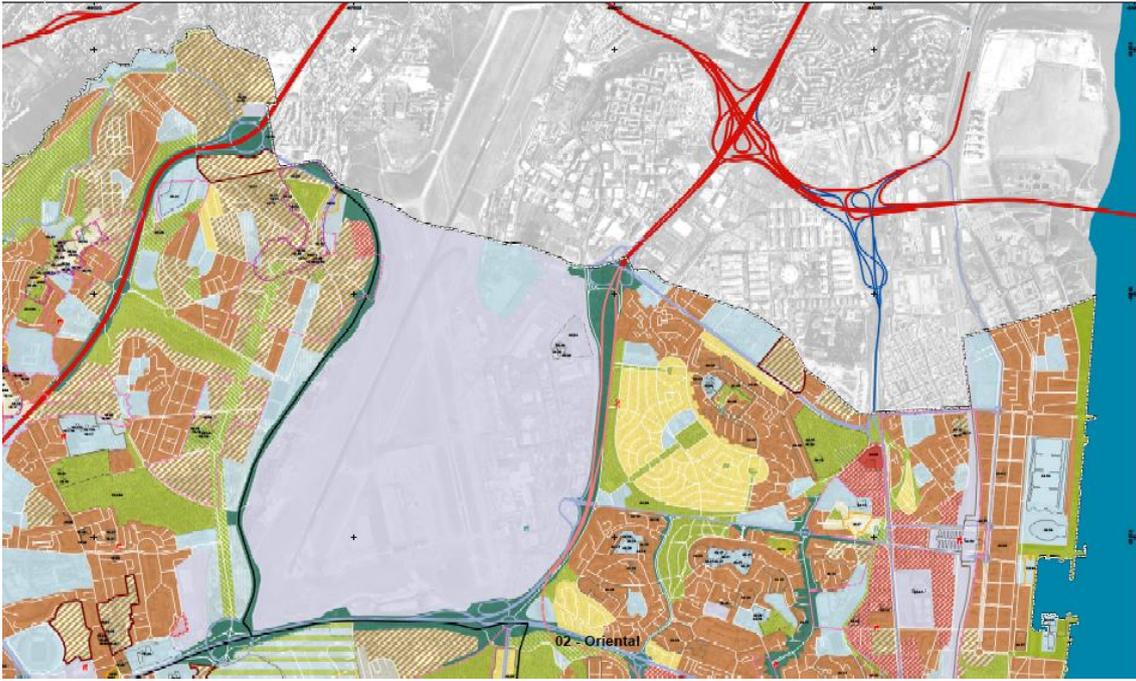
Image 27 - Lisbon's 2011 Municipal Master Plan, detail (CML, 2011)
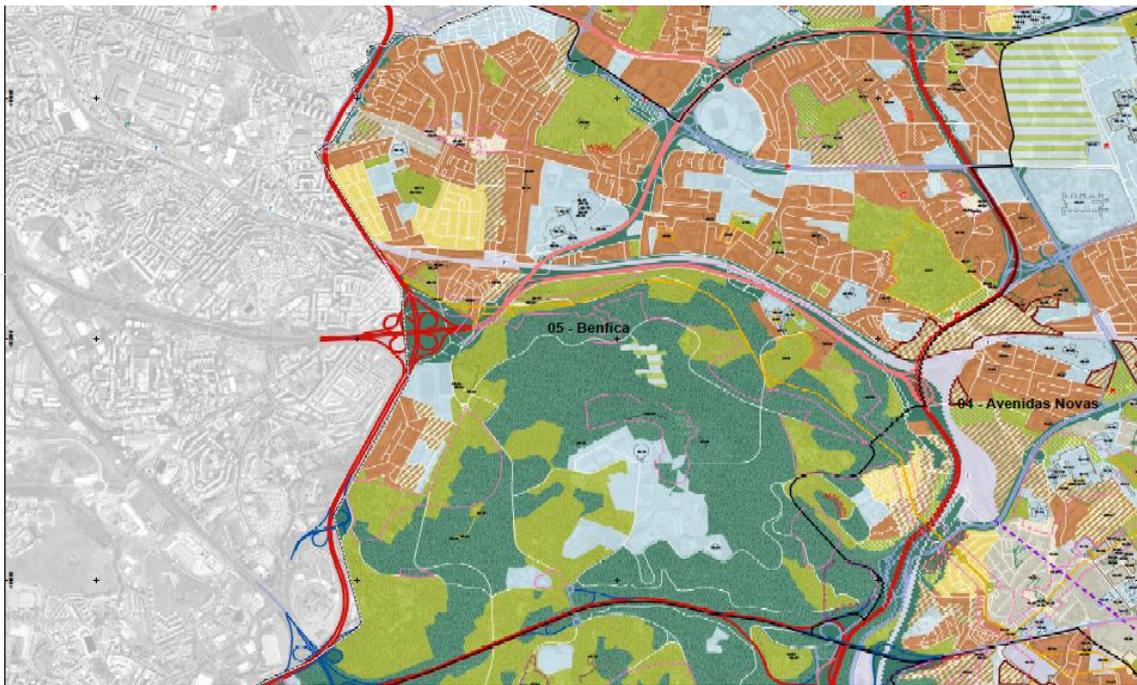
Image 28 - Lisbon's 2011 Municipal Master Plan, detail (CML, 2011)

Image 29 - Lisbon's 2011 Municipal Master Plan, detail (CML, 2011)
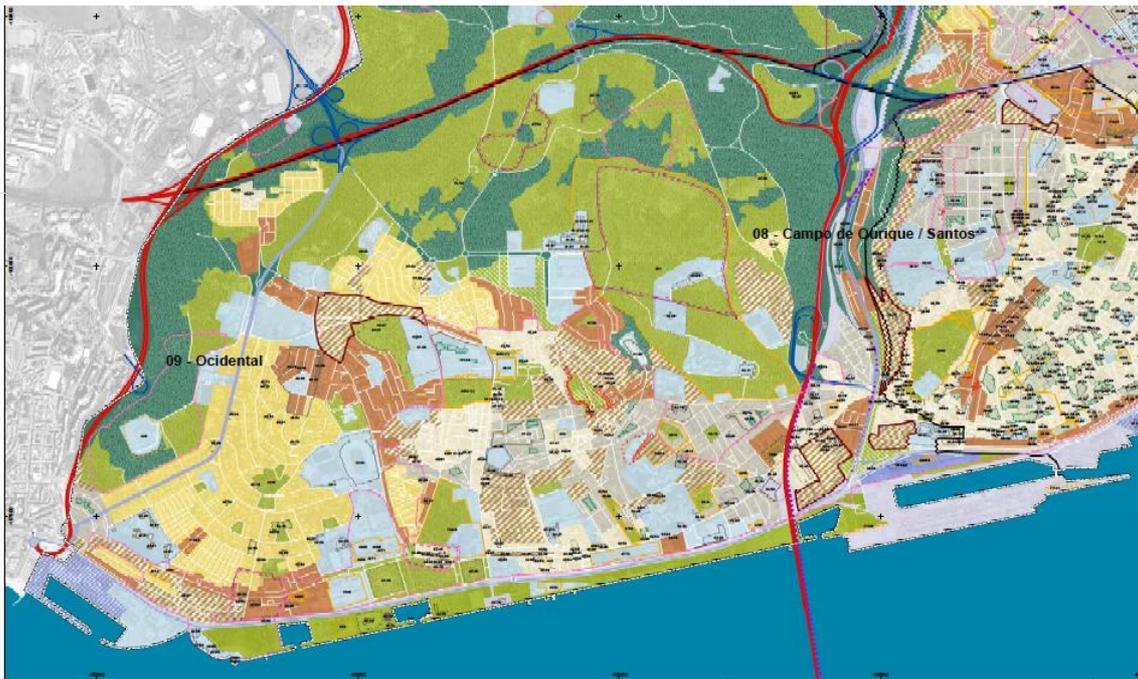
Image 30 - Lisbon's 2011 Municipal Master Plan, detail (CML, 2011)
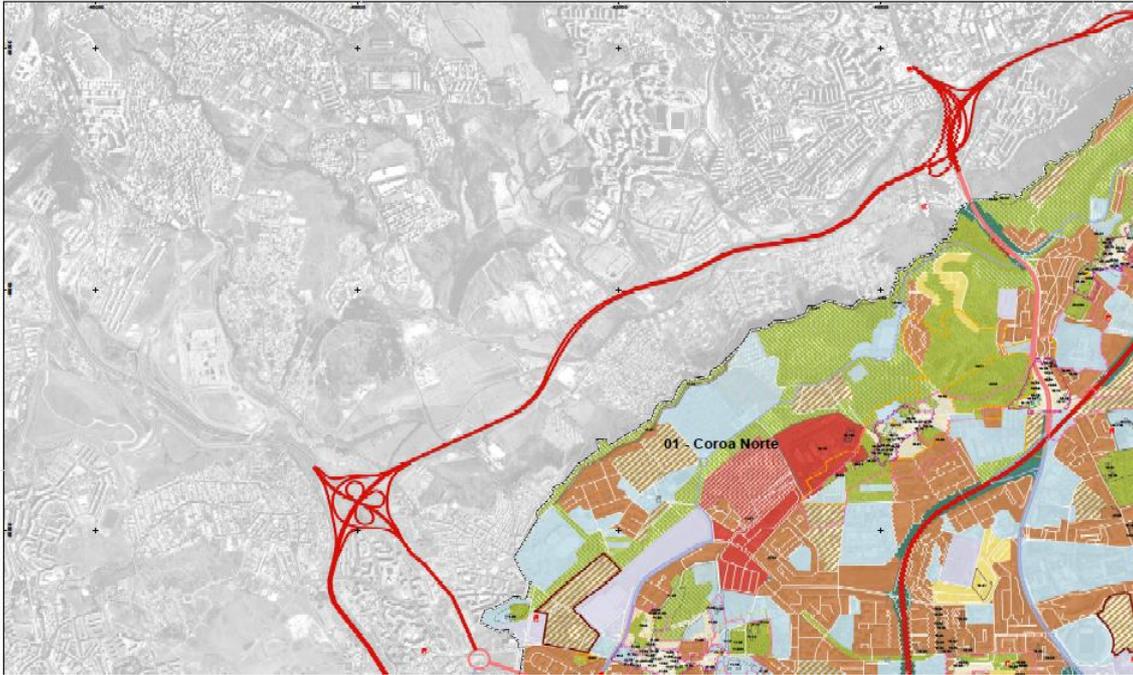
Image 31 - Lisbon's 2011 Municipal Master Plan, detail (CML, 2011)
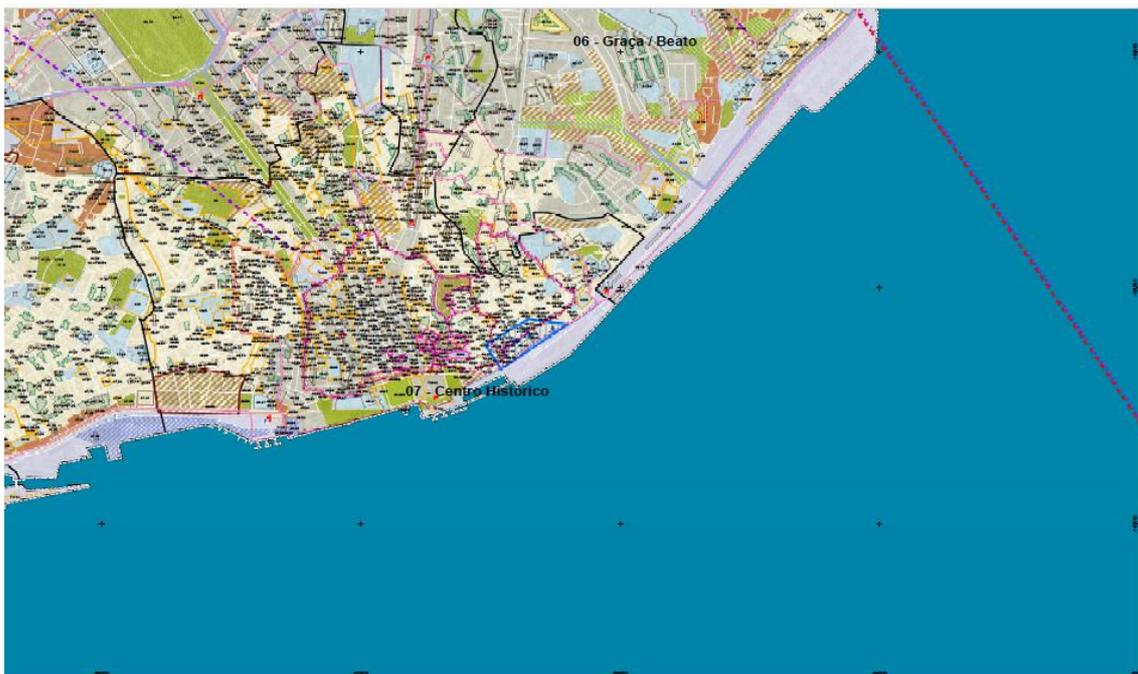
Image 32 - Lisbon's 2011 Municipal Master Plan, detail (CML, 2011)

Between Corbusian Zoning and the New Urbanism Zoning - A Synthesis

We can attempt to synthesize the qualities of polycentric, continuous urban fabrics, unscarred by barriers such as highways and train tracks, with highly hierarchical, segmented urban dispositions. Let us first however consider one of the main benefits of the polycentric arrangement, which is that it provides an urban backdrop that promotes socio-economic equity, in particular in contexts characterized by rapid urbanization, the growth of suburbs, the proliferation of informal housing or even the appearance or expansion of slums. In these scenarios, a lack of polycentrism will tend to produce highly segregated,

unequal cities with profound socio-economic inequality, and potentially, higher rates of crime, deep social divisions along with a plethora of political problems. Through the promotion of polycentrism the urban planner can hope to multiply and disperse, on a metropolitan scale, cultural, economic and commercial hubs, whilst reducing the probability of generating vast areas of impoverished, geographically secluded and socially marginal neighbourhoods. But polycentrism has its own particular limitations; attempts to promote polycentrism in an inorganic, forced manner, solely through the tools provided by municipal urban planning, *by municipal decree*, if you will, can fail spectacularly, as we have seen in the construction of satellite cities in Cairo. Equally, a polycentric city may lose its sense of hierarchy of space and place- an overly diffuse outlay can also reduce the appeal of places of social convergence. It is perhaps more sensible to attempt to develop identifiable gaps between already identifiable hubs. A more fractal design could be the solution to attempt to combat an inconsistent urban fabric in order to mitigate social inequality. The fractal design synthesizes the importance of hierarchy between spaces, the continuity and the need for multiplicity, harmony and balance. Ne.lo (1996, 2001), quoted by Seixas, recalls:

> Today's European city is, from the administrative point of view, a crushed, opaque and conflicted space (…) the evidence of how the administrative fragmentation of the territory accompanies and favours social divisions could grow further: The problems that such fragmentation   for urban planning are maximised by the difficulties it poses for the practice of distributive social policies in this same urban space, along with the dynamics necessary for local policies, etc. Functional specialization, social segregation and fragmented administrative forces mutually feed each other in a manner that raise and strengthen a maze of dead-ends in a city with no end in sight (because of its seemingly unending sprawl). (2013, p. 82)

Seixas also argues:

> For now, the awareness of social and spatial fragmentation, amplified by the mediatization of crime and urban problems (even when the data shows that they do not increase), has provoked a socially constructed urban agoraphobia (Indovina, 2001), a feeling of estrangement from public spaces that Davis also referred to in his reflection on the 'ecology of fear' (1999). (2013, p. 95)

Seixas, further points out that the way cities are planned, particularly in zoning policies, is obsolete:

> (…) with rare exceptions, we continue to administer, regulate and design the urban territory by means of models still strongly based on almost exclusively morphofunctional logics (...), delimitation of land uses and regulation of functionalities by paradigmatically outdated notions (2013, p. 160)

Ascher makes more specific accusations regarding the failures of modern zoning thus:

Modern urbanism (the very word "urbanism" appears in different forms from the turn of the nineteenth century to the twentieth century) applies within the framework of the organization of cities the principles that have been established in industry. The key notion is specialization: Taylorism will systematize industry where it will attempt to decompose and simplify tasks so as to improve performance. Modern urbanism has applied it from the late nineteenth century onwards through zoning, which later Le Corbusier and the Charter of Athens took to an excessive scale. (2001, p. 28)

Ascher (2001, p. 29) also states that the proliferation of technology means that each home can be equipped with key appliances, and that furthermore, the elevated capacity for commuting and transport that provides urban dwellers with the opportunity to live far from their workplaces, and "that the mono-functional neighbourhoods in urban peripheries are a

reflection of this". However the dysfunctionalities that this mono-functionality generates, especially as these urban divisions promote the solidification of extreme divisions between social classes, has made modern urbanism almost consensually accept the need to implement greater multi-functionality and mixed-use for urban territories. It remains necessary to formalize alternative methods for a more harmonious multi-functionality as well as efficient ways to make the urban layout tend towards that direction, instead of the opposite. Finally Ascher (2001, p. 30) diagnoses what he sees as "a Fordo-Keynesian-Corbusian urbanism - an expression of a simplifying rationality with its urban planning, mono-functional zoning, hierarchical urban structures, adapted to mass production and consumption, with its commercial centers, industrial zones and circulations as well as an implementation of the welfare state with its collective facilities, public services and social housing".

Conclusion - Radio Centric Utopias and Insurmountable Moats

Utopias and Dystopias have a tangible effect on the way we plan and see cities. Utopias can be a positive driving force, but can also have negative effects on city planning and theoretical urbanism. Highly hierarchical and segregated planning practices that promote social inequity simultaneously occupy the ethereal space of utopian urban projections, but they also permeate present urban realities- *in the case of Lisbon, the transition between the former and the latter has been made possible through the application of successive Municipal Master Plans*.

The urbanistic, and even *philosophical* insight to be found herein is that *as a result of actually managing to transform cities in line with our utopian visions, it is possible to actively achieve the opposite of its intended effect, thus moving our urban reality closer to what some might view as a dystopia*. We are faced with the very real possibility of using urbanism as a supporting ideological and practical mega-structure through which mankind may end up constructing real life dystopias. Furthermore, these dystopias may even lack the aesthetic quality of cautionary works of science fiction while perhaps matching their horrors, adding insult to injury.

Works of fiction have always played a part in shaping our vision of the city. However the rise of alternative media and the youth's growing discontent with modern living and their own place in the world has reinvigorated direct and indirect, conscious and subconscious, interactions with urban theory, *often leading to dreams of a more egalitarian, healthy and spiritual life away from the city*. We can term this trend *resurgent anarcho-primitivism*. Many propose that a positive future within the urban environment can only be conceived by radically changing not only urban management, but the built environment as a whole, much like *urban utopias of past and present which concentrate on design more than they do on management*. These social dynamics, such as popular images of utopias and dystopias, are all too often ignored by academics who tend to be stuck in their own feedback loops, hence ignoring important ideological tendencies which may undermine their work. It is also possible that if urbanists don't address the manner in which their latent utopian and dystopian visions can help to bring about negative effects, potentially reinforcing popular misconceptions about the nature of cities and fuelling the resurgence of anti-urbanism in both academic circles and popular culture.

References

Artnet News. (2017). *Lisbon Has Become One of Europe's Hottest Art Capitals. How Did That Happen?* Retrieved from https://news.artnet.com/art-world/why-do-artists-love-lisbon-968702

Ascher, François. (2001). *Novos Princípios do Urbanismo*. Lisboa, Portugal: Livros Horizonte.

Ascher, François. (2008). *Novos Compromissos Urbanos*. Lisboa, Portugal: Livros Horizonte.

Banfield, Edward. (1973). Ends and Means in Planning. In: *A Reader in Planning Theory*. (Eds.) A. Faluidi. New York, USA: Pergamon Press.

Brown-Saracino, Japonica. (2010). Social Preservationists and the Quest for Authentic Community. In: *The Gentrification Debates: A Reader*. (Eds.) BROWN-SARACINO, Japonica (2010) pp. 261-275. New York, USA: Routledge.

Business Insider. (2011). *These 20 Cities Have The Worst Poverty Problems In Europe*. Accessed: 21st of August. Retrieved from http://www.businessinsider.com/europe-poverty-2011-12

Business Insider. (2016). *An inside look at Burning Man's 31-year evolution from beach bonfire to international mega-event*. Retrieved from http://www.businessinsider.com/burning-man-pictures-30-year-evolution-2016-8/#for-the-first-three-years-of-burning-man-the-festival-was-held-on-san-franciscos-baker-beach-by-1989-however-golden-gate-park-police-had-learned-of-the-event-and-prohibited-any-actual-burning-the-event-was-a-fire-hazard-they-said-1

Business Insider. (2016). *Rohan Silva's next project is building affordable homes in London*. Retrieved from http://uk.businessinsider.com/rohan-silva-interview-second-home-build-homes-lisbon-portugal-2016-11

Business of Fashion. (2016). *Is Gentrification a Threat to Fashion Capitals?* Retrieved from https://www.businessoffashion.com/articles/intelligence/is-gentrification-a-threat-to-fashion-capitals

Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (CML). (1997). *A Evolução Municipal de Lisboa- Pelouros e Vereações*. Lisbon, Portugal: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa.

Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (CML). (2011). *Plano Diretor Municipal, Qualificação*. Lisbon, Portugal: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. Retrieved from http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/fileadmin/VIVER/Urbanismo/urbanismo/planeamento/pdm/vigor2/01_QUALIFICACAO.pdf

Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (CML). (2011b). *Relatório de Avaliação e Propostas para o OP 2011-2012*. Lisbon, Portugal: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. Retrieved from http://www.youblisher.com/p/104046-Relatorio-de-Avaliacao-OP2010-2011/

Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (CML). (2012). *Orçamento Participativo 12 -Relatório de Avaliação*. Lisbon, Portugal: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. Retrieved from http://www.youblisher.com/p/604533-Relatorio-OP-2012-2013/

Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (CML). (2012a). *Planeamento em Lisboa- História Recente (de 1948 aos Nossos Dias)*. Lisbon, Portugal: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. Retrieved from http://pdm.cm-lisboa.pt/ap_2.html

Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (CML). (2012b). *Plano Director Municipal de Lisboa.* Lisbon, Portugal: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. Retrieved from http://ulisses.cm-lisboa.pt/data/002/004/index.php?ml=2&x=pdm.xml

City Metric. (2016). *Lisbon is a city famed for its nightlife – and the residents hate it*. Retrieved from http://www.citymetric.com/business/lisbon-city-famed-its-nightlife-and-residents-hate-it-2478

Constituição da República Portuguesa, VII Revisão Institucional. (2005). Lisbon +, Portugal: Assembleia da República.

Goitia, Fernando Chueca. (1982). *Breve História do Urbanismo.* Editorial Presença, Barcarena

Le Corbusier. (1925). [1980]. *Urbanisme*. Paris, France: Édition Arthaud.

Lewyn, Michael. (2006). *New Urbanism Zoning for Dummies*. Touro Law Center. Retrieved from http://digitalcommons.tourolaw.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1432&context=scholarlyworks

Lippolis, Leonardo. (2016). *Viagens aos Confins da Cidade*. Lisbon, Portugal: Antígona.

Seixas, João. (2013). *A Cidade na Encruzilhada - Repensar a Cidade e a sua Política.* Oporto, Portugal: Edições Afrontamento.

Semi, Giovanni. (2011). *Zones of Authentic Pleasure: Gentrification, Middle Class Taste and Place Making in Milan*. M/C Journal, [S.l.], v. 14, n. 5, oct. 2011. ISSN 14412616.

Simpson, Deane. (2015). *Young-Old: Urbanism Utopias of an Aging Society.* Lars Muller Publishing

Slater, Tom. (2011). Gentrification of the City. In: *The New Blackwell Companion to the City*. (Eds.) Bridge, Gary and Watson, Sophie (2011) pp 571-585. Blackwell Publishing.

Silva, Carlos Nunes. (1994). *Política Urbana, Em Lisboa* Lisbon, Portugal: Livros Horizonte.

The Guardian. (2016). *How down-at-heel Lisbon became the new capital of cool.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2017/apr/16/lisbon-new-capital-of-cool-urban-revival-socialist-government-poor-antonio-costa"

The Guardian. (2016b). '*We are building our way to hell': tales of gentrification around the world* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/oct/05/building-way-to-hell-readers-tales-gentrification-around-world

Tube Map Central. (2017). *The Concentric Circles Map.* Retrieved from http://www.tubemapcentral.com/circles/circles.html

Universidade Lusíada. (2009). *Trabalho da Freguesias, Análise e Resultado.* Lisboa, Portugal: Universidade Lusíada.

Zukin, Sharon. (2011). *Reconstructing the authenticity of place. Theory and Society*. March 2011, Volume 40, Issue 2, pp 161–165

Garden cities: a model for healthy cities

Cecilia Di Marco | dimarco.c@grenoble.archi.fr

Laboratoire Cultures Constructives, Unité de recherche (LabEx) Architecture, Environnement & Cultures Constructives, Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Grenoble

Abstract

To face the increasing housing demand, and to solve health problems related to the current city lifestyle (such as obesity, cancer and stress-related diseases), British government initiatives support the creation of new communities based on garden cities principles. They consider the garden cities utopia as a breakdown in previous trends and practices and as an alternative to the present urban and suburban models. In order to achieve a more appropriate model for an urban planning change, and to avoid using the word 'garden' as a convenient label, an analysis on the garden cities utopia in the 21th century is needed. In this paper, the focus will be on the project of a new garden city based in Ebbsfleet, UK (Ebbsfleet Garden City). This case study is ideal for understanding whether the garden cities model might be an answer to the challenges of today's health issues and might push cities to provide a more attractive living environment, promoting an active sustainable and healthy lifestyle.

Key words

Urban utopia, garden cities, Great Britain, healthy town

Garden cities utopia
The birth of an urban utopia

At the end of the 19th century, following the industrialization process, a large number of people moved from the countryside to the cities, creating the urban working-class population. London population increased from approximately 2 to about 4 million between 1851 and 1881 and then it reached 6,5 million in 1911 (Hall, 2002, p. 12). Living conditions were terrible: the city was overcrowded, the houses were insalubrious and with terrible quality, with poor sanitation and lack of pure air, water and sunlight, people lived in reduced hygienic conditions, which clearly affected very bad on their precarious health. These harsh conditions contributed to miserable life and early death, indeed urban poverty could be infinitely more cruel then rural one (Lowry & Bynum, 1991, p. 3).

To face this terrible public health situation, a number of architectural and urban experiments were led by reformers and industrialists with philanthropic leanings. The objectives of their ideal community were to create good conditions for their workforce, far away from the pollution of the cities, and to influence the debate about future society and land ownership. Robert Owen in New Lanark (1800-1810), George Cadbury in Bourneville (1879-95), William Hesketh Lever in Port Sunlight (1888) devised alternatives to the increasingly filth and overcrowded cities proposing a new vision of ideal society (Stern, Fishman, & Tilove, 2013). Among these utopian experiments, one of the best known is the garden cities by Ebenezer Howard, proposing a new settlement model aimed to combine in a single healthy environment work and private life.

German Solinís asserts that two images of the city are always in contrast: a negative one, with its defects and disorder, and a positive one, with its proposal for order (Solinís, 2006, p. 84). Garden cities fall into this second category, proposing a new vision of society and a new economic model.

Garden cities

Howard was neither architect nor planner, he was a shorthand typist involved in improving the living condition of the English working class at the end of the 19th century. Nevertheless, his urban utopia has influenced city planning for more than a century, and still continues to inspire urban policies. Howard interest in social issues grew up when he became a parliamentary reporter and was involved in the social debates that, at that time, were shaking the country focusing the attention on the quality of life. According to Robert Tally, utopia should not be considered as an ideal society or condition but rather as a method to learn from a situation (Tally, 2013). In other words, utopia helps to understand a situation and to make it evolve. In order to change the world, we need to understand it. Also, Amir Ganjavie suggests that "utopias were defined as coherent action programs, resulting from a deep reflection that sought to transcend the immediate situation", and they are aimed to question the world and propose alternatives (Ganjavie, 2015, p. 92). Finally, Howard Segal defines the urban utopia goal as not to predict the future, but rather to improve the present and the real world (Segal, 2012). It is following these ideas that Howard's model of garden cities is qualified as a utopia.

In his work, published first in 1898 with the title of *To-morrow: a peaceful path to real reform*, and then republished in 1902 as *Garden-Cities of To-morrow*, Howard proposes his utopia of a fairer society. In his book, he tries to solve the problem of industrialized society suggesting a new model of town. He claims that the solution to reduce the migration of the population from the country to the cities is not to improve the conditions in one or the other but to create a third setting of life, offering the benefits of both and the problems of neither. He explains this idea through the well know diagram n°1 "the three magnets" (Howard, 1898). Two magnets represent the features of town and country life to draw people to themselves. The third magnet is the garden city and it represents a new alternative type of life, "in which all the advantages of the most energetic and active town life, with all the beauty and delight of the country, may be secured in perfect combination". "Town and country must be married and out of this joyous union will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilization" (Howard & Osborn, 1946, p. 47,48).

The aim of the garden cities model is to improve the public health providing good quality of home and work environment. Howard proposes a network of cities with one central city extended on an area of 12,000 acres (about 5,000 hectares) surrounded by six smaller social cities each one developed on an area of 6,000 acres (about 2,500 hectares). The cities would be linked among them by rail public transport and would be complementary in services. The population would be limited in number with a maximum of 58,000 for the central city and 32,000 for each of the social cities. The small size of the towns would offer walkable neighbourhoods and a close proximity between home services and workplaces. A green belt, surrounding the cities, is formed by a pattern of open space and public parks, with the possibility of farming and production of local food. This would inspire a strong cooperative feeling in the community. The garden cities model proposes a new organization of the society based on two main factors: the community ownership of the lands and the use of the surplus obtained from the increased land value for the benefit of the residents. That contributes to a more equal environment, where everybody gives back to the community and where the municipality makes decisions for the good of the citizens.

Put in practice the model

Garden cities model can be found in the long tradition of utopias and in the realm of practical urban planning (Stern et al., 2013, p. 204). According to Charles Hoch a good way to envision the future of places is offered by the three concepts of utopia, scenario, and plan. Utopia describes the perfect complete place, scenario compares good alternative stories, and plans offer useful provisional intentions (Hoch, 2014). Through these three concepts, the garden cities model offers a way to envision the future of inhabited areas. Howard's utopia of a perfect society, drawn up in his book and shaped as a scenario in the diagrams, became a plan and a real production. He founded the Garden City Association (later known as the Town and Country Planning Association or TCPA), with the aim to create the first garden city in Letchworth. The architects and planners Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker were chosen to translate Howard's ideas into an innovative master plan. They were in charge of designing the city of Letchworth, northern Hertfordshire (1903), and of building up some of the houses. Some years after the construction of this fist garden city, the Association promoted the foundation of a second garden city in Welwyn, few miles south of the first experiment (1920). Both cities were built very much on the lines Howard advocated, with wide green belts around the core of the city, a limited population and community administration. Unfortunately, the vision of a large-scale system was never realized and the cities remained two single experiments, the idea of a network of towns never took place.

Garden cities, as a theory (Howard, 1898) and as an experiment (Letchworth Garden City, Welwyn Garden City), is considered as a complete urban model due to its complexity, its scales range and its amplitude (Sadoux & Novarina, 2017). Ebenezer Howard's utopia is still regarded as one of the most important models in the international development of urban planning. His simple diagrams of the model cities have been taken up and reinterpreted a hundred times over across the globe but Howard's most cherished ideas of social reform had very little impact. Very quickly, the garden city came to be understood in a more limited sense, as an urban planning model to reform only the spatial organisation of life. It is through this understanding that Howard's legacy has largely been experienced (Ward, 2016). Overall, a process of change transforms the garden cities model. The relative emphasis on the different elements of the garden city idea was shifted to strengthen its environmental dimension. The garden cities became an end in itself rather than a means to an end. Therefore, it is interesting to understand the connotation of the garden cities in the 21st century and the features of this model in contemporary projects.

21st century garden cities

British government policies

Over the last decades, the British government has been confronted to two main urban issues: the housing crisis and the relation between urban design and lifestyle diseases.

On one side, the conventional understanding is that the dysfunction of the housing market is linked to a matter of demand and supply and to a shortage of housing across the UK. The government's housing strategy report *Laying the Foundations: A Housing Strategy for England* specifies that 232,000 households are expected to form every year between 2011 and 2033 (Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, 2011, p. 7). Additionally the price of the average property in England has soared by more than three times the rate of average salaries over a decade (Bachelor, 2012).

On the other side, a review of major publications issued by the central government over the past decade shows a reflection on the population health and its interconnection with the built environment. Improving city planning and house condition have long been identified as essential for strengthening communities, reducing health inequalities and cutting the costs of the healthcare. *The Building Research Establishment* (BRE) has calculated that the annual cost of poor housing to the *National Healthy Services* is at least £1,4 billion (Nicol, Rosy, & Garrett, 2015). Moreover focusing on the increase of obesity, the *Tackling Obesities: Future Choices report* estimates that obesity is caused by both biological and social factors and that the changing of the environment condition is one key aspect to improve the situation (Government Office for Science, 2007). Studies have shown that in Britain over one third of children are overweight. They have also suggested that by 2030, about 45% of the adult population will be obese (Health and Social Care Information Centre, 2016). To face this emergency, in January 2008, the government released a document *Healthy Weight, Healthy Lives* targeting the local administrations to raise awareness to the problem and giving a series of guidelines to help facing the situation. In this document, the then Prime Minister Gordon Brown described how, despite improvements in care and quality of life, the British population was more and more exposed to the increase of obesity, chronic diseases and long-term ill-health. Local administrations, communities, associations and urban developers were encouraged to create "Urban and rural environments where walking, cycling and other forms of physical activity exercise and sport are accessible, safe and the norm" (Department of Health, 2008, p. xiii).

In this context, the garden cities utopia might be a suitable answer to these problems. To explore this hypothesis, the British government is proposing initiatives to support the creation of new communities based on garden cities principles. In particular, the garden cities model is considered as a breakdown in previous trends and practices and as an alternative to the current urban model.

The government has been interest in the Garden cities since the publication of the *National Planning Policy Framework* in 2012, where it is stated: "The supply of new homes can sometimes be best achieved through planning for larger scale development, such as new settlements or extensions to existing villages and towns that follow the principles of garden cities" (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012, p. 13).

 On April 2014, the government published *Locally-led Garden Cities*, a prospectus to stimulate local authorities, the private sector, developers and landowners, to plan a new generation of garden cities, particularly in the East of London and in the Oxfordshire (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2014). In this prospectus, the foundation of new settlements was proposed according to the model of the visionary communities built at the beginning of the 20th century at Letchworth and Welwyn.

Garden cities came back to the headlines also thanks to the prestigious Wolfson Economics Prize that in 2014 sought to answers the question: 'How would you deliver a new garden city which is visionary, economically viable, and popular'. The winning project, by Nicholas Falk and David Rudlin, included a detailed plan to develop a new garden city analysing and synthesising social, economic and environmental issues in a modern and contemporary key. Their project, based on a modern version of Howard's model, demonstrates the ability to adapt it to the existing cities and not just to new towns (Rudlin & Falk, 2014).

At the same time the Town and Country Planning Association has led a re-invigorated campaign for a new generation of beautiful, inclusive, and resilient new garden cities as part of a portfolio of solutions to address the Britain's housing crisis (TCPA, 2016).

Ebbsfleet Garden City

In this paper, an analysis of new garden cities principles is performed through the study of a project that started in UK in 2014 and that is still under construction: the Ebbsfleet Garden City. This project consists of a new development site constituted of brownfields in the east of London. The new settlement will accommodate more than 30,000 new residents in an area of over 800 hectares. Ebbsfleet is composed of an old chalk quarry and of industrial sites. It is very well situated, on the south of the Thames Estuary, on the north of the green belt of Kent, and 20 minutes away by train from London, "combining the best of urban and rural living" (Ebbsfleet Development Corporation, 2017, p. 28).

Projects focused on this area are not new; the idea of the redevelopment of Ebbsfleet has been discussed for over 20 years during which both national and local governments have targeted the location for large scale mixed development. Despite their expectations, the development plans have made slow progress. In 1990s Ebbsfleet was chosen for an International railway station. This event was taken as an opportunity to develop a series of sub-regional and local planning initiatives with the aim of creating a mixed planning programme. A significant advance was made in 2007 when Ebbsfleet International railway station was inaugurated, opening up high-speed services to Kings Cross St Pancras and Stratford, and Eurostar services to Europe, becoming an important mobility hub. Unfortunately, no other project was following up what was initiated by the realization of the railway station.

To solve the situation, in 2014 the British government tried to help overcome existing conflicts between local administrations. It announced support for a new project for this area and the creation of a garden city of the 21st century at Ebbsfleet, setting up an urban development corporation (Ebbsfleet Development Corporation, EDC). The EDC is the planning authority, it has the role of coordinating the development, and implementing skills and different kinds of expertise. It brings forward infrastructures and accelerates the development process promoting the discussion with landowners and stakeholders.

In addition, Ebbsfleet Garden City project was chosen as a demonstrator sites for the Healthy New Towns Programme. The programme was launched by the National Health Service in 2015 and it was aimed to develop new ways of shaping healthier towns (NHS, 2015). For the first time after a century, a public urban policy was trying to put back together health and urban planning. Ebbsfleet Garden City Healthy New Towns will support community programmes with the result of improving active mobility, eating habits, social activities and a healthier lifestyle.

The EDC set out overarching priorities to define the vision for the kind of place Ebbsfleet would become by 2035. The *Delivery Theme* illustrates how the design of the landscape and urban structure will seek to achieve the delivery of the garden city. These objectives have been developed according to the TCPA principles as set out in "The Art of Building A Garden City" in 2014 (Ebbsfleet Development Corporation, 2017, p. 19).

Qualitative home and neighbourhoods

One of the main objectives of Howard's project was to give a better quality of life to people, and in particular to the ones belonging to the working class. That was possible especially through the creation of a spacious and healthy home for every

family. In particular, some experimentations took place in Letchworth Garden City and Welwyn Garden City to provide cheap efficient quality housing (O'Carroll, Coste, & Sadoux, 2017). In those cases, architectural innovations as indoor plumbing, good aeration and enlightenment, really improved people conditions.

Ebbsfleet Garden City will be composed of 10 new walkable neighbourhoods that will have different types of houses (detached, semi-detached, terraced, flat) with innovative solutions. The project aims to achieve a density of about 50 dwellings per hectare for most of the area with the exception of the Station Quarter and the main roads where the density will be higher.

To meet local housing needs the Ebbsfleet Development Corporation enforces different dwelling policies. On one hand, a part of the properties will be affordable housing, and on the other hand, a shared ownership scheme will be proposed for first time buyers, to encourage young families to move in.

Sociable neighbourhoods also play a key role in the project. They provide a broad range of facilities including space for social interaction, formal and informal cultural activities, sport and leisure, which will improve people interaction and will promote a healthier lifestyle (Henderson, Lock, & Ellis, 2017, p. 92).

Resilient and sustainable system

The synergy between urban and rural is one of the main points of the theory of garden cities and characterizes all the level of the project. Howard brings out the potential of the countryside in proximity to the city. He envisions how the population can make use of the combination of the two realities in order to reach economic independence and to benefit for a better quality of life. Howard's prototypical city was limited in population, surrounded by green belt made to prevent the cities unlimited extension and to host the main activities. The community would be surrounded by a belt of agricultural land, which would provide local food for the population. Howard believes on the importance of good nutrition and on the proximity supply of alimentary products. In the green belt would take place a mix of agricultural and industry, providing food items and local jobs for residents as well as recreational and leisure places.

According to the project of the EDC, in Ebbsfleet Garden City the green and blue network would link the existing landscape with new parks and open spaces, and make an integrated infrastructure accessible to residents of all age, with quality recreational amenities. A small scale food growing initiatives are developed along local streets, parks and gardens to produce fresh fruit and vegetables and to promote their consumption. All these features would encourage the community to a healthier lifestyle, not just only through physical activities and the pure air of the garden cities but also through an active social life.

The mobility of people in the garden city

In opposition to the overcrowded and unlimited city, Howard plans groups of complementary cities with limited population linked by railroad. When a garden city reaches its population limits, a new one would be built over the protective belt. The residents of the two, or more, garden cities would be in connection through a network of rapid trains. The whole ensemble of garden cities would constitute a network of settlements with the idea of offering to people the benefits and the advantages of a large city giving at the same time easy access to local services at a walk distance.

Ebbsfleet Garden City is conceived with the same general idea. The new neighbourhoods would be in connection among them and, at the time, a strong network would be created with towns already present in the area. This challenge would be faced with on one side a dense network of public transport and on the other side with pedestrian and cycling paths connecting the different settlements. Each neighbourhood will be organized with a commercial area and a community centre, offering all the essential services, reachable in a walking distance from any other place of the neighbourhood.

Enterprising economy

Two important objectives in Howard's garden cities utopia are the independency of the city, reaching self-sufficiency with local manufactures and food production, and the possibility for people to work in proximity to their living place, avoiding the daily commute. Both factors would in fact have a big impact on the economy of the city, help develop the business of the area, and improve the living conditions of the workers.

Ebbsfleet Garden City counts to deliver up to 15,000 houses and 30,000 jobs. The excellent train connections to London and to the most important European cities would bring more jobs and help the economic growth of the area. Built upon the proximity of the London market, Ebbsfleet Garden City will establish new employment opportunities rather than simply becoming a commuter hub serving London. The green modern work environment, built on a unique landscape and close to the residential area, will be an attracting pole for people trying to escape the chaos of big cities looking forward to a more sustainable lifestyle and a better work/life balance.

Civic community

One of the most important features in Howard's utopia was the idea that all the lands were owned by the garden city's residents and held in a Trust. In general, a garden cities project would start by the acquisition of a large piece of land in the open countryside for a low price. Once the garden city had been built by the Trust, the subsequent increase in land values would allow the Trust itself to pay back the mortgage and, even, make some profits that would then be used to increase the services for the residents and start the creation of further units of garden city. This vision aims to increase the land value and redistribute the surplus for the long-term benefit of the residents promoting a strong democratic community governance.

Despite the commitment to all the above-mentioned garden cities principles, in the case of Ebbsfleet Garden City, the lands are not owned by the residents nor by the Ebbsfleet Development Corporation. In fact, private housing developers own the settlements and they will make their profit upon the increase of the land value. Therefore, this surplus will not be redistributed in the long-term affecting one of the basic principles of Howard's utopia.

Nevertheless, the project is still effective in promoting civic community, active engagement and cultural life making, Ebbsfleet Garden City a distinctive place to dwell, where people would live in harmony and contribute to civic life.

Conclusions

Over a century after the garden cities movement began, we still face many of the same issues confronted at the time: inadequate housing, huge social inequalities, overcrowding and unhealthy living conditions. The garden cities model offers solutions to many of the challenges that we currently face, proposing a philosophy for a new kind of society and blending together design, economics and governance. It recognises the influence of the environment in the well-being of people's life and achieves the improvement of a healthier lifestyle through the place making, promoting a vibrant community with opportunities for everyone to get involved.

Although it is too early to assess the effectiveness of the ongoing project of Ebbsfleet Garden City, it is clear that Howard's model, even if partial, is an important reference to a new urban plan in which the well-being of the citizens, their health and the community feeling are the hearth of the project.

For these reasons, Howard's model has been taken as an example to inspire new settlements in UK. In addition to the new garden cities projects, the British government supports 14 new garden villages and 10 new garden towns. New garden settlements are expected to be built in majority on previously-developed brownfield sites and are designed to be distinct and self-contained communities having their own facilities, such as shops, schools, transport links, and green spaces. For the moment, it is estimated that garden villages, garden towns and garden cities will deliver about 200,000 new homes.

The garden cities model seems to attract private landowners too. For example, David Carnegie, Duke of Fife, will promote the development of a new garden village on an estate of 1,600 acre on the project of the American town planner Andrés Duany.

Thousands of homes are expected to go up with these projects, garden villages, towns and cities can help tackle the housing crisis, building a community rather than just houses, and creating beautiful places that will offer a wide range of employment opportunities and genuinely affordable homes, facilitating more sustainable lifestyles.

Finally, with these projects, it is the first time after the post war development of new towns, that housing came back as a major issue in British politics, and that a utopia is taken as a solution in opposition to the current living model.

We question whether in a hundred years, we will be looking at these new urban experiments as a revolutionary model capable to change the way we currently build our cities and suburbs. Also, a question still remains open on whether these new urban settlements will be a breakdown and a utopian reference to produce a new model of society as it was for the Howard's garden cities utopia.

Acknowledgment

References

Bachelor, L. (2012). House prices rise three times faster than wages over a decade. *The Guardian*.

Department for Communities and Local Government. (2012). *National Planning Policy Framework*. London: HMSO.

Department for Communities and Local Government. (2014). *Locally-led garden villages, towns and cities*.

Department of Health. (2008). *Healthy Weight, Healthy Livers : a cross-government strategy for England*. London.

Ebbsfleet Development Corporation. (2017). *Ebbsfleet Garden City implementation framework summary 2017*.

Ganjavie, A. (2015). On the future of urban design: Fabricating the future through Bloch's utopians. *Planning Theory*, *14*(1), 90-108.

Government Office for Science. (2007). *Tackling obesities: future choices*. London: HMSO.

Hall, P. (2002). *Urban and regional planning* (4th ed). London: Routledge.

Health and Social Care Information Centre. (2016). *Statistics on Obesity, Physical Activity and Diet*. London: HSCIS.

Henderson, K., Lock, K., & Ellis, H. (2017). *The Art of Building a Garden City: Designing New Communities for the 21st Century*. RIBA Publishing.

Howard, E. (1898). *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd.

Howard, E., & Osborn, F. J. (1946). *Garden Cities of To-morrow: With an Introductory Essay by Lewis Mumford*. Faber & Faber.

Lowry, S., & Bynum, W. F. (1991). *Housing and health*. British Medical Journal.

Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government. (2011). *Laying the Foundations: A Housing Strategy for England*.

NHS. (2015). *The Forward view into action: Registring interest to join the healthy new towns programme*. London: NHS.

Nicol, S., Rosy, M., & Garrett, H. (2015). Briefing Paper: The cost of poor housing to the NHS. Building Research Establishment (BRE).

O'Carroll, S., Coste, A., & Sadoux, S. (2017). Cheap Cottages & Model Houses. Changing the World: Urban Experiments in the United Kingdom, 19th-21st Centuries.

Rudlin, D., & Falk, N. (2014). Uxcester garden city. Submission to the 2014 Wolfson Economics Prize, Manchester, URBED. Manchester, URBED.

Sadoux, S., & Novarina, G. (2017). La garden city. Un réservoir de références à réinventer. In *Les Annales de la Recherche Urbaine*.

Segal, H. P. (2012). *Utopias: a brief history from ancient writings to virtual communities* (Vol. 47). John Wiley & Sons.

Solinís, G. (2006). Utopia, the Origins and Invention of Western Urban Design: *Diogenes*.

Stern, R. A. M., Fishman, D., & Tilove, J. (2013). *Paradise Planned: The Garden Suburb and the Modern City* (1st Edition edition). New York, NY: The Monacelli Press.

Tally, R. (2013). *Utopia in the Age of Globalization: Space, Representation, and the World-System*. New York: Springer.

TCPA. (2016, January). Parliamentary Briefing on Amendments to the Housing and Planning Bill: Putting Garden Cities at the Heart of the Housing and Planning Bill. Revised version.

Ward, S. V. (2016). *The Peaceful Path: Building Garden Cities and New Towns*. Hatfield: Hertfordshire Publications

Living and Liveable Utopia

Socialist Realism in Eastern Central-European City Planning

Borbála Jász | jasz.borbala@filozofia.bme.hu

Budapest University of Technology and Economics, PhD candidate in Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences[6]

Abstract

The utopian concept in Eastern Central-European urban planning and design during the years of socialism can be observed in two ways. The general pre-theoretical use of the expression 'Social Realism' refers to all styles during this era. However, we need to distinguish late/soviet modern and Socialist Realism, and this can be accomplished by analysing the different utopian visions as an urban design method in these two distinct periods. In my paper I distinguish different periods of urban design in Eastern Central-Europe during the socialist era. To this end I examine different appearances of the concept of utopia in city planning. First I analyse the theoretical utopian approach under the dominance of the Socialist Realist style. After that I focus on the practical way of utopian thinking in constructing the new machine cities, which were built from precast, standardised, concrete material house blocks. I conclude that urban planning in Eastern Central-Europe was a more fine-grained process than it is usually assumed.

Keywords

Socialist Realism, Soviet modern, Eastern Central-Europe, Collage city

> *Since the objective material conditions are now ready for the construction of a higher society, an ideology is born, which is the only one capable of explaining the events of history (reality).* Máté Major

Introduction

The keywords after WW2 in Eastern-Central European urban planning and architecture in general were as follows: renewing processes, changing the regime, separating from the West, centralised power and society, industrialisation and urbanisation. To sum up, after WW2 we may speak about social and economic transformation, which left its mark on the architecture of the last half-decade of the whole region. The most serious consequence of WW2 was a total crisis and the rearrangement of the political power in the area.

As an antecedent it should be mentioned, that the territorial transformation after WW1 changed radically in all aspects of the region. The classical modern style was dominant in every country in the block with a high impact of social responsibility. Every country would like to fight to get their own national identity; at the same time theoretically it was a common goal among these states. After WW2 in the 20th century the same periods can be divided in every country. In the

---

cultural and historical sense, Eastern Central-Europe is considered the countries that are located east of river Elba, but belong to the Western culture: the Visegrad countries (Hungary, Poland, Czechia, and Slovakia), nowadays Croatia, Slovakia and the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia). In my paper I would like to focus on the narrowest interpretation of Eastern-Central Europe: the Visegrad countries.

First we need to clarify, why an architecture theory could be considered utopian, and what could be the relation between the utopia and the socialist type of urban design. First of all, we have to make a distinction between the ideal city and the utopia.

> The first fully planned ideal city of the Renaissance was described and illustrated by Filarete about 1457–64. In his Treatise on architecture, of which the earliest, fully illuminated and preserved example can be found in the Codex Magliabechinus in Florence, the fictitious city of Sforzinda and its surroundings are considered, and the provision of building materials dealt with. (Rosenau, 1959, p. 53)

Instead of this ideal concept of the city, the utopian city is a closed, completed whole. Its location is geographically absolute fictitious, its society is ideal and has a communist equality. It's all modelled and transposable. The utopian city is a reportage of something that has already been completed. The descriptions of the ideal cities accept the given historical-political reality, while the utopian city descriptions reject and criticize them. The society of the ideal city is open; the number of citizens is not limited, in contrast to the utopian, where the number of citizens is constant. (Słodczyk, 2016)

To sum up, it means that the main goal of the Socialist Realist cities was to combine the advantages of the ideal and utopian concept of the city, of course without the disadvantages. In the era of late modern, the concept of prefabricated house block system would be more perfected version of the Socialist Realist model: this was the born of the real Eastern Central-European utopia.

The common history of the Visegrad countries after WW2 – the years of Socialism

After WW2 the periods in the region under the Soviet regime were [1] the years of renovation, [2] the years of dogmatism, [3] mass housing project. To understand why we have to speak about common tendencies in the afterwar period in the region, the afterwar history of the Visegrad countries needs to be analysed: Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. In my paper I am focusing on the 2nd and the 3rd period. The years of dogmatism means the period Socialist Realism, when the mentioned countries were under the influence of the new Soviet ideology. The mass housing project means a paradigm shift from the neoclassicism of the Socialist Realism to the architecture of the 'great numbers', which means the construction of prefabricated house block systems.

Czechoslovakia was a newly born country after WW1, which emerged from the fusion of the Czech and Slovak nationality. After WW2 the country's previous state was desirable among the Czechoslovak nationalist leaders: the prewar period of Czechoslovakia. In 1948 the whole country was dominated by the Soviet Union and formed into a Stalinist model of the state. As in the whole Eastern Central-European region, the political force of the country was in the hand of the Communist Party and the process of centralisation started in the cultural and political scenes, and of course in architecture and urban design as well.

The historical, political and cultural situation was similar in Poland in the era, because after WW2 Poland was in high Soviet dominance from 1949. The processes were similar to that of Czechoslovakia: totalitarianism was the main goal in the everyday life as well. The main task of architects was not only to plan and build houses or streets, but they had to work on the embodiment of the new social order and the consciousness of the people. The preferred style was the renewing of Renaissance, like the classic Polish architecture. This was a part of the ideology to choose the style of the most victorious era of the country for the new basis of the Soviet dominated architectural form-language. A special development in Poland was that they built the Joseph Stalin Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw (1952–1955), which looks like a typical Soviet-type skyscraper.

The Hungarian state after WW2 was also under the dominance of the Soviet Union. After WW2 the construction processes continued in the style and concept of the classical modernism of the interwar period. The form of the government was People's Republic. The cultural life formed under the motto: "Socialist by content, national by form". In 1956 there was a revolution against the regime, but it was unsuccessful, and the political power remained unchanged until 1989, which was the year of changing the regime. Of course there were different approaches under the Socialism with different architectural and urban aims, the Rákosi-system, than the Kádár-system. For about 45 years the political and cultural life of Hungary was under the influence of the Soviets, thus the Soviet principles had to be adapted.

In Hungary there were two determinative debates, the 'Great Architectural Debate' and later the 'Tulip-debate'. The first related to the Socialist Realism, the second to the mass housing project. In the Great Architectural Debate the stake was to find the best style for the Hungarian Socialist Realism, which would be the most matching the Soviet notion. During the debate – in which the decisive word was by a Hungarian philosopher, George Lukács – the participants agreed that the task is to renew the Hungarian classicism.

Socialist Realism

The first utopian approach is the classical Socialist Realism. The typical method was the city planning, which was dominant after WW2 in Eastern Central Europe. This type of constructing style is closely related to the architectural demonstration of the power of the state. To express the intentions of the Stalinist government architects had to work out a new form language for urban design, but this form language had to be applied even at the level of individual buildings as well. It has a utopian character, which was created in order to hide reality, and to construct a beautiful illusion to be presented as the truth. The task of a writer or artist consisted in creating the illusion of a false reality, the illusion of a better life in socialism; moreover, the bright future was also described as if it already existed. This is the reason why socialist realism is not a style only but also a building method with architectural form-language in the era of dictatorship. (Huet, 1998, p. 254)

To be a building method means in this case that in the architecture of Marxism gigantism and neoclassical style elements was combined. There were four criteria of the concept of Socialist Realist art (including architecture). First of all the basis of the new society is the class of workers, thus the art and architecture must be [1] understood by workers. It have to be [2] realistic, because the Soviet state is against the modernism and the avant-garde. It has to be of course [3] revolutionary, which quality is related to the typical genre of the era, the manifesto, e.g. the prototype was the Communist manifesto in 1848 by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. At last [4] it must have its main topic from scenes of everyday life of everyday people, because everybody is equal in this utopian society.

In Eastern Central-Europe, Socialist Realism was dominant in the 1950s only, from 1950 until the death of Stalin in 1954. There are lots of differences in the architecture of this era and the original Soviet version of the new style, because of the motto: "national by form, socialist by content". In Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, a nation specialised version of Socialist Realism was realised – of course in the given framework which is in many aspects different from the classical Stalin-baroque in Moscow. This new style was evolved by modernist architects of the interwar period, but they had to work under the pressure of the Communist Party: they were not allowed to plan what they really wanted. In case of the industrial architecture of the first half of the 1950s, stylistic requirements were ignored, contrary to the case of representative public buildings. (Huet, 1998, p. 257)

> Architecture, as spatial architectonics, could be seen as the quintessential genre of Socialist Realism...[its] central role in Stalinist culture has its own logic in that building and spatial organization lie at the heart of Marx's account of society: the base-and-superstructure model. This potential was picked up in Bolshevik Party rhetoric about 'building communism.' Building also assumed tremendous importance in Stalinist culture because of the utopian aspects in the notion of living 'in Communism,' the perfected society. (Zarecor, 2011, p. 128)

Complete districts and whole cities were built in this renewed historical style. The core structure of the houses and the cities built like a classical modernist plan, but the architects had to use the required historical ornaments. This tendency resulted in building the Socialist Realist cities with baroque structure (cour d'honneur mass formation) across Eastern Central-Europe.

The original Stalinist model

The beginnings of the original Socialist Realist thinking can be dated in the times after WW1. It was the radical critique by the state against the avant-garde and abstract art, which was based on the philosophy and ideology of the Marxism-Leninism. In the artistic field there was a need for a new style for the new conception: this was the realism in art, and in the field of architecture – with a neo-classical artistic approach.

The main goal of the original Stalinist model of Socialist Realism was to express the power of the state. We know lots of examples from the history of humankind and its architecture, how leaders (kings, dictators etc.) wanted to represent their greatness in order to impress their people, e.g. the baroque style. Returning to the theoretical or practical realisation of the baroque always was the demonstration of the power of state. It is no coincidence that Stalin started the same tendency, which was resulted the so called Stalin Baroque.

We need to distinguish different levels of Soviet-type urban design. [1] The basic level is the original Stalinist model in the Soviet Union after WW1. [2] The second level of this process is the renovation, but buildings, districts or cities were not reconstructed according to their original appearance before the destruction in WW2, e. g. Warsaw. [3] The third era is the Socialist Realism, which was finished by the architectural speech of Nikita Khrushchev on 31st December 1954. The first three levels are related to the neoclassical style of Socialist Realism. [4] The fourth period was the age of precast house block systems, which have been widely utilised around Europe (Prakfalvi, 1999, p. 56). This model could be region-specific and the ages of application slightly different among the Visegrad countries. (Josephson, 2010, p. 84)

Figure 1 Plan for the Palace of Soviets. Exhibited in Budapest, Hungary in 1949. Source: Fortepan: 79472

Czechoslovakia

The Czechoslovakian Socialist Realism has a special nickname, a slang term: Sorela from the SOciálistický – REalismus – LAkomý (Socialist – Realism – Lakomý). The local discourse of Sorela started in 1948 and finished in 1955. "*Through five years of war and the years of stagnation and crisis that followed, it was huddled up and metamorphosizing inside a cocoon from which emerged the colorful butterfly of a new art. Do we want to give it a name? Well—it's socialist realism, and it's Czechoslovak.*" (Honzík, 1948) In these years architect had to focus on the dogmatist regime of the Marxism-Leninism. The main task was to approximate each other the Czechoslovakian public image and the Soviet vision. "Together with the rhetoric of the "national road to socialism" and the Communist adaptation of Czech and Slovak national symbols for its own propaganda, the exhibition and its related texts indicated that socialist realism required the celebration of local, vernacular forms." (Zarecor, 2011, p. 114–126)

The first monumental experiment to construct the utopian Socialist Realist city in the country was Nová Ostrava, which was originally built for the antithesis of the mining city Ostava. The settlement was built for the worker class, and 150.000 flats were planned. The literature says that this was an answer to the Socialist Realism from the Czechoslovakian urban designers, because in case of Nová Ostrava the complexity of Sorela could be understood. (Cooke, 1997, p. 141) The plan for Nová Ostrava contained three parts: a central axis and on the one side with a university, on the other side the train station. The typical Socialist Realist characteristic, the baroque-style space and building block constructing method is also decisive in case of this utopian city. The concept of the layouts has got in their concept the heritage of the Le Corbusierian neighbourhood units (see the concept of the Unité d'Habitation in 1947), and as such Nová Ostrava is a typical Czechoslovakian example for the Soviet-type utopia. (Retrieved from
 https://issuu.com/postscripting/docs/historythesisps1.2)

Figure 2 Plan for Nova Ostrava in 1954. Source: Zarecor, 2011, p. 67.

Poland

Socialist Realism held in the Polish architecture only a short period, from 1949 to 1956. The two periods could be described with two congresses. The first one was the National Conference of the Party Architects in 20–21 June 1949. The aim of the conference was to clarify the current architectural style which was supported by the Soviet regime. The congress accepted that the only correct artistic approach is the Socialist Realism. The main event of the second period held in 26–28 March 1956, the All-Polish Architectural Meeting. They criticised the architecture of the Socialist Realist period from the perspective of urban planning and architecture.

For the construction of the representational projects high-quality materials and handcraft techniques were used. The realistic decoration on the buildings was also an important task. The buildings were constructed in neoclassical style with the need of the Soviet type of total work of art [Gesamtkunstwerk]. Every element of the city had to be in harmony, e. g. the houses, street furniture, parks, interiors etc. This was the process of Stalinisation, but it is important to notice, that an architecture form-language cannot be Socialist; the ideology was Socialist behind the architecture. The form language was based the ancient Roman style, which explained the desired equality of the society in the architecture. (Groys, 1992, p. 52–53)

Nowa Huta exemplifies this theory, which is the prototype of the Socialist industrial city in Poland, near Krakow. Nowa Huta means in English New Smeltery in English. (It is interesting that this was the first polish city that was originally planned without a church.) The city was grounded in 1949 because of the construction of a steelworks. Construction also took place on an ideological level, as a new socialist society was created, so the construction of Nowa Huta meant the

construction of socialism as well. In 1951, Nowa Huta was annexed to Krakow. The design and construction followed the socialist ideology, and its floor plan is characterized by the 'patente d'oie': the main roads are divided into several directions from a main square. Residential areas built in neoclassical architecture style of the 1930s. At the beginning of Communism, steelworks represented the process of industrialization and the modernization of the country, and the workers embodied the ideal of the new socialist man, the Homo Sovieticus.

Figure 3 Nova Huta. Source:
(http://krakow.pl/aktualnosci/218476,29,komunikat,rusza_kolejna_edycja_programu__nowa_huta_dzis__.html)

Hungary

In Hungary the end of the WW2 was a sharp edge historically, but in the politics and the society, not in the approach of architecture. The classical modern movement of the interwar period could be continued, because of the social character of the architecture. After the renovation in 1951 a disputed situation, the 'Great Architectural Debate' had arisen, and the motto was formulated: "Socialist by content, national by form". The socialist content means that an architect has to care about humankind and to glorify the social equality. The national form means to renew the style of the golden age of the country. The task was to assure the national consciousness, which is a trait of the utopia.

To illustrate the theoretical ground of the Hungarian Socialist Realist city planning, I analyse the Hungarian paradigmatic example of the Socialist New-city: Stalin city [Dunaújváros] after the name of Stalingrad. The architect was Tibor Weiner, who had considerable experience from the classical Soviet approach and from South-American planning as well.[7] Weiner was originally the student of Hannes Meyer in the school of Bauhaus. His motto from 1951 was: "*the expression of the new socialist conceptual content in every urban element*". The state would like to ground a new industrial centre next to the river Danube, thus they work out a Five Year Plan for constructing the Danube Ironworks, after that a residential area. The city and the industrial park form an integral unit. The centre was the Stalin square and there is a representative main

---

[7] South-America and Asia was a new possibility for the urban design in the 20th century, see e.g. the masterplan of Chandigarth by Le Corbusier in 1947 or the masterplan of Brasília by Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemayer in 1956.

road between the main square and the entrance to the plant. In the residential area three-four-story point houses and row houses were constructed – originally with modernist urban planning approach under the surface, but with Socialist Realist decoration on them: representative classical columns, spandrels, etc. The complete Stalin city looks like a classical ideal city in its structure, which promotes social equality with the classicist style. The aim of the architect was that every building of the city has to be constructed in the same quality. This is the utopian trait of the Hungarian Stalin city.

Figure 4 Constructing Stalin City [Dunaújváros] in 1951 in Hungary. Source: Fortepan 126931

> City planning was the motivating force behind the totality of architectural training, which was in perfect harmony with communist beliefs that object making should have no role in a truly socially motivated society. In design classes Renaissance and Enlightenment theories were applied... [E]ditions of Palladio and Vignola were printed all over Eastern Europe in large quantities... [T]he education curriculum was constructed as a sort of a "purifier" of Western classical traditions, with the goal of bringing them back to life after decades of modernist assault on history. (Zarecor, 2011.129).

Concept and Practise of the Socmodern utopia

The second utopian approach is a more practical one. The era of Socialist Realism was ended by the famous architectural speech by Khrushchev in 1954. It means a paradigm shift from the decorative and expensive Socialist Realism to the cheapest architecture of the 'great numbers'. Soviet-style cities emerged with standardized, mass-produced technology, and the era of house blocks began. Architects returned to the concepts of the classical modernism in planning and also to focusing on social responsibility. Newly built cities became more sterile, free from any individuality, and they had a regular structure. They were characterised by the cementation of the environment and the lack of human scale – this was the concept of the helicopter planned cities. The city was built for the machine man, whose needs are calculable, and the house block was guaranteed to become a community machine – referring to the model of Le Corbusier: a house is a machine for

living. The practical concept of utopia in this case resulted in universal greyness, the depreciation of humanity, and a utopian lifestyle. (Groys, 1992, p. 90)

The ground of the new type of building method was also an ideological decision. The theoretical basis of the prefabricated house block system was grounded by Khrushchev, who radically changed the architectural approach:

> Extensive expansion of manufacture of prefabricated reinforced-concrete structures and parts will give enormous economic benefits. Our builders know that until recently there was debate over which of two paths we should take in construction – use of prefabricated structures or monolithic concrete. We shall not name names or reproach those workers who tried to direct our construction industry towards the use of monolithic concrete. I believe these comrades now realise themselves that the position they adopted was wrong. Now, though, it's clear to everyone, it seems, that we must proceed along the more progressive path – the path of using prefabricated reinforced-concrete structures and parts. (Khrushchev, 1963, p. 173)

This resulted in the so-called *Panelák* in Czechoslovakia and *bloki* (blocks) or *wielka płyta* in Poland, which means the prefabricated panel house in English. These were the perfect embodiment the ideology for the collectivist nature of people, the 'we'. After the Stalinisation in Poland the aim and method of construction also changed: "*the typification guide was comprehensive, architects could compose housing types relatively freely from it and work with them creatively on projects for new residential ensembles.*" (Frampton, 1993, p. 213) It was not allowed to use the previous materials, like brick, wood or iron as well, because it was ideologically overwhelmed; the concrete panels were the best solution for the architecture of the 'great numbers'.

In Hungary there was a transition between the Socialist Realist architecture and the panel house block constructing. After Khrushchev's industrial building speech a so-called late modern or Soviet modern building started with a new modern form-language, but with the same ideology behind. The most famous urban scale project was the construction of the inner city of Salgótarján, which is a heavy industrial city in North-Hungary. The new city centre of Salgótarján is a late attempt of Hungarian modernism. The buildings were planned by the Hungarian *starchitects* of the era. The core concept of renewing the city was closely related to the political motto of Hungary in the era: the country of iron and steel. In the axis of the city are the industrial buildings, the workplaces for the inhabitants. The panel houses were constructed in the suburbs. Everyone should live equal distance from the factory. This could remind us to the ideal working method and daily routine of the commune by Anatole Kopp, who was a member of the French Communist Party. (Meggyesi, 1985, p. 50)

Nowadays the architects have to focus on new problems which were generated after the change of the regime. Lots of factories have been closed, this happened also in case of Salgótarján. The main problem is that the axis of the city was demolished. This is unfortunately not a unique case in the whole region, thus this situation gave a difficult new task to the urban designers: how could we find a constructive solution to the real urban problem, which affects to the whole region. The first step of the solution might not be an urban, but a theoretical paradigm shift.

There were many architects who criticised the mechanistic planning method which was the heritage of Le Corbusier and the modern movement (Le Corbusier, 1987, 19). After WW2 started the arguing against de centralisation in urban planning and the machinised cities. A well-known theory is *A City is not a Tree* by Christopher Alexander in 1965, in which he emphasises the critique of modern architecture from the field of natural sciences. At the same time, in the 1960s Colin Rowe explained a theory for the criticism of the utopian urban planning method.

Figure 5 Nowa Huta, Lenin ironworks, 1963. Source: Fortepan 101495

The concept of the Collage city

In the public awareness, there is a false idea about Socialist Realism: people used to think that Socialist Realism is merely something in connection with the concrete and thus unnatural, and also with coldness and shiftlessness. In fact people confuse Socialist Realism with the late modern style. I found that people like Socialist Realism more, because it uses elements from the classical architecture. There is a conceptual confusion because there was a shift in the architectural aspect, but there were no changes in the political system: the ideology survived the architectural transformation. The complex house block systems almost belong to the architectural brutalism because of their raw concrete surfaces, type of housing, artificial environment and from helicopter planned method. Criticism of kind of this housing system and planning method was drafted by Colin Rowe.

Colin Rowe examined the texture of the city from the 1960s. With his university students, they studied Nolli's plan for Rome from 1784 regarding fullness and emptiness of urban space. Nolli's plan represented the traditional urban space which was determined by continuity. Modern cities scrapped this traditional texture and the body of buildings were positioned into an empty space. This can be called the tabula rasa of architecture. Cities lost their special architectural qualities and human scale, and the publicity of cities were broken. (Rowe, 1978, p. 77–80)

The Collage City is an ideological and critical revision of modern architecture and city planning, based on Karl Popper's falsification theory. We can observe discrepancies between Modernism and Historicism. The end goal of historicism is a total final state, this is a determinative process. Popper thought that the aim of science is not to get closer to truth but seek for refutations of assumptions. "Popper's "open society" may be just as much a fiction as the ideally "closed society" which he condemns". (Rowe, 1978, p. 116) The result of this tabula rasa theory in architecture was explicated in Rowe's seminal essay "Collage city: Crisis of the Object: Predicament of Texture". (Rowe, 1978, p. 50–51)

A city cannot be planned to be a unit, because various efforts prevail in it. In city planning the monolithic, scientific rationality or political will do not work, the best way is the method of *bricolage.* (Rowe, 1978, p. 102) It means the unity of various kinds of knowledge and creative abilities. Rowe is against the utopian and ideological architecture theory of Le Corbusier.

Conclusion

In my paper I distinguished different periods of urban design in Eastern Central-Europe during the socialist era. The basic level was the original Stalinist model in the Soviet Union after WW1. The second level of this process is the renovation. The third era is the Socialist Realism, and due to the industrialisation speech of Nikita Khrushchev on 31st December 1954 the fourth level, the prefab house blocks. To this end I examined different appearances of the concept of utopia in city planning in the Visegrad countries: Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary with theory and case studies of Nóva Ostrava, Nowa Huta and Dunaújváros. The second utopian approach was a paradigm shift from the decorative and expensive Socialist Realism to the cheapest architecture of the 'great numbers'. The examples were the *Panelák*, the *bloki* and the Hungarian heavy industrial city Salgótarján.

Nowadays issue for the urban designers is how could we find a constructive solution to the real urban problem, which affects to the whole region. The first step of the solution might not be an urban, but a theoretical paradigm shift due to the suggested bricolage theory which was formulated by Colin Rowe in the 1960s against the utopian city planning theory of Le Corbusier.

References

Cooke, C. (1997). Beauty as a Route to 'the Radiant Future': Responses of Soviet Architecture. In *Journal of Design History*, 10(2), 137–160. doi:10.2307/1316129

Groys, B. (1992). *The Total Art of Stalin: Avant-garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond*. New Jersey: Princeton.

Huet, B. (1998). Formalism-Realism. In K. M. Hays (ed.), *Architecture Theory since 1968*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Josephson, P. R. (2010). *Would Trotsky Wear a Bluetooth? Technological Utopianism under Socialism, 1917–1989.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Khrushchev, N. (1963). Industrialised Building Speech 1954. In T. P. Whitney (ed.), *Khrushchev Speaks: Selected Speeches, Articles, and Press Conferences, 1949–1961*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Molnár, V. (2013). *Building the State: Architecture, Politics, and State Formation in Post-War Central Europe*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Prakfalvi, E. (1999). *Architecture of Dictatorship: The Architecture of Budapest Between 1945 and 1959*. Budapest: The Mayor of Budapest.

Rosenau, H. (1959). *The Ideal City in its Architectural Evolution*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rowe, C., Koetter, F. (1978). *Collage City*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Słodczyk, J. (2016). Search of an Ideal City: The Influence of Utopian Ideas on Urban Planning. *Czasopismo Studia Miejskie 24*, 145–156.

Zarecor, K. E. (2011). *Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity*: Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945–1960. Pittsburgh, Penn.: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Architectural History Thesis: A look at Socialist Realism in Czechoslovakian Architecture. Retrieved from: https://issuu.com/postscripting/docs/historythesisps1.2 [Download: 2018.05.24.]

Deconstructing micro-utopias

Rafael Silva Brandão | rbrandao@ufsj.edu.br

Universidade Federal de São João del-Rei (UFSJ), Departamento de Arquitetura, Urbanismo e Artes Aplicadas (DAUAP)

Fernanda Martins de O. Correa | fernandamartins.arch@gmail.com

Curso de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, Universidade Federal de São João del-Rei (UFSJ)

Flávia Nacif da Costa | flavianacif@ufsj.edu.br

Universidade Federal de São João del-Rei (UFSJ), Departamento de Arquitetura, Urbanismo e Artes Aplicadas (DAUAP)

Resumo

A sociedade contemporânea foi construída sobre o pensamento temporal, baseado em narrativas lineares, direcionais e consistentes. A utopia (o não lugar) constitui o objetivo final das cidades, servindo como modelo que estrutura as ações urbanas, de modo que cada plano contenha (ou se relacione a) uma micro-utopia que descreva o modo vida ideal de uma sociedade em determinado espaço. O cenário resultante, no entanto, se aproxima mais de uma distopia. Enquanto os discursos unificantes se desfazem na esteira do pensamento pós-estruturalista, as utopias se tornam modelos cada vez menos adequados para a vida urbana. A heterotopia de Foucault se apresenta como alternativa, mas requer um deslocamento dos produtos finalizados para os entendimentos processuais. Nessa abordagem, planejadores e designers abandonam seu pretendido controle e passam a atuar como ativistas e ativadores dos processos urbanos.

Palavras-chave

micro-utopias, pensamento espacial, sistemas abertos

Abstract

Contemporary society was built upon temporal thinking, which is based on linear, directional and consistent narratives. Utopias (the non-place) constitute the ultimate goal of cities, serving as a model that structures urban action, so every plan contains (or relates to) a micro-utopia, as it references an ideal way of life for a society that would occupy that space. However, the upcoming scenario seems more like a dystopic one. As unitary discourses crumble in the wake of poststructuralist thinking, utopias seem to become insufficient as models for city living. Heterotopia presents an option, but requires a more radical shift of urbanism from a finalized products (the plan or the design) to more processual understanding (planning structures, open design and public action). This requires a spatial approach, where planners and designers work as activists and activators, relinquishing most of the control they intend to have over urban processes and creating open ended systems.

Key words

micro-utopias, spatial thinking, open-ended systems (990 characters)

Making it spatial

Utopia does not belong in any particular field of knowledge, having repercussions and experimentations that range from conceptual philosophy to fictional narrative genres. Even though the word "utopia" was created by Thomas More in the 16th century to name an island that harboured a perfect society, utopian thought may be traced to the mythical fundamentals of prehistoric humans. It usually referred to an ideal state of collective well-being and can be seen in fables such as the biblical Garden of Eden or Plato's Atlantis (Claeys, 2013). Etymologically, the word may come from the junction of the Greek word *topos* (place) to the prefix *u-* or *ou-* (negation) or *eu-* (good), meaning either the "no place" or the "good place" (Eco, 2013, p. 305). Ironically, this spatial definition conceals the distance of utopia from space itself. The "no place" is removed from physical location, existing only in the realm of abstraction and thought. The "good place" proposes an unattainable construct, which is too far away from any real place – utopia is often built over a blank slate, unrelated to or untarnished by spatial reality. Claeys (2013, p.7) states that utopian thinking rests in a spectrum of possible and impossible within a temporal dimension of three moments: an ideal past, expressed in the nostalgia of a "golden age" of an ancient Greek mythology; a criticism of the present, which motivates utopian literature and the production of ideal concrete experiences; an ideal future, related to debatable limits of humanity itself.

This definition makes explicit that utopia is a temporal construct, used as a goal of History itself. As an eternal space, utopia is close to concepts of Heaven that permeate various religions. Geographer Doreen Massey is a strong opposer of dominance of <u>time</u> in contemporary thinking. She states that our current understanding of <u>space</u> is subordinated to time, as it is only understood by freezing time and looking at a collection of places instantaneously.

> Moreover, not only under modernity was space conceived as divided into bounded places, but that system of differentiation was also organised in a particular way. In brief, spatial difference was convened into temporal sequence. Different 'places' were interpreted as different stages in a single temporal development. (Massey, 2008, p. 107).

Space is flattened and reduced to a surface, and therefore, to a superficial analysis. And considering utopia as an ultimate steady state of space, where constant predictable fluxes guarantee eternal equality and balance, negates the very reason why Massey defends space as a better category of analysis than time. She presents a three-way definition of space, using its characteristics as guidelines to a better understanding of the concept. First, space is a product of interrelations and of interactions that range from small to global scales, therefore, it cannot be understood by itself and never as an abstract entity. Second, space is in its essence, the sphere of multiplicity and heterogeneity, being where coexistence and diversity is possible and actual. This relates to the first proposition, since relation implies differentiation. Third, space is always under construction, in process, open. For her, space is "a simultaneity of stories-so-far" (Massey, 2008: 29).

Utopia, on the other hand, demands wholeness to exist. There is a necessary level of homogeneity that denies the diversity proposed by Massey. It is ironical Thomas More described a detailed project of society, with its political, social, economic and scientific premises, including territorial organization, only to deem it impossible. But if this perfect society is, for now, unattainable, does it at least provide tools to better approach reality? From a temporal perspective it could be quite possible that society was just not yet at this point, but that the concepts themselves may function as searchlights to get there. Perhaps pieces of utopia are accessible now and steps might be taken to ensure society gets there. But where is "there"?

From "u-" to "dys-" (or the threat of the plan)

For theorist Vilém Flusser (2007, p. 194), reality is filled with objects, which are obstacles in the way. Our final goal is to remove those objects, wishing to conquer a reality that is constantly fleeing. In order to do so, we create other constructs, use objects, which may take material or abstract forms and serve to remove the obstacles we find. In this cycle of obstacles removing obstacles, we imprint intentions, modes of action, limits and potentials in objects, which Flusser calls a program. When we design a tool, a piece of furniture, a space or a plan, it is not just the object itself that is being designed, but rather a crystalized way of doing things. Objects are self-fulfilling prophecies, they determine courses of action and establish limits for human behavior, posing significant threats to liberty.

It may however be impossible to access reality in any other way. While discussing his model's theory, Echenique (1975, p. 237) states that our limited perception requires that we choose what to consider, making data, measurements and scales relative to theoretical frameworks. This necessary understanding of the variables involved and of the relationships among them requires a consistency, a narrative that will bind actions and facts together and allow for intervention to take place. It is important to consider that designers (and planners as well) are not like scientists, who see reality under the perspective of cognition, they take a much more active and propositional role, under the perspective of design (Bonsiepe, 2011, p.11). This transformations (a temporal concept), must be rooted in concepts that indicate better frameworks for everyday life. A model is needed to establish a course of action, to produce these objects of planning and design and what is a better model than a perfect social organization, an utopia? This allows for the incorporation of micro-utopias to plans, since they could orient action and drive effective forms of social change. They sometimes may appear divided, rearranged, discrete, but are instilled in the "program" of plans and designs, even if in a small size or scale. The incorporation of transformative utopias, however, was not new to design, as planning and designing became more science-based fields of knowledge.

Designer's experimental and experiential drive blossomed by the end of 19th century and beginning of 20th century, in the wake of extreme social and technological transformation. A modern avant-garde deconstructed a society that had just begun to realize individuality and formal science. Exploring aesthetic unfamiliarity techniques was a common approach among these movements, emphasizing the "wonderful everyday", reinforcing critical instances of social reality and implying a shocking rupture from tradition and common sense (Sá, Velloso & Grillo, 2010). Embracing the "uncanny" (Vidler, 2006) meant the elimination of borders between the real and the unreal in order to provoke a disturbing ambiguity. At a certain point, however, investigations in architecture and urbanism distanced themselves from the arts, being shaped by belief that form should follow function and that corbusian principles could bring about tamed social and political transformation. Modernist canon clang to the faith in technological advances and in that adequate technical and scientific methods would present solutions to humanity's problems. Therefore, they strived to compartmentalize, rationalize, standardize – i.e. to make more efficient – planning and construction, as a response to the demands of an expanding and massifying industrial society.

Heynen (1999, p. 13) defines this process as "modernity's pastoral view", in which all dissent and contradiction was denied in order to strengthen a common search for an abstract image of progress. Under this perspective, the architect's technical and theoretical knowledge was a key factor in a revolutionary rearrangement of society that provided, using an utopic and universal coat, the permanent maintenance of a certain social order – industrial capitalism. Once architects embraced this role, they prioritized the potential of constructive rationality enabled by serial production and linked architectural production

to a market-oriented system while losing their ability to establish a critical collective instance and an enhanced social conscience (Sá, Velloso & Grillo, 2010).

This established assumption of the neutrality of reason was a powerful weapon for shutting down debate. It built its argument through an unassailable logical train of thought, hiding the fact that assumptions taken were subjectively established and collectively agreed upon, which would grant them a political nature that should be either legitimately recognized or fought as a strategy of power and dominance. Massey often mentions as an example the spreading of globalization discourse, where technological connectedness and free markets would lead society to a global community, reducing poverty and increasing exponentially cultural exchange. This hides the fact that globalization (at least in its current form - capitalist, neoliberal, carried out by corporations) is not an final evolutionary stage of contemporary society, but a design from a group of agents that can greatly profit from it (Massey, 2008, p. 127).

Attaching to any process a perception of inevitability diverts debate by denying refutability and strengthening *argumentum ad hominen* where, if someone does not agree to an idea, he or she is either misinformed or unethical. But Modernism goal might have been even more ambitious: the extinction of dissent.

> The most common criticism is of the failure of the demiurgic ambition of modern architecture, and the sometimes inhuman ambiance it has generated. I believe this is a superficial approach to the problem; the real flaw is an excessive desire for reconciliation, as if the world could be pacified once and for all. It is a dangerous temptation for architecture to believe that it has the key to ending conflict rather than revealing its true nature (Picon, 2013, p. 21).

This stands against the essence of public space, which "are the spaces of coexistence and encounters, where differences confront, conflicts become explicit and we practice urbanity and politics. (Queiroz & Franch, 2011, p. 2). The thought of homogeneous design and technological equality has built everything but that, as capitalism as an economic system is strongly based in inequality and competition, which increase exclusion and segregation in urban spaces. Santos Junior (2015) explores the marxist concepts of use value and exchange value to understand urban collective spaces.

> Here we can see the city as an arena, where different agents, with various interests, face each other. Each agent seeks to attain his or her goals either concerning their own existence and social reproduction in the city (lo live well or have symbolic gains as the status for living at a special location) - use value - or concerning possibilities of material gains and wealth accumulation - exchange value. (Santos Junior, 2015, p. 198)

Modernism exposes, then, the contradictions of capitalism that might render its own utopia impossible. This, however, did not reduce Modernism's impact in contemporary architecture, despite of rationality crisis of the late 20th century (Costa & Brandão, 2016). New architectural and urbanistic discourses strongly rely in science and technology and are still tamed and incorporated by current systems and institutions, serving the maintenance of the *status quo*. Therefore, sustainability becomes a quest for resource efficiency in order to sustain industrial society, social concerns aim towards appeasing conflicts and reducing low-income class unrest while preservation issues are appropriated to build sceneries and memories that support intended worldviews (Costa, 2000; Harvey, 2014; Ghirardo, 2009).

When Rogers (2008) presents the model of a city as a living organism, he not only bestows upon this social construct biological characteristics such as resource consumption, excretory needs, systemic functioning and ability to self-replicate, but he also suggest the possibility of a balanced state, in which this "being" might "live" in ecological harmony with its

immediate surroundings and with the world as a whole. The biological analogy is not Rogers' prerogative. It was established much earlier, with hygienist policies in the 19th century that allowed, for instance, Haussman's bulldozing plan for Paris (Mumford, 1998). Gunn & Correia (1997) demonstrate that in the biological analogy, the planner played the role of the doctor, encumbered of eliminating diseases from the body, which often meant surgical removal or extirpation, neither of those were potentially beneficial to the population that was labeled as a social disease.

The biological analogy also wrongly relies on ecological and Darwinian theories of evolution, the healthy organisms live in healthy environments and historically evolve to make living conditions better. Systemic thinking, associated with cybernetic theory advances, have boosted this line of investigation since the 1970s (Brandão, 2009) Recently, the New Urbanism movement has copyrighted this analogy and produced a ultimate charter of ecological urbanism, defining concepts and strategies that should orient "correct" urban planning (Talen, 2013). It is ironical, however, that Seaside, Florida, the first city to be built using these principles, was selected as the setting of "The Truman Show" a movie where the protagonist is trapped in a perfect, yet false, studio city for a reality show. It is even more frightening to think that the movie's fictional city of New Haven harbored around 5.000 cameras and current estimates of CCTV for London place their number around 500.000 cameras, with more than 15.000 in action only in the Underground system[8]!

Perfection comes at the price of control, as we revisit Foucault's panopticon. This disciplinary device is made possible by the assumption that modern society stands for concepts of equality and representativeness, but it reflects, in fact, a system of asymmetrical micropower structures designed to make individuals compliant with existing social structures (Focault, 1987). The reductionism and technological determinism of systemic planning were heavily criticized by the end of the 20th century, as they failed to understand conflicts and power disputes that were inherent to capitalism (Hall, 2007; Gottdiener, 1993)

There is definitely an authoritarian streak to utopian thought, as individuals must eventually sacrifice personal desires in order to advance goals that they did not necessarily chose. When left unchecked, this can bring utopia closer to its antithesis: dystopia. Dystopia (or the "bad place") is a narrative that emphasizes the negative stance of this harmonious societies, criticizing instruments required for its implementation: extreme discipline, abdication of personal will and desires, submission to a strong ideology or authority. This would be, in fact, the price to be paid for the longed for happiness at its plenitude. Authors like Borsi (1997) consider that the 20th century is the time of dystopia, and the city, its place, which evidence the current crisis of utopia.

Unlike Thomas More's Utopia, there is no defined point in time were the first "worst of places" was established. Parker, Fournier & Reedy (2012) state that this idea may be traced to periods that range to ancient Greek writer Aristophanes's anecdotal plays to Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver Travels* (1726), the last one also mentioned by Claeys (2013, p. 90). However, popularity of the term rose in the 19th century, as socialist ideas swarmed (Claeys, 2013, p. 175). English writer H. G. Wells helped boost the genre, but it was the book *Us* (1924) or Russian writer Ievguêni Zamiátini that consolidated this narrative, influencing works such as George Orwell's 1984 (1932) and Aldous Huxley's Brave New World (1932).

Dystopia works by making explicit the hidden mechanisms that make utopia viable. It assumes that there is a price to pay for the idea of perfection, a civilization with the best possible social configuration. There is often suppression of natural,

---

[8] Estimates of Caugh on Camera, a british CCTV supplier (https://www.caughtoncamera.net/news/how-many-cctv-cameras-in-london/)

necessary, feelings that regulate social relations, or a strong discipline imposed to individual minds and bodies, or a fierce control of all stages of everyday life. Institutions with power will severely punish dissent (even in thoughts), which will have a homogenizer impact and/or the annulment of individuality. The mechanisms for this may be violent or subtle, archaic or extremely technological and are usually in the service of totalitarian governments.

Claeys (2013) reinforces the association of utopia, dystopia and history when considered a teleological notion of time, that is, when there is a finality for the course of action of humanity. Utopia is a closing and a finality for society, as it functions as the sum of all human qualities. Dystopia, on the other hand, reflects a criticism of the present that is speculated as a future situation marked by contradiction and difficulties. While utopia is the end of history, as it represents the teleological success of civilization, dystopia exposes the failure of the utopian mission, as a post-apocalyptic image of an unhappy ending.

If we resume now Flusser's discussion, we can argue that, if design moves towards finality, a perfect solution to all humanity's problems, it might lead us to unexpected and undesirable paths. As designers create objects to remove problems, or obstacles to remove obstacles, the restrictions connected to those solutions would very likely cause more harm than good. Would then designers be condemned to aiming at utopia and hitting dystopia every time?

Heterotopia: the call for virtuality, diversity and openness

Wishing to break free from the utopia/dystopia duality, one must understand that the real world is complex and probably impossible to fully apprehend. There are, however, means of accessing this world, even if partially. Foucault denies the possibility of realizing utopia and calls for liberation from representation in order to understand the place where life actually happens:

> You do not live in a neutral white space: you do not live, you do not die, you do not love in the rectangle of a sheet of paper. You live, die and love in a squared, trimmed, multicolored space with bright zones and shadows, with different levels, steps, cavities, protuberances, with either hard or brittle, penetrable, porous regions (Foucault, 2013, p. 19)

For dealing with that, he offers the concept of heterotopia, a place that, though subversive, can be located in reality. Heterotopias are actually counter-spaces, real spaces that cause inversions, ruptures and contestations in existence. They juxtapose incompatible spaces, connect singular and eternal timeframes, they harbor ephemerality, illusion, forgetfulness and change. At the same time, heterotopias have a closure system that isolates it from surrounding spaces. They work as an interval that at the same time connects spaces and keeps them divided, suspended, allowing at the same time encounters and separation (Foucault, 2013).

Another useful concept is that of the apparatus (Flusser, 2000, p. 21). Unlike other objects, it is not a tool for removing, producing or informing obstacles, neither it is part of consumer goods. In a way, the apparatus falls out of definitions produced for a society based on work, as its ontology is related to playing and not working. It invites (or challenges) its user to investigate possibilities, which are numerous but finite, as predicted on its program. Flusser uses the camera as the ultimate example, but in a gamified society, there are many more everyday objects that would fit this description: computers, smartphones, video games, etc. The main feature of the apparatus is its virtuality. Pierre Lévy (1996, p. 16) defines the virtual as "a problematic complex, the node of tendencies or forces that accompanies a situation, an event, an object or any entity, and that calls for a resolution process: the actualization". Therefore, apparatuses are open to exploration; they hold potential rather than solutions and expand possibilities of dealing with reality.

This potential may be found in the real city, instead of the blank slate usually proposed by utopia. Abstraction, though ideal, moves away from reality, where conflict, but also potential, happens. A strong opposer to modernist thinking, Jane Jacobs (2009) believes that we should look not to what the city ideally could be, but to what it already is in order to find planning directions. She accuses most planners of pursuing bucolic, aseptic or individualist versions of cities, while killing their very strong points: density, diversity and sense of community:

> Under the seeming disorder of the old city, wherever the old city is working successfully, is a marvelous order of maintaining the safety of the streets and the freedom of the city. It is a complex order. Its essence is intricacy of sidewalk use, bringing with it a constant succession of eyes (Jacobs, 2009: 52).

This means that the use of public space is paramount for the functioning of cities and that seeing neighbors and being seen by them - the eyes of the street - is what could guarantee any level of safety for inhabitants. Unlike CCTV cameras and control centers, Jacobs proposes a diffuse control, with a feeling of security coming from trust and cooperation among citizens. On this point, as in others, Jacobs criticizes abstraction as a valid approach to urban planning and focus on intensifying characteristics that cities already have. Reality and experience, though probably complex and hard to manage, were key factors in understanding cities and making them work properly. She sees the city as an immense laboratory, where practices could be tested and, through trial and error, define future public policy (Brandão, 2009, p. 25).

There are currently many attempts to consider the existing city and to include inhabitants in the decisions-making process, through participation and increased autonomy. This concept is twofold as it involves both, "collective autonomy, or the conscient and explicit self-government of a particular collectivity (...) and individual autonomy, that is, the ability of particular individuals to make their choices freely, responsibly and knowingly." (Souza, 2011, p. 174). It is a noble goal to enhance participation in planning and design, however, it is very common that participative processes be used only to validate designers or administrative decisions. In attempts to apply traditional architectural design research methods[9] we have reached incipient results and even more innovative methods have only reinforced previous perceptions (Oliveira & Brandão, 2015). Actual participation requires a prolonged contact with citizens, in order to develop truly critical thinking about the everyday use of space and to expand users' spatial references. Otherwise, participation can easily turns into cooptation or imposition, as it often happens with asymmetric negotiations.

> *Urban Design, negotiating the real, found it's champion's agents in the real estate, property law, the community groups and preservationist. Desiring the promising semiotic ambiguity to be both Duck and Rabbit, it instead was co-opted. It became a study in compromise and deal making, negotiating a bargain to disguise the corporate control of our cities* (Mitchell, 2011, p. 841).

In response what he deems is "our bankrupt Idea of the City", Edward Mitchell advocates for a Non-Concept City (Mitchell, 2011, Brown & Smith, 2012). He criticizes cooptation of urban discourses by corporation and real estate agents and calls for a more public and collective approach to planning, following directions of Roberto Unger's propositions for a post-modernist style. Mitchell defends Unger's proposal for a mobilization democracy, where public spaces would come from private domains and "architects should faithfully uphold commitment to express in physical vessels a shared vision of collective life " (Unger, 2017, p. 1).

---

[9] Environmental behavior maps, walkthrough, structured questionnaire and oral history

This relates the concept of a negative utopia, which refuses romantic idealization and proposes a critical, questioning and instigating architecture (Costa, 2001). The negative utopia longs for establishing a critical and conscious experience, but not for a model space. Architecture and cities that are built under this assumption show more radical forms (plastically or materially), as in the works or Lebbeus Woods and the initial designs of the Campana Brothers, in the 1980s and 1990s.

In this sense, real participation is not an uncritical appropriation of popular aesthetics, desires, technologies and systems, but rather a profound re-discussion between the producing and receiving agents of space, in a process that can be classified as re-educational. Education here is not understood in a traditional sense, but as a construction of a epistemological curiosity (Freire, 2014), where subjects of spatial practice - academics, professional and ordinary citizens - move from a naive look to a critical one, approaching in an increasingly rigorous way our cognizable object of interest: space itself.

This requires a more radical shift of urbanism from finalized products (the plan or the design) to more processual understanding (planning structures, open design and public action). As we see space as relational, heterogeneous and processual (Massey, 2008), we become more open to designing apparatuses instead of objects. Such forms of spatial appropriation consist of heterotopias, as they resist social segregation and hierarchy, create displacements and deviations in everyday life and hold strong potential in allowing for imaginative action.

As a materialization of those concepts, we present the results of exercises carried out by first year students in the Architecture and Urbanism course of the Universidade Federal de São João del-Rei (Brandão & Braga, 2015; Brandão & Braga, 2016). After working in drawings and tridimensional objects, students are asked to produce an "interactive object", which is, in fact ,an apparatus. The object must be open and diverse, allowing for participation of others (alterity) and as virtual as possible. The result of the process typically revolves around a mechanical moving object, which can be used by one or more people simultaneously while it reconfigures itself formally. There is a strong influence of the works of artists such as Hélio Oiticica and Lygia Clark, both presented in theoretical classes, as well as an accumulation of the spatial, structural and plastic premises developed in previous works.
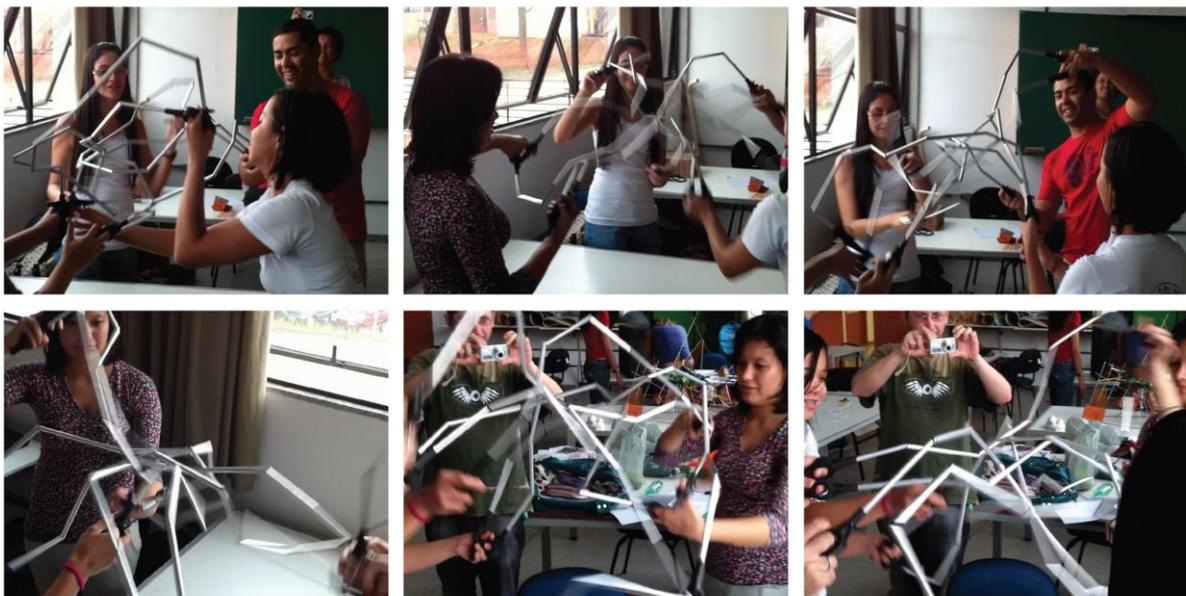
Figure 1 Interactive object by Jackson Jardel, Lilian Binder e Luziany Oliveira (2011-2). Source: Authors' Archives

Figure 1 shows an object made from telescopic TV antennas dismantled and fastened with internal elastics, using clamps as manipulation points, which allowed simultaneous operation by several people. The elastics provided a tension in the aluminum tubes causing them to assume rigid three-dimensional shapes, altered by the movement of users.

Figure 2 Interactive object by Anelisa Campos, Carolina Brasileiro, Emilly Lopes (2013-2). Authors' Archives

The object in figure 2 is composed of two wooden boxes with a system of interconnected syringes, whose pistons move according to pressure exerted by users. Pressure is transmitted through water placed inside the system from one side to the other and an outer coating of foam and fabric generates communicating topographies, with a sensual and unexpected result.

Having experimented with alterity, students are then asked to create a site-specific installation in a given public space. The perceptive, plastic, and structural assumptions of previous works are recovered in an increasingly less controlled context, now subject to reception and use by a strange and not necessarily prepared public, which is the regular user of urban space. The conferred public character of these interventions relativizes the autonomy of art in relation to traditional exhibition spaces and relates them to architecture, as the latter becomes increasingly open, ephemeral and experiential, and art becomes more and more contextualized and specialized (Regatão, 2010; Schulz-Dornburg, 2002). These installations enhance users' experiences, as well as encourage debates on urban issues, even beyond considerations of students. Interventions should be guided by their relationship with the context and the public, according to the principles of specificity (site-specificity) defined by authors such as Kwon (2004). The work must take locality as something tangible, as an identity composed of a unique combination of constitutive physical elements, and try to arrange some kind of particularization, a displacement of the eye, a "reframing" or re-signification of place and daily life, from the insertion of new material and formal elements.

Figure 3 Installation by Débora Lima, Lorena Toledo, Luan Augusto, Lucas Souza, Tiago Araújo (2013-1) Authors' Archives

Figure 3 shows an installation at Praça do Chafariz, where a reconstruction of a 19th-century fountain, which had been demolished in 1895, is located. Questioning the fountain's historical and symbolic value as a reconstruction, the group proposed a scaffolding structure that supported enlarged photos of the wall behind the fountain. The removal of the fountain from urban space was complemented by the playing a series of sounds behind the scaffold, implying the existence of hidden construction activities. The work rose a debate about preservation of listed buildings and the real value and meaning of urban monuments, which are often incorporated in the everyday life of cities but bear little authenticity or representative value themselves.

Figure 4 Installation by de Aline Prado, Keisa Beatriz, Laura Reis, Matheus Moreira, Paulo Ricardo, Sara Reis (2013-2) Authors' Archives

Figure 4 shows an installation at Praça do Coreto, where students created a temporary roof over a couple of existing benches. Shading and sunshine were a particular relevant topic for this class of students, as they were theme to several works in this semester. This derived from the students' own perception of thermal discomfort that happened systematically during preparations. In the case presented, a pre-existing metal profile structure was rented and used to support a chicken coop screen from which PET bottles hang. The bottles formed, through different lengths of the hanging threads, an organic design on the roof and their bases were filled with dyed water, generating a colour transition between pink and yellow.

Experiments like those are rooted in the understanding of alterity and place, looking for virtuality that suggest intervention and proposition. They make students sensitive to site-specificity and diversity, while creating apparatuses and promoting alternate uses of public space. Community response is often enthusiastic, even if people do not fully understand or apprehend the intent of installations. And despite of the fact that ephemerality is key to using these exercises pedagogically, these experiences may inspire real action for professionals and academics alike.

References

Bonsiepe, G. (2011). *Design, cultura e sociedade.* São Paulo: Blucher.

Borsi, F. (1997). *Architecture and Utopia*. Paris: Hazan Editeur.

Brandão, R. S. (2009). *As interações espaciais urbanas e o clima*. [PhD Thesis in Architecture and Urbanism] São Paulo: FAUUSP.

Brandão R. S. e Braga. G. B. (2015). Fundamentação em Arquitetura e Urbanismo: Uma experiência integrada na unidade curricular Oficina I , *Anais do Projetar*, 7, Natal: UFRN.

Brandão R. S. e Braga. G. B. (2016). Intervenções urbanas efêmeras como estratégia pedagógica de fundamentação em Arquitetura e Urbanismo. *Pluris*, 7, Maceió.

Brown, M., & Smith, S. (2012) The Non-Concept City: A Discussion With Edward Mitchell, *Journal of Architectural Education*, 66 (1), 13-18, doi: 10.1080/10464883.2012.719480

Claeys, G. (2013). *Utopia: a história de uma ideia*. São Paulo: Edições SESC SP.

Costa, F. N. (2001). A arte dos Irmãos Campana e a Utopia Negativa. *Cadernos de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da (PUC-MG)*, 8, 59-69.

Costa, F. N., & Brandão, R. S. (2016) On modern propositions in contemporaneity: to overcome or to rescue? *V!rus*, 12, Retrieved from: <http://www.nomads.usp.br/virus/virus12/?sec=4&item=7& lang=en>.

Costa, H. S. M. (2000). Desenvolvimento urbano sustentável: uma contradição em termos? *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais*, 2, 55-71.

Echenique, M. (1975). Models: a discussion. In Martin, L., & March, L. *Urban Spaces and Structures* (pp. 164-174). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eco, U. (2013) *História das terras e lugares lendários*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record.

Flusser, V. (2007). *O mundo codificado: por uma filosofia do design e da comunicação*. Cosac Naify: São Paulo.

Flusser, V. (2000). *Towards a philosophy of photography.* London : Reaktion Books

Foucalt, M. (2013). *O corpo utópico; as heterotopias*. São Paulo: n-1 Edições.

Foucalt, M. (1987). *Vigiar e punir.* Rio de Janeiro: Vozes.

Freire, P. (2014). *Pedagogia da Autonomia*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

Ghirardo, D. Y. (2009). *Arquitetura contemporânea*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes.

Gottdiener, M. (1993). *A produção social do espaço urbano*. São Paulo: EdUSP.

Gunn, P., & Correia, T. B. (2001). O Urbanismo: a medicina e a biologia nas palavras e imagens da cidade. In Bresciani, M. S. (org.) *Palavras da Cidade* (pp. 124-137). Porto Alegre: UFRGS.

Hall, P. (2007). *Cidades do amanhã*. São Paulo:Perspectivas

Harvey, D. (2014). *Cidades rebeldes*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes.Heyen, H. (1999). *Architecture and Modernity: a critique*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Jacobs, J. (2009). *Morte e vida das grandes cidades*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes

Kwon, M. (2004). *One place after another*. MIT: Chicago.

Lévy, P. (1996). *O que é o virtual?* Editora 34: São Paulo.

Massey, D. (2008). *Pelo espaço*. Bertrand Brasil: Rio de Janeiro.

Mitchell, E. (2011). Up in the air. In: Perez-Gomez, A., Comier, A., & Pedret, A. (Ed.). *Where do you stand*. Proceedings of the 99th ACSA Annual Meeting. Montreal: ACSA.

Mumford, L. (1998). *A cidade na história*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes.

Parker, M., Fournier, V., & Reedy, P. (2012). *Dicionário de alternativas: Utopismo e organização*./ São Paulo: Octavo.

Picon, A. (2013). Learning From Utopia. *Journal of Architectural Education*, 67 (1), 17-23, doi: 10.1080/10464883.2013.767120

Oliveira, M. B., & Brandão R. S. (2015). Processo de Projeto e Produção de Espaços Públicos em Cidades Históricas. *Anais do Projetar*, 7, Natal: UFRN.

Queiroz, T. C. N., & Franch, M. (2011). Revitalizações no espaço urbano de João Pessoa e sociabilidades no bairro. *Congresso Luso Afro Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais (CONLAB)*, 11, Retrieved from https://www.yumpu.com/pt/document/view/12468430/revitalizacoes-no-espaco- urbano-de-joao-pessoa-e-sociabilidades-

Regatão, J. P. (2010). *Arte pública e os novos desafios das intervenções no espaço urbano*. Bond: Lisboa.

Rogers, R., & Gumuchdjian, P. (2008). *Cidades para um pequeno planeta*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gill.

Sá, D. C. (org.), Velloso, R. C. L., & Grillo, A. C. (2010). *Forma como atitude: a experiência surrealista na metrópole*. Belo horizonte: PUC Minas, FAPEMIG.

Santos Júnior, O. A. (2015). Espaços urbanos coletivos, heterotopia e direito à cidade. In Costa, G. M., & COSTA, H. S, M., & Monte-mór, R. L. M. (org.). *Teorias e práticas urbanas* (pp. 193-213). Belo Horizonte: C/Arte.

Schulz-Dornburg, J. (2002). *Arte e arquitetura: novas afinidades*. GG: Barcelona.

Souza, M. L. (2011). *Mudar a Cidade*. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil.

Talen, E. (Ed.) *Charter of New Urbanism*. Columbus, OH: McGraw-Hill Education

Unger, R. M. *The Better Futures of Architecture*. 2017. Retrieved from http:// www.robertounger.com/en/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/architecture1.pdf

Vidler, A. (2006). Uma teoria sobre o estranhamente familiar. In Nesbitt, K. *Uma nova agenda para a arquitetura* (pp. 617-622). São Paulo: Cosac Naify.