

CHAPTER 5, GOVERNANCE, SOCIAL COHESION AND URBAN POLICIES

Will politics / policy bring us “the city” back?

Plan or project / regulation or deregulation, consequences



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back to the sense of the city



CHAPTER 5 INDEX

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THE BUILDING SUSTAINABLE REGULATIONS FOR SOCIAL HOUSING IN MEXICO

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Key words: Green technologies, construction regulations, architectonic elements.

Abstract

The present project analyzes the conditions of the actual construction regulations and their relation with the conditions of sustainability of the western zone of Mexico. The human activity of production and occupation of the housing activity, has contributed important percentage in the problem of the global warming. The waste production and deterioration of the natural resources force to consider technological alternatives for the production and occupation of the sustainable buildings that incorporates low energy technologies and systems for the water consumption, as well for the energy efficiency using the advantage of the natural lighting, natural ventilation and the treatment of outer areas. The analysis of the energy efficiency will be based mainly on the conditions of sustainability, understanding that the consumption of the energy and the water is certain determined for the conditions of habitability. A sustainable construction can be a space completely integrated to the natural landscape and the natural flows of an ecosystem, or can be an artificial place with a high energy performance, built with low environmental impact materials.

The primary objective is to maximize the energy efficiency, to reduce the carbon dioxide emissions, the conservation of the natural resources, as well as to integrate sustainable technologies and to make integral an urban planning with citizen participation in the different phases from the project.

Introduction

In efforts to promote sustainability in the building sector the present project tries to contribute solutions to the actual construction regulations in western section of Mexico.

The analysis of the energy efficiency will be based mainly on the conditions of sustainability, understanding that the consumption of the energy and the water is certain determined for the conditions of habitability.

The primary objective is to maximize the energy efficiency, to reduce the carbon dioxide emissions, the conservation of the natural resources, as well as to integrate sustainable technologies and to make integral an urban planning with citizen participation in the different phases from the project.

Consequently, a series of sustainable sections was developed to be applied in the construction regulations a of the western zone of Mexico, reason for which it is decided to choose a specific place to exemplify the points treated in the development of the investigation.

The main idea is to give a margin of participation to the builders, being they who will have to implement a data set of different nature according in the levels that is decided to use. The present study proposes three levels of intervention:

- By a calculation method.
- By making measurements in the project.
- Imposing values (maximum or minimum) pre-fixed.

This also is valid for the other proposals of regulation depending on the complexity of the architectonic and/or urban element, the levels could be mixed.

According to the "criteria of sustainability" for the urban development and the construction of buildings, the stages of the analysis, the data processing and normative proposals will be grouped as it follows:

- Efficient use of the water
- Efficient use of the energy
- Bioclimatic design
- Design of green areas
- Treatment of solid wastes

This looks for to adapt each of these criteria to the technical, legal and administrative processes in answer to the diverse requirements of the region.

Objective

To promote the implementation of the concepts and criteria of sustainability in the activities related to the building construction of social interest at regional level, it is necessary to adapt the technical, legal and administrative processes in answer to the different requirements from the zone the West of Mexico. In the same way, it is necessary to make reference of the indicators of the quality and its homologation to the standards established in the international regulations, involving to the academic sector and construction industry.

To adapt the existing regulations of construction to the characteristics and points of attention that the population demand, it is necessary an analysis of the physical and social conditions to obtain and to classify the modifications of the architectonic spaces in order to assure the power efficiency, the requirements uses and destinies of the water, and the quality of the interior spaces, all it with the purpose of obtaining an economic and social development sustainability.

In the same way, it is necessary to determine the parameters to consider the consumption of energy and water in the social interest houses and the impact that would be had with the implementation of efficient measures with respect to conventional technologies, such as the use of devices and systems of saving water, rain water collecting storage and use, as well as the treatment and recycling of these.

Because the house is a determining element of the growth of the demand of the electricity and other used forms of energy in the air conditioning, the illumination and urban mobility, it is necessary to calculate the reductions of Greenhouse Gas Emissions (GHGs) and to consider the impact in the improvement of the use of the energy and the water in the new houses in Mexico.

Additional to previously exposed, it is tried to make reference to the international norms such as ISO 14 000 of environmental management, in which the company implants a system of environmental management and an organism of third part of certification. In the same way reference to the system is made of classification of green constructions (GBRs), developed by Leadership in Environmental Energy and Design (LEED).

From the Mexican official regulations of the effectiveness of the energy applicable to the constructions (thermal NOM-018-ENER-1997 that isolates for the effectiveness of the constructions), the normalization of the certifiable conducts is taken like reference voluntary that can be promoted by the federal government with the normative faculties, carrying out it to an ample participation of the sector of the company, that must be the main motor of the voluntary environmental certification.

The constructions and the houses have an important impact in the environment and the health of the people. The environmental quality associates the comfort of the human beings to the sustainable development of the natural resources; applied to the architecture this concept supposes the incorporation of new exigencies in all the constructive process of a house, modifying customs of the developers and the users.

Methodology

For that reason, it is necessary to analyses the environmental conditions to plan the sustainable energy saving and reduce to the Greenhouse Gas Emissions. Combined to this, it is necessary to develop a line bases to consider the consumption of energy and water in social interest houses, as well as in the same way to determine the reduction in the consumption of the energy resources and water through the instrumentation of efficient measures with respect to conventional technologies.

In order to sustain previously exposed it is required to make reference to the reaches and challenges in the matter of construction that the Mexican government has established in five aspects that are planned guide the national policy of house:

- Eminently social character of the programs of acquisition of house
- To foment the quality house
- To make specific efforts with the different actors and institutions in the construction industry
- To offer greater opportunities to the families
- The infrastructure creation. [2]

Figure 1: Environment impact of the constructions.



Source: Arias 2010

The Mexican government has established the creation of an ampler infrastructure, for which requires the construction of a million houses average per year. The impact that will entail this measurement they will require, considering a net density of 50 houses by hectare (without regional services):

-An approximated area of 40.000 hectares of ground - Residual water treatment = US \$134 millions

-Hydraulic infrastructure = US \$1 billion

-Drainage infrastructure = US \$ 900 millions

-Electrical infrastructure = US \$ 350 millions

This represents 2.8 billion that will be required annually to grant services from infrastructure to the buildings that are constructed from year 2007.

In order to give recommendations to develop sustainable houses, it is necessary to formulate the following criteria like instruments of environmental policy, in agreement to the state environmental laws: Criteria for the urban development. The relation that must exist between the green areas and the constructions destined to the house, the services and other activities. The conservation of fertile forest and agricultural areas, avoiding its urban division. The limitations to create zones of house around industrial centres.

Criteria for the house development. The use of devices and systems of water saving, rain water collecting, storage and use, as well as the treatment and recycling of these. The optimal advantage of the solar energy, as much in the illumination as for the heating.

Designs that facilitate the natural ventilation. The use of construction equipment that cause the lower environmental impact. Consequently, it is possible to carry out some future actions to consider them like continuation of this project:

-To recommend technological alternatives for the sustainable house.

- To make measurements of the designs and the incorporated clean technologies in the house.
- To analyse a study cost-benefit from technologies and alternative products.
- To make references to the NOM-020-ENER regulation of energy efficiency in constructions.
- To propose indicators that work as it bases to generate policies and standards that will be included in the regulations.
- To create an analysis system to evaluate and to describe the technical aspects as sustainable projects.
- To propose financial mechanisms that allow resolving the costs of incorporating clean technologies in the sustainable house, in reference to applied in the other countries as "green financings".
- To foment the diffusion and qualification for the implementation of clean technologies in sustainable houses.
- To establish programs related to the sustainability at national level.

It is necessary to adapt the existing regulations of construction to the characteristics and points of attention that demand the architectonic spaces in the matter of saving and efficiency of energy, handling of solid remainders, that the rational use of the water, on the way to obtaining sustainable an economic and social development.

This by means of promoting the participation of the client, the academic researchers, as well as of the professionals of the construction, creating criteria for use of clean technologies like alternative to the elements and traditional systems of the house. The results of the investigation project must like intention cause the participation of public and private institutions.

Through the normative proposals it is possible to obtain adequate environmental conditions in the initial stages of the architectonic projects on the way to diminishing the cost of the habitability and obtaining savings in electrical energy, water provision, etc. These norms try to create the suitable parameters to obtain environmentally appropriate designs, with which to generate spaces of quality for the users of such looking for to influence as well in the economic and social conditions of the region.

In the same way it is tried by means of the accomplishment of the investigation project, to analyse the viability to carry out programs on great scale and to identify sources of financing for its development.

It is possible to analyse the possibility of certifying the calls "carbon credits" (reduction of CO² emissions in the atmosphere) as result of the saving of electrical energy when executing a program on great scale in this scope. For example, it would be possible to be considered that the client who acquires a house with ecological criteria will be able to have greater amounts of financing. The increase in the financing which they would have the families to acquire houses with saving systems obtains a financing that can be developed in a greater area of the house.

The proposal of the development of the research project tries to regulate the actions that are made in the different stages from the construction, on the way to reduce the environmental impact that generates the construction activities in the place where they are developed. This like turn out to analyse the urgent necessity that it must in Mexico to develop house of social interest and to produce houses that improve the quality of life of the population.

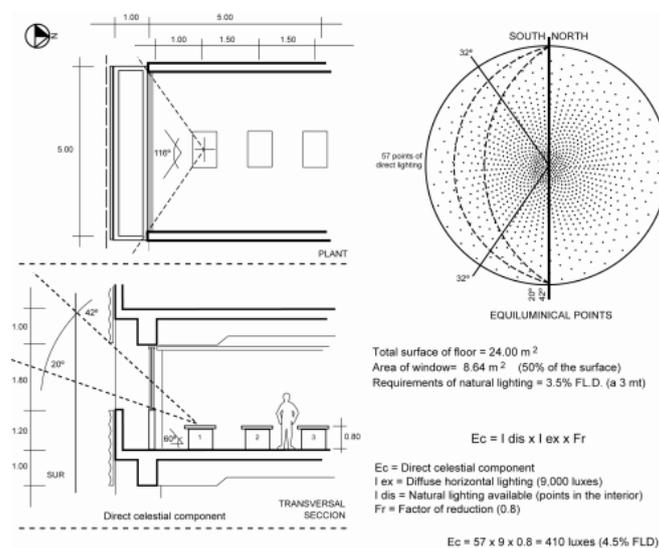
These proposals try to cause necessary the environmental conditions in the architectonic spaces, to improve the labor conditions of habitability and the users in three specific points: power efficiency (diminution of CO² emissions), water recycling and treatment of solid remainders.

Results. Parameters of intervention to the construction regulations

In order to exemplify the intervention levels that set out for the application of a sustainable regulation it takes the section from "Conditions of natural illumination".

Calculation accomplishment. The measurement method can be used as perspective conic section on a graphical projection or with photography fish-eye. The suitable method to evaluate the daylight factor (FLD) sight from a portion of sky is the call uniform sky that consists of dividing this sky in thousand point sources that have an equal one to be able of illumination on the point of the observer. [3] An analysis of a standard space is developed; the differences of measurements between the different areas, give like result the FLD in a level of 0,80 m. considered like the level of visual work. As it is possible to be observed, the suitable lighting conditions never surpasses of 6 meters from the window alongside opposed. The example is based on a climate warmed up in a latitude of North 20°; other latitudes are enough to adapt the diagram of Dresler to these, as well as the more advisable labour schedule, without considering inner and outer the reflection factors. [4]

Figure 2. Accomplishment of a calculation.



-Making measurements in the project. The period of occupation in the different architectonic spaces could vary the required rates of lighting in the point furthestmost of the window than it does not exceed the five meters. After this distance the reached levels are insufficient.

In all the architectonic spaces for houses the conditions of natural illumination (daylight factor) adapted to the indicated in the table will have to make sure: they will have equal or greater to be measured to 0,80 meters of the ground (work level).

Table 1. Making measurements in the project (distance from the window)

Type of space	1 m	3 m	5 m
Living room	16.5 FLD	% 2 % FLD	1.0 % FLD
Dinning room	16.0	3.0	1.0
Kitchen	16.0	3.0	1.0
Main dormitory	16.5	3.0	0.5
Additional dormitory	16.5	3.0	0.5
Washing room	7.5	0.5	---
Sanitary service	7.5	0.5	---

Source: Arias 2010

-Imposing values (maximum or minimum) pre-fixed.

Table 2. Imposing values pre-fixed

Luxes	Visual task
20-30-50	Entrances
50-75-100	Circulation area, contact points, etc.
100-150-200	Non continuous use rooms, slight work, industrial monitoring, storage areas, ward robes, halls.
200-300-500	Requirements of visual tasks, offices, quarters control.
300-500-750	Requirements of average visual tasks, offices, quarters control.
500-750-1000	Requirements of average visual task plaintiffs, task of inspection and test, drawing area.
750-1000-1500	Requirements of hard visual task, production lines and assembly
1000-1500-2000	Requirements of special visual task, tasks of engraving by hand.
2000-2500	Detail of exact visual tasks, electronic miniature, surgical procedures.

Source. Arias 2010

Conclusions

The main intention of the present paper is the analysis of the physical and social conditions of the western zone of Mexico, with the purpose of establishing the environmental parameters necessary to make recommendations of sustainability in the construction regulations.

In this project the feasibility considers to take advantage of the natural resources in a system advantage and rational operation of the natural resources. Also to promote the energy saving, the recycling of remainders and advantage of natural sources of energy.

This proposal is tried to offer an alternative of energy saving in the rural and urban communities by means of control mechanisms that assure the used energy efficiency in the air conditioning, the artificial illumination, as well as the equipment connected in all the processes of the construction: From the project, the construction, the habitability and the maintenance of the house.

With base to the results that are obtained through the different stages of the research, it is possible to make a energy audit, on the way to proposing the recommendations of environmental adjustment of the construction regulations in search of the power saving and the optimization of the institutional resources, as well as improving the conditions of environmental comfort of the users.

Visualizing results. In the areas of opportunity, the priority given by the current government administration to the topic of infrastructure, and especially to housing, prompts us to reconsider the experiences that have been accumulated up to this day under the light of the international initiative of "Green Living", to establish guidelines for federal tasks to adopt sustainable building practices, for which the following items are suggested:

- Create a House Construction Code including regulation for safe, sustainable, reliable, and inhabitable building in an urban context.
- Promote vertical building in urban areas to have access to a house with services located near work places and schools.
- Promote comprehensive city growth through Urban Development Programs that establish the allocation and use of land according to local needs.
- Promote sustainability criteria for urban development and housing construction.
- Promote the incorporation of sustainability elements into building rules of different regions in the country.

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SUSTAINABILITY CRITERIA ASSOCIATED WITH URBANIZATION REGULATIONS

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Abstract

The recent formalization in the country a National Urban Policy and Housing attempts urgent attention to the problems associated with a sector whose development in recent decades has been marked by continued dissociation between urban growth and population growth way, based on models disproportionate, irrational and unsustainable territorial expansion, with high costs in economic, social and environmental issues.

Urban segregation, deteriorating environmental conditions of the physical built environment, vulnerability to natural disasters, depletion of land reserves in several metropolitan areas and social exclusion and inequality in terms of the supply of infrastructure, services or equipment are some of the most serious consequences of the effective realization of such models in Mexican cities, especially for areas with little population confined to living on the peripheries of urban sprawl income.

Combining this with the guidance of environmental policies at the international level to the reduction of greenhouse gases in all sectors of society and with the explicit intention of the municipality of Zapopan to promote sustainability criteria associated with urbanization within of its territory, it is that the framework that motivates the development of this standard Sustainable Construction is set.

The rule here is issued aims to establish linked, in this case, the regulation of planning urban renewal actions and / or promoting new municipality under the requirements of sustainability criteria and indicators for the implementation of urban planning instruments ; all embedded in a management framework and an evaluation process according the urban regulations.

Introduction

A sustainable urban energy system will need low carbon technologies on the supply side, and efficient distribution infrastructure as well as lowered consumption on the end-user side. Cities therefore need to shift from the current unsustainable fossil fuel energy generation towards using renewable energy sources, not only because of looming resource depletion but also to curb the negative externalities such as pollution and greenhouse gas emissions. At the same time, energy consumption must be reduced by changing consumption patterns and adopting energy saving techniques. Lastly, because energy is paramount to revenue generation, its distribution needs to become more inclusive and fair to foster universal development, especially for the urban poor.

Cities need to establish strong policies and standards to develop sustainable urban energy systems and to reduce the use of unsustainable technologies and practices. Governments must not only institute legislation to regulate energy use and consumption, but must also set up incentive measures that promote research, innovation, and, most importantly, the adoption of greener and more efficient technologies.

Sound collaboration and mutual understanding between the private sector — which runs most of the world's energy systems — and overseeing authorities is therefore paramount for short-term commercial interests not to overshadow long-term environmental concerns and sustainable development opportunities. Governments should also pursue collaboration between local and international partners in order to enable local companies to strengthen their knowledge, expertise, and market reach. Governments of developing countries should consider private-public partnerships to develop their energy systems, as current costs cannot be carried by a country alone.

For each city to be able to adapt to its own local particularities, authorities need to design decentralized energy systems and infrastructure, and also be permitted to have specific legislation and tax systems to either promote the use of sustainable energy, or to curb and dissuade the use of polluting, inefficient technologies and consumption habits.

Objective

The objectives of this standard are formulated on basis in chapters XX and XXI of the third tenth title of the regulation of urban development, construction and land use planning for the municipality of Zapopan, Jalisco; being the following:

I set up a framework for managing regulatory planning of urban actions of urban renewal or new development in the municipality applying requirements and sustainability indicators, which will be in a process of evaluation in accordance with the logic of scalable performance from three levels of efficiency or performance improvement: Basic, efficient and excellent, which shall be subject to compliance with the criteria of evaluation, criteria for certification and delivery of the required documentation provisions and technical annexes that apply to each case, as well as the own for certification conformity assessment procedures for these purposes under the relevant heading.

II. establish, on the basis of the above, the technical and administrative process for issuing and delivery to the definitive urban development projects that request, the certificate of sustainable urbanization by the Municipal of building certification and sustainable development of the municipality, in any of the three levels of efficiency or performance with corresponding.

III. provide the Municipal of building certification and sustainable development of the municipality of an instrument of management regulatory and administrative for the analysis and evaluation of conformity for the issuance of certifications of sustainable urbanization to urbanization projects that so request it, establishing the bases for obtaining by them of incentives of tax incentives and/or access to credit actions of the official sector or banking institutions.

Location

This standard may be applicable to all areas of the municipality of Zapopan, Jalisco; provided that application note compliance with regulations and rules and established procedures.

Selection of site and urban development

The physical characteristics of the place where is located the new urban developments, must observe a healthy and comfortable environment. Site selection involves the need to consider the impacts generated by urbanization, as well as mitigation or minimization of changes caused by the building of new settlements.

For the appropriate site selection, required consider the regulations of the uses of the soil of the city, in order to prevent the invasion of ecologically sensitive areas, as well as preserve and restore the functions of natural environmental systems.

Localization and integration of the urban action

Urban actions of urban renewal and to more specifically of the new promotion, will monitor the degree of integration with the urban or urbanized, ground based on their location in urban reserve areas or in areas which ensure the correct morphological contiguity with the existing consolidated tissues, by way of promoting the optimal functionality of the urban system within permissible ranges, for its location , social cohesion, efficiency in the consumption of soil, reduction of urban sprawl or interstitial voids product of scarce intra-urban connection; as expected for these effects in this standard, as well as in programs and urban development plans and regulations technical of the municipality that remedies for these purposes.

When planning actions are not located in Areas of the urban reserve, Areas of urban renewal, Areas with potential for recycling or in any of the subdivisions of the urbanized Areas, where to apply actions of recovery, conservation, renovation or recycling that ensure an optimal integration with the urban land strengthened, according to the provisions for these purposes in urban development plans or in the technical standards of the municipality for zoning , Areas of environmental urban recovery and promotion of urban actions of sustainable Social object; such actions be regarded as minimum criteria, that at least 25% of its total perimeter effective is in

contact with soil urban or urbanized, for the specific purpose of compliance with this standard and without prejudice to the provisions of the regulations that apply to the case.

Connectivity for non-motorized urban action

The planning of urban renewal and new promotion actions, considered the ranges of connectivity and accessibility with the urban land adjacent to weighting criteria of mobility pedestrian and non-motorized bicycle, under the evaluation of the potential for continuity, proximity and permeability of the pedestrian networks or those that allow non-motorized at the territorial level mobility and whose performance is not subject to reduction or isolation due to anthropogenic or natural elements that they escape as barrier effect; all in order to enhance and consolidate the morphological and functional connection of the new or existing urban fabric as envisioned for these effects in this standard, as well as in programs and urban development plans and regulations technical of the municipality that remedies for these purposes.

Urban actions, regardless of their location in areas of the urban reserve, areas of urban renewal, areas with potential for recycling or in any of the subdivisions of the urbanized areas, where to apply actions of recovery, conservation, renewal, recycling or new development, observed that the percentage of pedestrian and non-motorized bicycle with the consolidated urban fabric connectivity retain at least a value equal or greater than 50% based on the linear meters of contact of their effective ground urban or urbanized perimeter and without computing the sections included by controlled access roads and their respective subdivisions, rail networks, pipelines, canals and slopes with slope longitudinal greater than 8%, which will be considered as elements with barrier effect; all of the above for the specific purposes of compliance with this standard and in accordance with provisions in existing urban development plans and programs or the technical standards of the municipality for zoning and sustainable mobility that may apply to the case.

Proximity to public transport in the urban action stops

Urban actions of urban renewal, and in more specific way, the of new development, also will encourage the ranges of connectivity and accessibility with the urban land adjacent to weighting criteria of mobility in public transport in correspondence with its surface or its immediate area of influence, whereas the previous presence of access to the facilities of this type in ranges appropriate within the scope of , is a comparative advantage over other possible sites in the area of optimization of initial costs of investment and environmental impact, reduction of travel in private motor vehicle and management coverage of connectivity territorial of diverse character and potential backbone of homogeneous urban fabric; This in order to promote rational and sustainable forms of mobility as planned for these effects in this standard, as well as in programs and urban development plans and regulations technical of the municipality that remedies for these purposes.

Urban renewal and actions, mode specific, the new promotion, regardless of their location in Areas of urban reserve, will have to consider that the provision of stops of public transport to

other modes such as metro or light rail or buses, has a minimum value of 2 units of equipment for surface you less than or equal to 16 hectares , and above 2 units for areas greater than 16 hectares, watching, as the preferred criterion, such allocation to the inside of the area of performance computed from the edge the same perimeter, or failing that, whereas on the basis of the sum of the area of performance more an area of influence with a range of distance between 300 and 500 meters maximum measured outward from the edge perimeter; the above for the specific purposes of compliance with this standard and in compliance with the planned programs and current urban development plans or in the technical standards of the municipality for zoning and sustainable mobility that may apply to the case.

Ecological impact

Establish the areas affected in planning new settlements from a close communication between the different actors involved in the process; open to new alternative technologies and production systems of building focused to an appreciation of the medium; in order to reduce the impacts on the environment; on the basis of the provisions laid down by the standards and instruments of regulation and ecological regulation applicable at the national, State and Municipal level.

An analysis of the pre-existing environmental conditions to the housing project; to identify contaminants atmospheric, soil, water and other aspects of negative impact for the housing project. The secretariat request an environmental impact assessment, so once issued the relevant resolutions, addressing the resulting guidelines governing the future actions of the project to develop. Present preventive environmental impact report, the environmental impact statement and/or the study of risk, based on the guidelines provided by the Ministry of environment.

Occupation of land

Density of projected housing

Actions planning of urban renewal or new development, both their specific transformation modalities associated with the recovery, conservation, renewal, recycling or new development, as of any of the types of area of land where is complacent, regardless will monitor compliance with criteria and coverage of housing by territorial unit density suitable, in order to reduce urban sprawl and this territory hence consequential impacts arising from the promotion of consumption efficient soil, the typological diversity of housing, efficiency in urban accessibility and connectivity and increasing social cohesion in virtue of the maximization of the critical mass of inhabitants by surface; as expected for these effects in this standard, as well as in programs and urban development plans and regulations technical of the municipality that remedies for these purposes.

Urban actions of urban renewal or new promotion drive, as criterion and territorial coverage minimums, the proportion between the number of homes planned regarding the unity of urban surface expressed in hectares resulting, register values greater than 80 housing units per hectare and 75% of the total area of urban land, residential, respectively; This is the specific

effects of compliance with this standard and in compliance with the planned programs and current urban development plans or in the technical standards of the municipality for zoning, green building, Areas of environmental urban recovery and promotion of urban actions of sustainable Social object that apply to the case.

Use to the maximum the available terrain, through the increase in the intensity of land use. Through an architectural development that includes mixed types of single-family, duplex or two family and multifamily. For maximum utilization of the infrastructure installed, the reduction in the cost of urban services (lighting, public safety, clean) provided by the municipal government and achieve an optimal level of production of the companies located in the Centre of preset equipment.

Planning of the construction process

The development of the sustainable building, implies respect for and commitment to the environment; a process of selection of systems and technologies of low-energy used by buildings; a study of environmental impact caused by the implementation of certain building materials; a process of selection of the materials used in construction; In addition to saving water and waste recycling.

The sustainable planning of the project, in order to reduce impacts on the environment, the use of sustainable building materials, saving energy, water and decrease of organic solid waste and finally the decrease of the consumption of building materials.

Reduction of environmental impacts caused by the processes of construction, use and demolition of buildings and the urbanized environment. Develop global balances, whereas all the environmental impacts that occur at different stages of materials that are incorporated into the construction of a building: the production of materials, transport and works, life in the building, its deinstallation and final management of the waste generated.

Design of the project

The project of building sustainable, environmentally modifies the natural and urban environment where implemented, is necessary to improve the site, by adapting to the topography and its geographical environment; considering the weather and lighting factors according to the spatial characteristics of the set; In addition to the aesthetic factors of the landscape for the conservation of the landscape and environmental quality.

Adapt the layout of the buildings to the conditions of relief, topography, orography and exposure to solar radiation of the Earth's surface. Because these factors are closely related to the behavior inside the buildings, constituting a key element in the design and refurbishment due to their influence on the climatic conditions. Since the form of the relief will determine the incidence of the winds, the solar radiation received and the percentage of reflection of its surfaces, depending on the materials that make up the soil, as well as the type of vegetation and the moisture of the place.

Sustainable mobility

Connectivity and mobility

Optimal connectivity and mobility is manifested through a good service of public transport, traffic routes and service stations, such as transport, public parking areas nearby stops to such systems; to connect people to their jobs, health services and public, spaces of leisure and recreation, schools and universities as well as the commercial areas. Also provides facilities for cyclists and pedestrians in places of easy access and safe. In addition to the above, it is necessary to have access to virtual networks.

The urban project should be located in areas with access to flowing roads and an efficient public transport, that facilitate the transfer of the inhabitants of the area to centers of work, education, shopping and other services. So the project can get a better grade, it is necessary to facilitate the use of alternative mobility, which consists of open paths, footpaths and recovery of open spaces and green areas, which promote the appropriation of users through walks and rides.

Overall sustainable mobility strategies

Urban actions of urban renewal or new promotion, much of its specific forms of transformation associated with the recovery, conservation, renewal, recycling or new development, as of any of the types of area of land where is complacent, regardless will encourage strategies that contribute models of sustainable mobility in the pursuit of the improvement of the efficiency, habitability, accessibility, health and safety of the urban system, with basis available to clearly defined media that show it for: the proper assurance of universal accessibility of the inhabitants to the public spaces and facilities of public transport and/or non-motorized alternative means, the substantial increase in the energy efficiency of the urban system and the reduction of environmental pollution with alternatives of transport with lower energy consumption per capita; the decrease in use and coverage of private transport motorized; the internalization of social and environmental costs; the reduction of levels of risk by accident from the protection of social vulnerable groups such as pedestrians, cyclists and people with reduced mobility; as well as to the increase of population with disabilities and alternative non-motorized mobility, urban infrastructure and equipment all of the above, as envisioned for these effects in this standard, as well as in programs and urban development plans and regulations technical of the municipality that remedies for these purposes.

Surface roads for pedestrian traffic

Based on the provisions of the preceding provision, urban renewal or new promotion actions considered, in general, the implementation of actions for recovery, optimization and development of the use of the public space of transit oriented pedestrian mobility, restricting access to traffic motorized in-office of the urban quality; in suitable ranges and to specifically observe that the proportion percentage of the surface of roads for pedestrians with restricted access to the step motor vehicle has, at a minimum, an amount equal to 50% compared to the total surface area of roads foreseen within the action planning, excluding from such roads to all those who are not covered as pedestrian roads, sidewalks, or pavements with one width of not

less than 1 m and if any, slow roads; This is the specific effects of compliance with this standard and in compliance with provisions in the current urban development plans and programs and/or the technical standards of the municipality for sustainable mobility that may apply to the case.

Parking for bicycles

Urban renewal or new promotion actions should also watch, in general, the implementation of actions that favor enabling infrastructure and equipment oriented modalities of alternative mobility, more energy efficient, healthy and to promote types of displacements more integrators in relation to the diversity of land uses and their activities or turns; to specifically be considered minimum provision of parking spaces for bicycles, with dimensions not less than 0.7 meters wide and 1.90 meters in length, according to the classification in use, destination or appropriate, providing for the housing 1 square per object or per 100 m² for the commercial and services cover 1 square per 100 m² of deck for the urban facilities of 2 to 5 seats/per 100 m² of housing and the recreation and rest 1/per 100 m² of floor space; This is the specific effects of compliance with this standard and in compliance with provisions in the current urban development plans and programs and/or the technical standards of the municipality for sustainable mobility that may apply to the case.

Compact, urban livability and metabolism

Urban compactness

Planning of urban renewal and new promotion actions will encourage compact models of occupation of the territory, under the supervision of criteria and coverage of building volumetric concentration per unit of urban surface enabling the efficient consumption of the soil, the decrease in pressure on the urban support by exploitation or impact systems, optimizing the Organization of mobility networks as well as the increase in the standards of energy efficiency in the management of resources, the urban complexity and social cohesion; as expected for these effects in this standard, as well as in programs and urban development plans and regulations technical of the municipality that remedies for these purposes.

Based on provisions of the previous provision, in new promotion and, if applicable, also in the urban renewal urban actions, is recommended that the ratio between the built volume of homes in cubic meters on the surface in square meters unit is equal to or greater than 5 reason, maintaining this value with one territorial coverage of not less than 50% of the surface of urban land intended for residential use; This is the specific effects of compliance with this standard and in compliance with provisions in the current urban development plans and programs and/or the technical standards of the municipality for Areas of urban environmental recovery, promotion of urban actions of sustainable Social objective, sustainable mobility and zoning that may apply to the case.

Corrected compactness

Within urban renewal and new promotion, urban actions in addition to promoting compact city models, will be appropriate and, if possible, the optimum balance between the coverage of building volumetric concentration per unit of urban surface and the proportional relationship of them both with the surface urban public space of stay, the interrelationship and urban green as an offset in varying degrees and in efficient proportions volumetric pressure exerted by the densifier effect of the building on the territory; the foregoing pursuant to these effects in this standard, as well as in programs and urban development plans and regulations technical of the municipality that remedies for these purposes.

Based on the provisions of the preceding provision, in urban actions of new promotion and, if applicable, also in the urban renewal, it will be considered, as a minimum, the proportion of total built homes in cubic meters regarding the unity of urban public space designed in square meters surface, is in a range of value that oscillate between 10 meters as minimum value up to 15 meters as maximum value keeping the result within one territorial coverage of not less than 50% of the projected urban public space floor surface; This is the specific effects of compliance with this standard and in compliance with provisions in the current urban development plans and programs and/or the technical standards of the municipality for Areas of urban environmental recovery, promotion of urban actions of sustainable Social objective, sustainable mobility and zoning that may apply to the case.

Urban livability

Planning of urban renewal and new promotion actions will drive through actions and means clearly defined, the optimization of urban livability indicators, supporting the improvement both thermal, acoustic comfort, the quality of the air and the physical aspects, as variables associated with the degree of psychological satisfaction and perceptual of users with the environmental quality of urban space in terms of urban image and provision of green spaces; all of the above as expected for these effects in this standard, as well as in programs and urban development plans and regulations technical of the municipality that remedies for these purposes.

Spatial perception of urban green

On the basis stipulated in the previous provision, planning of new development and, if applicable, actions also on urban renewal, will have to consider an endowment of trees on the road network such that the perception of the volume green of trees in a segment within a field of view of an average user, and buy values of 10% with respect to the entire surface of the roads and more than 75% of the total area of the Highway Administration urban, being such values, respectively, the criteria and the coverage minimal; This is the specific effects of compliance with this standard and in compliance with provisions in the current urban development plans and programs and/or the technical standards of the municipality for Areas of urban environmental recovery, promotion of urban actions of sustainable Social objective, sustainable mobility and zoning that may apply to the case.

Accessibility of roads

Planning of urban renewal and new promotion actions promote the universal user access to facilities and services existing or projected within the urban space, regardless of physical or cognitive abilities of them; Thus, promoting for the specific regulatory effects of this regulation, proper planning and layout of the road network on the basis of technical criteria and territorial coverage rates that provide adequate, efficient and non-restrictive solutions to displacement and mobility pedestrian at the urban level; all of the above as expected for these effects in this standard, as well as in programs and urban development plans and regulations technical of the municipality that remedies for these purposes.

According to the previous provision, planning of new development and urban renewal actions, is estimated as a minimum value, one higher coverage to 90% of sections of roads with slope less than 5% and at least 1 sidewalk with one width greater than 0.9 m; with respect to the total length in linear feet of existing or planned roads; Standard and in compliance with provisions in the current urban development plans and programs and/or the technical standards of the municipality to sustainable mobility or other, that apply to the case.

Urban metabolism

Urban water management

In planning of urban renewal and new promotion actions is monitored by the link between urban development and the water cycle in its regionalized, resulting in the use of strategies and media clearly established for the sustainable management of the resource within the urban system metabolism; the above, in accordance with existing regulations and for the precise purpose of this regulation, shall be to ensure the efficiency of water consumption by optimizing the demand for commercial, public and domestic water based on the effective implementation of cost-saving measures, while promoting substitution gradually on the part of the regular demand for non-potable water from urban areas at three levels : atmosphere, surface and subsurface, which implies the use of rainwater, wastewater, groundwater and other possible sources of the resource linked to the urban environment, in such a way that objectively credited the increase of the local water supply through the urban action; all of the above as expected for these effects in this standard, as well as in programs and urban development plans and regulations technical of the municipality that remedies for these purposes.

Efficiency of the urban system in the projected water consumption. It is recommended that the percentage of efficiency of the total water consumption projected for an urban system of new development or urban renewal, in relation to a medium optimized consumption established as a referential, register one not less than 65% minimum value; this to the specific effects of compliance with this standard and in compliance with provisions in current urban development plans and programs and/or in the technical standards to the municipality for Areas of urban environmental recovery, urban environmental fragility and hydrological value recovery Areas, promoting urban development actions of sustainable Social object, zoning and sustainable construction applicable to the case. Within urban actions of urban renewal or new development management practices (best management practices) of water sensitive urban design, will be

promoted in order to assist restoration processes, rehabilitation, reuse or upwelling of aquatic ecosystems linked territorially through the urban watersheds of the municipality system to urban development action; this to the specific effects of compliance with this standard and in compliance with provisions in current urban development plans and programs and/or in the technical standards to the municipality for Areas of urban environmental recovery, urban environmental fragility and hydrological value recovery Areas, promoting urban development actions of sustainable Social object, zoning and sustainable construction applicable to the case.

Waste management

Within the urban renewal actions urban or new promotion planning and urban development project will provide for the incorporation of mechanisms and infrastructure needed in building, in the basement or in the public space, enabling management of waste reduction, reuse and recycling of the same, based on models of management of high impact on the metabolic efficiency of the urban system-based , and who is to be accompanied by necessary technical, organizational, regulatory, economic, and educational tools for the achievement of the objectives of management, all of the above as provided for these purposes in this standard in the General Law for the prevention and Integral management of wastes, in the law of management Integral of the waste of the State of Jalisco Programs and existing plans of urban development, the technical standards of the municipality that are incumbent upon, as well as the requirements for these purposes they can request municipal directions in matters of environmental impact studies.

On the basis stipulated in the previous provision, urban actions new development or urban renewal will estimate the inclusion of a program of management of construction and demolition waste (RCD), which includes both prevention and minimization of waste in the execution of work and origin of the waste separation and use of materials with longer service life and to encourage reuse and / recycling , reducing packaging and separation of hazardous waste in the RCD; this as expected for these effects both in this standard, the General Law for the prevention and Integral management of wastes, in the law of management Integral of the waste of the State of Jalisco, in programs and urban development plans and/or the technical standards of the municipality for Areas of urban environmental recovery, Areas of urban environmental recovery with fragility and hydrological value Promoting urban development actions of sustainable Social object, zoning and sustainable building that apply, as well as requirements that, for these purposes, can apply for municipal directions in matters of environmental impact studies.

New development or urban renewal urban development actions will also be considered, as a minimum, that the estimated total in tons of waste RCD to recycle during the execution of work will be 40% of the total waste metric tons estimated to generate during and/or at the end of the works of the project; This for the purpose of compliance with this standard and following the same normative criteria for the previous provision.

Benefits

The benefits in the short, medium or long term to derived from the application of normative action as the herein, have as its primary objective: the substantial improvement and optimization of comprehensive efficiency of public and private resources with the consequent contribution to the reduction of the greenhouse gas to protect the environment and safeguard the health and integrity of the community in general; everything under the development planning of urban renewal or new promotional action subject to regulatory here planned arrangements; promotion and strengthening of ecosystems of innovation at urban level and a technology market efficient, applicable to the estate in the municipality of application processes.

Similarly it is necessary to strengthen and diversification of productive chains associated with sustainable in the municipality building and urbanization processes, either through obtaining fiscal, economic or financial incentives arising from the resource savings from the implementation of the sustainability criteria, or pursuant to the access to subsidies generated by the alignment of planning actions subject to the rule with the national urban development policy housing and climate change.

And finally, the strengthening of the vocations, resources and infrastructure of the municipality in the field of sustainable urban development; in principle, through the consolidation of a regulatory framework and technical and administrative that supports the operational capability of the Municipal Institute of certification of construction and sustainable urbanization; Second, under the consolidation of diagrams of bonding between the public, private and social sectors associated with the urban planning that would derived; and third, by the subsequent development of the formation of human resources in the municipal area, in this case associated with accreditation Directors responsible for sustainable urbanization processes.

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JUST ONE HOUSING BUBBLE? AN ANALYSIS OF SPATIAL SEGMENTATION OF THE RESIDENCIAL VALUES OVER TIME IN BARCELONA

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Abstract

During the last real estate cycle most of the countries have experienced a housing bubble linked to the expansion of credit, increasing residential values dramatically. Despite the globalization of financial markets, this increase has not had the same impact on all the countries concerned. For this reason, this research analyzes the spatial variation in property values during this period in the case of the city of Barcelona. From the hypothesis that the areas where the population lives with lower qualifications and general education, and in particular financial education, these areas have had more variation in residential values in relation to those areas inhabited by well-off population. Additionally, these historically disadvantaged areas have been the culmination of the extra-EU immigration, which has incentive the dynamics of the real estate market. To test this hypothesis, it is carried out a descriptive analysis of the evolution of scale multifamily values districts and neighborhoods, as well as an econometric analysis to explain this variation. The results confirm the initial hypothesis and suggest the existence of a spatial segmentation of the housing market during both inflation and deflation of the housing bubble. Namely, the poorest

neighborhoods have experienced sharp bubbles and busts compared to wealthy areas of the city.

Introduction

The sharp increase in residential values lived in the last real estate cycle in different countries has been a recurring theme and discussed by experts from different disciplines¹ because of the complex character that has affected the global financial system. This process has resulted in the current economic crisis, which has been ranked as the worst crisis since the Great Depression. Unlike the latter, it was characterized by a strong expansion of loans linked to the property market.

Roubini & Mihm (2010) point out that the increase in house prices in the last real estate cycle, besides affecting the United States, has affected countries like Australia or Dubai, and in most of Europe as Spain, UK or Ireland. These authors argue that the affected countries have had their own housing bubbles linked by the financial system. In all cases the causes were similar: lax monetary policies, less regulation of mortgage markets with a cut in interest rates, excess global savings and increased spending on the acquisition of property rising prices (Daher, 2013). Interestingly, the increase in property values and overvaluation has not had the same behavior in all countries concerned, although they all had in common a housing bubble linked to an expansion of mortgage credit. In this sense, there is no theoretical reason to assume that within the same country, and even the same city that inflation / deflation of the housing bubble is uniform. This research has as main objective to analyze whether during inflation in the housing market and subsequent deflation, changes in residential values has been uneven throughout the territory, and therefore have been a number of sub-housing bubbles in the specific case of the city of Barcelona.

It starts from the assumption that the areas inhabited by people of lower income, professional qualification and a low level of education, have suffered higher inflation and deflation of residential values in relation to those inhabited by the moneyed population. The rest of the article is structured as follows: the first section provides a literature review on the work they have studied housing market segmentation or existence of local bubbles in other geographies. In the second section the methodology generally consisted of a descriptive analysis of the change in residential values and the development of different models of multiple linear regression in order to explain this variation is detailed. The following section presents the results and finally, in the conclusions, the main findings are put into perspective the implications of the existence of local bubbles for real estate valuation, financial market and public policies.

The residential market is a segmented market

From a spatial perspective it is well known that the residential market is not unitary, but rather consists of submarkets, so that borders are established, generally arbitrated by prices, hindering traffic demand of each other. Josep Roca (1982) considers necessary the existence

¹ See for example Mendez, R. (2012) geographer and historian; Glaeser, E. (2012) economist; García, A (2013) Sociologist and PhD in Urban Management and Valuation; or Daher, A. (2013) architect, among others.

of a plurality of structures that determine the differentiation of prices for these submarkets arise. He describes three conditions that favor the formation of submarkets: an imbalance between the quantities and qualities of urban space products offered by users and actually offered on the market; qualitatively different demands on the market; and finally, the inability to have certain users to access the housing market will determine areas. Regarding this last point, previous evidence has been found on the relationship between housing prices and racial differentiation and income of the population, research conducted in San Francisco (Stratshheim 1975) and New Haven (Goodman 1978). Subsequently, it would confirm this differentiation with the study in the metropolitan area of Dallas, where higher-income households were willing to pay more for housing to maintain homogeneity of the neighborhood (Goodman & Thibodeau 1998). More recently, Glaeser (2012) observed in the United States, the increase in real estate prices was more pronounced in central locations, especially in metropolitan areas where poverty was disproportionately centralized. Meanwhile, Roca (1983), emphasizes that in the case of the city of Barcelona this differentiation of land values based on social prejudices which tend to prioritize the housing market repercussions in housing prices.

Instead, less known is the existence of real differentiation processes temporal aspect. In this sense, the results of several recent research suggest that developments in macroeconomics has influenced unevenly throughout the territory. In this context, Nuñez & Roca (2007) found a correlation between variables related to changes in the macroeconomy and the change in value of urban land in the conurbation of Greater Concepcion in Chile, between 1992 and 2002. The impact has had the evolution of macroeconomics in variation and segmentation of residential values has intensified during the last housing bubble linked to an expansion of mortgage credit. Most countries saw dramatically increased residential values, then experiencing a sharp decline due to the housing crisis that originated in the United States. In that country Montañes & Olmos (2013) found that the bursting of the housing bubble had affected unequally the 19 provincial sub-markets identified by themselves, reducing the spatial segmentation of the housing market with falling prices. Coinciding with previous authors, Miles (2013) obtained in its investigation that the trend in the United States was responding to a market segmentation, and the beginning of the housing bubble that had increased segmentation. He emphasizes the fact that the west coast and the east coast are the areas most likely to differentiate the evolution of domestic prices in general, which is consistent with the findings by Glaeser (2012), who observed a higher growth real estate prices in the warmest cities in the United States. The data obtained showed a higher growth not only in the warmer cities, but also in those with lower initial density, with high residential preliminarily values and whose population had a lower level of education. In the same way, Lyons (2013), in Ireland, asserts that there was a difference in the relative importance the population to the intrinsic characteristics of housing during this period (inflation and deflation of the housing bubble). The author noted that during the period of inflation the properties associated with more space had a higher relative price increase, a trend that continued in the deflationary period. In the particular case of Spain, the effect it has had the housing bubble and its subsequent burst is also uneven across the territory. In 2004, Rodriguez (2004) and described a disparate increase in property values between some areas and others. The author referring to data from the Ministry of Public Works, impinged on the annual increase

in 2003 was more intense in cities of over 500,000 inhabitants, and in turn, in the coastal towns facing the interior. With the onset of the economic crisis and devaluation in house prices, Mendez (2012) conducted a similar reading. He argued that the crisis was relatively moderate in inland provinces because of not being so involved in the real estate expansion and to a less related economy with the construction sector, in return for the coastal cities of the Mediterranean. The latter claims were identified by Altuzarra & Esteban (2010), who from statistics on real estate transactions at the level of provinces prepared by the Ministry of Housing during the period 2006-07, found that provinces with specialized economic dynamism in the provision of second home residents and non-residents were the most affected before the withdrawal of housing market activity. The same authors pointed that the housing market in Spain was heterogeneous and that there were distinct regional dynamics. In this sense Arends & García-Almirall (2013), obtained from the analysis of sales transactions of multi-family housing prices in the center of Barcelona, with a strong presence of immigrant, had risen above the rest of the city.

Methodology

This research has benefited from an extensive database² for sale securities appraisals of multifamily housing in the metropolitan area of Barcelona between 2004 and 2010. In the said database there are 17,149 housing valuations once discarded those outside the city from Barcelona. Subsequently obtained demographic, labor and economic pages of official statistical data³ and information on urban changes made during the period studied in Barcelona⁴. On the other hand, to take into account the quality of the neighborhoods that make up the city, it has been incorporated the three quantitative indicators made by Jimenez (2011)⁵ for the degree of sustainability that they present in Barcelona: environmental sustainability, economic sustainability and social sustainability.

Once obtained all the data descriptive analyzes are performed: one at district level and a second more detailed analysis. Initially the option to perform a descriptive analysis at the neighborhood level is considered to observe the spatial differences in the evolution of residential values from a socioeconomic perspective. However, this analysis has had to be discarded due to lack of samples per neighborhood, as had been obtained within twenty observations in most cases. For that reason, it was decided to perform a cluster of neighborhoods from the criteria obtained by Alabart *et al.* (2008). Despite this first group, some

²The authors are grateful Arends, L.N. and Garcia-Almirall, P., have facilitated the database used in his article Concentration of Immigrants and property market of the city of Barcelona available http://upcommons.upc.edu/bitstream/handle/2099/16458/1333_1350%20MIGRAR%20INMIGRAR.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y. This database consists of information provided by companies appraisers as CATSA, Ibertasa or EUROTASA

³ www.barcelona.cat and www.ine.es

⁴ Data obtained from the official website of the Generalitat de Catalunya (www.territori.gencat.cat) and the website www.territori.scot.cat

⁵ Thanks to the author Laura Jimenez Barrero facilitating qualitative indicators made in his final dissertation "*Alternativas a la dispersión urbana. Análisis de indicadores basados en nuevas estrategias para el desarrollo sostenible*".

neighborhoods show insufficient samples. So we decided to perform a factor+cluster⁶ analysis to cluster those neighborhoods with few values. Table 1 shows the resulting 31 neighborhoods, of which only 29 neighborhoods were used throughout the investigation⁷, as *La Font de la Guatlla* and *Vallvidrera* had insufficient samples.

Table 1. Correspondence Cantred-Neighborhoods of the city of Barcelona.

Cantred's name	Neighborhood's name	Cantred's name	Neighborhood's name
01. El Raval	1. el Raval	20. Vall Hebrón	38. la Teixonera
02. Ciutat Vella	2. el Barri Gòtic		39. Sant Genís dels Agudells
	4. Sant Pere, Santa Caterina i la Ribera		40. Montbau
03. Barceloneta	3. la Barceloneta		41. la Vall d'Hebron
04. St Antoni	10. Sant Antoni	21. El Guinardó	33. el Baix Guinardó
05. Esq Eixample	8. l'Antiga Esquerra de l'Eixample		34. Can Baró
	9. la Nova Esquerra de l'Eixample		35. el Guinardó
06. Dreta Eixample	7. la Dreta de l'Eixample	22. El Carmel	37. el Carmel
07. El Fort Pius	5. el Fort Pienc	23. Vilapiscina	44. Vilapiscina i la Torre Llobeta
08. Sagrada Família	6. la Sagrada Família		45. Porta
09. Poble Sec	11. el Poble Sec - Parc Montjuïc		46. el Turó de la Peira
10. Zona Franca-Port	12. la Marina del Prat Vermell - Zona Franca		47. Can Peguera
	13. la Marina de Port	24. Nou Barris	48. la Guineueta
11. La Font de la Guatlla	14. la Font de la Guatlla		49. Canyelles
12. Sants	15. Hostafrancs		50. les Roquetes
	16. la Bordeta		51. Verdun
	17. Sants - Badal		52. la Prosperitat
	18. Sants		53. la Trinitat Nova
13. Les Corts	19. les Corts		54. Torre Baró
	20. la Maternitat i Sant Ramon		55. Ciutat Meridiana
14. St Gervasi Gran	21. Pedralbes		56. Vallbona
	23. Sarrià	25. St. Andreu	60. Sant Andreu
	24. les Tres Torres	26. Bon Pastor-Trinitat	57. la Trinitat Vella
	25. Sant Gervasi - la Bonanova		58. Baró de Viver
	26. Sant Gervasi - Galvany		59. el Bon Pastor
	27. el Putxet i el Farró	27. La Sagrera-Congrés	61. la Sagrera
15. Vallvidrera	22. Vallvidrera, el Tibidabo i les Planes		62. el Congrés i els Indians
16. Gràcia	31. la Vila de Gràcia		63. Navas
17. Coll-Valcarca	28. Vallcarca i els Penitents	28. Poblenou	66. el Parc i la Llacuna del Poblenou
	29. el Coll		67. la Vila Olímpica del Poblenou
	30. la Salut		68. el Poblenou
18. El Camp d'en Grassot	32. el Camp d'en Grassot i Gràcia Nova		69. Diagonal Mar i el Front Marítim del Poblenou
19. Horta	36. la Font d'en Fargues		71. Provençals del Poblenou
	42. la Clota	29. La Verneda - St Martí	72. Sant Martí de Provençals
	43. Horta		73. la Verneda i la Pau
		30. Barri Besos	70. el Besòs i el Maresme
		31. El Clot-Camp de l'Arpa	64. el Camp de l'Arpa del Clot
			65. el Clot

Source: Own development.

Finally, in order to explain the change in value per m² of buildings in the studied period there have been four multiple linear regression models. For the first time there has been a model in which only takes into account the variables corresponding to the intrinsic characteristics of the property, and a second model where you have incorporated all of the above statistics, that qualitatively differentiate the different neighborhoods (see table 2). For the second period is made the same process.

⁶ To perform the factorial analysis the following corresponding to the 35 neighborhoods variables are used: quantitative indicators of social, environmental and economic aforementioned sustainability, the unemployment rate (2012), academic training (2009), and disposable income (2008).

⁷ They have only considered the appraisals of the years 2004, 2007 and 2009 and corresponding to the ends of the periods selected.

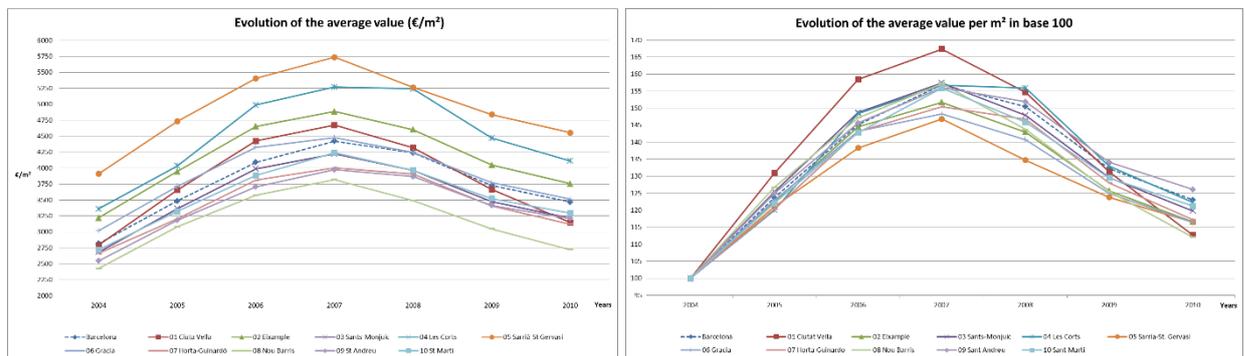
Table 2. Summary of the variables used in the regression models

Variables	Period 2004-2007	M in.	Max.	Mean	Periodo 2007-2009	M in.	Max.	Mean
Intrinsic characteristics of housing	Var. %No. Bathrooms	-25,00	15,09	1,87	Var. %No. Bathrooms	-38,86	2,180	-1,88
	Var. %No. Bathrooms	-12,78	49,25	8,64	Var. %No. Bathrooms	-13,43	22,38	2,66
	Var. %Elevators	-20,90	135,71	16,99	Var. %Elevators	-68,97	83,33	3,03
	Var. %Year of construction	-0,67	1,86	0,15	Var. %Year of construction	-1,21	0,97	-0,05
	Var. %Quality carpinteria	-12,87	19,07	-0,21	Var. %Quality carpinteria	-10,30	19,55	4,43
	Var. %Quality bathroom	-14,60	9,64	-1,56	Var. %Quality bathroom	-7,09	19,54	3,95
	Var. %Quality kitchen	-12,74	17,58	-1,16	Var. %Quality kitchen	-8,70	2,197	4,17
	Var. & heating	-27,14	150,00	22,37	Var. & heating	-30,95	60,42	2,86
Quantitative indicators	DP2_IND Social	10,69	20,94	15,13	DP2_IND Social	10,69	20,94	15,13
	DP2_IND Economic	7,59	12,85	10,64	DP2_IND Economic	7,59	12,85	10,64
	DP2_IND Environmental	9,27	14,94	13,38	DP2_IND Environmental	9,27	14,94	13,38
Urbanistic operations	2004-07_Projects announced	0	1	0,24	2007-09_Projects announced	0	1,00	0,10
	2004-07_Proyectos delivered	0	1	0,31	2007-09_Proyectos delivered	0	1,00	0,38
Unemployment rate	2006_Unemployment rate	8,03	15,90	11,42	2012_Unemployment rate	5,92	15,88	11,13
level of income	2005_RFD pc (€/year)	10188	30926	15286,52	2008_RFD pc (€/year)	11841	35362,67	17869,22
Density	2005_Density (citizens/ha)	18,63	533,97	265,66	2008_Density (citizens/ha)	19,84	538,37	271,68
Nationality of population	2005_%Spanish	55,35	94,16	85,47	2008_%Spanish	52,00	91,33	80,90
	2005_%Total foreign	5,84	44,65	14,53	2008_%Total foreign	8,67	48,00	19,10
	2005_%Western European	0,28	4,86	1,46	2008_%Western European	0,40	6,94	2,02
	2005_%Eastern European	0,50	5,07	1,01	2008_%Eastern European	1,05	5,34	2,15
	2005_%African	0,28	6,83	1,44	2008_%African	5,30	20,74	9,56
	2005_%Latin American	4,04	20,16	8,16	2008_%Latin American	0,37	4,64	1,55
	2005_%Asian	0,35	2,103	2,43	2008_%Asian	0,67	23,77	3,63
Professional category	2001_PC Armed forces	0,05	0,15	0,10	2011_PC Armed forces	0,00	0,22	0,07
	2001_PC Management & public adm.	3,99	19,69	8,87	2011_PC Management & public adm.	0,40	17,61	4,64
	2001_PC Technical and intellectual	4,73	36,41	17,28	2011_PC Technical and intellectual	4,67	39,83	21,84
	2001_PC Technical support	9,91	19,62	16,23	2011_PC Technical support	8,27	19,32	15,27
	2001_PC Administration & office	8,98	16,43	13,16	2011_PC Administration & office	9,76	20,86	17,44
	2001_PC Service & sellers	7,66	24,29	15,79	2011_PC Service & sellers	10,09	40,37	21,26
	2001_PC Farming & fishing	0,17	2,15	0,38	2011_PC Farming & fishing	0,00	0,65	0,29
	2001_PC Artisans, industry & const. workers	3,57	19,05	11,03	2011_PC Artisans, industry & const. workers	1,89	15,00	6,60
	2001_PC Operators	2,40	14,75	7,56	2011_PC Operators	0,94	7,56	3,38
	2001_PC low-skilled jobs	4,60	20,73	9,60	2011_PC low-skilled jobs	2,49	22,34	9,20
Level of education	2001_%Without studies	3,31	23,06	12,72	2009_%Without studies	7,43	20,43	12,65
	2001_%Basic studies	0,25	26,73	19,69	2009_%Basic studies	10,65	36,22	24,54
	2001_%ESO/Batx elem/FPI	14,12	26,78	22,15	2009_%ESO/Batx elem/FPI	11,87	23,67	18,99
	2001_%Batx/COU/FPI/CFGM	13,95	23,92	19,79	2009_%Batx/COU/FPI/CFGM	15,26	27,60	22,81
	2001_%Degree/CGFS	9,18	46,18	23,79	2009_%Degree/CGFS	6,90	41,94	20,91
	2001_%PhD	0,14	3,53	0,99	2009_%PhD	0,05	0,17	0,11
Type of tenure	2001_%Own paid	22,89	63,63	45,26	2011_%Own paid	15,56	51,51	36,94
	2001_%Own mortgage	11,96	34,83	20,26	2011_%Own mortgage	13,31	42,88	23,22
	2001_%Own inheritance or donation	1,40	4,37	2,54	2011_%Own inheritance or donation	0,00	5,66	3,47
	2001_%Rent	9,01	59,76	28,68	2011_%Rent	11,86	62,25	30,31
	2001_%Yielded/slow price	0,60	2,56	1,27	2011_%Yielded/slow price	0,00	3,16	1,54
	2001_%Another forms	1,32	2,74	2,00	2011_%Another forms	1,96	5,58	3,71

Source: Database appraisals of residential values provided by Arends & García-Almirall (2013), quantitative indicators made by Jimenez (2011) and official statistics pages. Own development.

Results

From descriptive analysis at different scales has been observed an evolution of unequal residential values in the city of Barcelona. From a more general point of view at the district level, it is observed that the inflationary period of residential values and subsequent decrease is consistent in all districts. The district with a higher value per m² property, as expected, has been Sarrià-St. Gervasi, followed by Les Corts district, two districts with population greater purchasing power. In return the Nou Barris district is located on the outskirts of the city and inhabited by a population with few resources.

Fig.1. Temporal evolution of the average value per m² by districts.

Source: Base residential appraisals provided by Arends & García-Almirall (2013). Own development.

However, when such changes in the various districts of the city in base 100 compared a dramatically opposite behavior is observed. Overall, the inflationary period was more pronounced than the subsequent fall, which has had a smoother slowdown in residential prices. One can see that the district of Ciutat Vella has had an increase in residential values not only above the city average but much more pronounced than any other district (see Figure 1), and a more drastic drop. On the other hand, it is the Sarrià-St. Gervasi, which has been which has had lower inflation and much lower than the city average fall.

In a subsequent descriptive analysis from a more detailed view from the slums, it has compared the percentage change in value m² property between different neighborhoods in each selected period (2004-07 and 2007-09). It has been observed that Barceloneta (71.69%), followed by Barris Besòs (63.32%), have a greater variation of residential values during the inflation period. These neighborhoods are located in the old town and the outskirts of the city respectively, where a population resides with limited resources. On the other hand, are the neighborhoods where the population resides bienestante as Coll-Vallcarca or St. Gervasi Gran. These data suggest that the difference in variation of residential values responds to the socioeconomic characteristics of the different areas of the city. During the period of deflation (2007-09), the trend has remained like. Slums indwelt a population with low socioeconomic status, such as the old town, are again above average, unlike the slums located northwest of the city whose population has increased purchasing power. It can intuit that there is a direct relationship between the percentage change in the average value per m² of different neighborhoods obtained between inflationary and deflationary period. Specifically, the Pearson correlation is statistically significant at the 99% confidence level and has a value of 0.498.

Once done the descriptive analysis, we have developed different regression models to explain the change in value per m² of buildings in different neighborhoods. In the period of inflation (2004-2007) two regression models were conducted, one by entering only the intrinsic variables housing and a second, which also have been incorporated concerning statistical data variables that differ qualitatively different neighborhoods of the city. Thus, in the first model (MOD1) has been obtained 0.373 R². One can say that the change in value per m² in the slums was due only in part to the homes appraised in 2004 and 2007 have not been the same, since the adjustment in the model has been very high.

Fig.4. Summary and coefficients of the model (MOD1) in the period of inflation (2004-07)

Model	R	R ²	R ²	Stand. error of the estimate	Durbin- Watson		
			corrected				
1	0,646 ^p	0,417	0,373	5,42297	1,935		
a. Predictors: (Constant), Charact_No. Var. bathrooms, Charact_Var. Elevator							
b. Dependent variable: Price variation % 2004-07							
Model	Non-standardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity statistics	
	B	Stand. Error	Beta			Tolerance	FIV
	1 (Constant)	50,255	1,329				37,802
Charact_No. Var. bathrooms	0,278	0,076	0,545	3,641	0,001	1,000	1,000
Charact_Var. Elevator	0,077	0,033	0,346	2,313	0,029	1,000	1,000
a. Dependent variables: Price variation % 2004-07							

Source: Base appraisal of residential values provided by Arends & García-Almirall (2013), quantitative indicators made by Jimenez (2011) and official statistics pages. Own development.

The constant, in this case, represents the relevance of macroeconomics at varying prices. Given that the average increase in value m² in the city in this period was 56.56%, that explains virtually constant this variation, being the equivalent of a 50.25% ratio.

Surprisingly, when it is introduced in the second model (MOD2) the other variables, the R² obtained was of 0.698, nearly double the previous result. This result clearly indicates a spatial component that explains the difference in the uneven growth of value per m² between different neighborhoods. In addition, the constant distance of the average change in prices of the aforementioned city, showing that macroeconomics has not influenced in the same way depending on the spatial characteristics of each area analyzed. Therefore, it can be said that inflation of the housing bubble has affected unevenly to the entire city of Barcelona.

Fig.5. Summary and model coefficients (MOD 2) in the period of deflation (2004-07)

Model	R	R ²	R ²	Stand. error of the estimate	Durbin- Watson		
			corrected				
1	,855 ^c	0,73	0,698	3,76361	2,244		
a. Predictors: (Constant), Tenure_% Ow n inheritance/donation, Charact_No. Var. bathrooms, Level studies_% Batx/COU/FPII/CFGM							
b. Dependent variable: Price variation % 2004-07							
Model	Non-standardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity statistics	
	B	Stand. Error	Beta			Tolerance	FIV
	1 (Constant)	78,300	5,19				15,086
Tenure_% Ow n inheritance/donation	-4,466	1,205	-0,445	-3,707	0,001	0,747	1,338
Charact_No. Var. bathrooms	0,253	0,053	0,497	4,765	0,000	0,993	1,007
Level studies_% Batx/COU/FPII/CFGM	-0,768	0,297	-0,312	-2,589	0,016	0,745	1,343
a. Dependent variable: Price variation % 2004-07							

Source: Base appraisal of residential values provided by Arends & García-Almirall (2013), quantitative indicators made by Jimenez (2011) and official statistics pages. Own development.

The explanatory variables of the second, plus the change in the number of bathrooms in positive value model are the percentage of the population with a medium level education and the percentage of population who have obtained their home ownership by inheritance or

donation, they last two with a negative coefficient. These results show that there is a relationship between socioeconomic characteristics of the population and the spatial variation of values per m² during the period of inflation. Specifically, the Pearson correlation between the level of income and level of education that is significant at 99% and has a value of 0.837. Regarding the resulting tenure regime is also significant at 99% and has a slightly lower value of 0,667. The spatial distribution of the variables obtained shows that in both cases the population with a higher percentage of these features residing in the northwest of the city. Instead, with a smaller percentage they correspond mainly to the periphery of the city. This spatial distribution of the variables suggests that neighborhoods where the population has a medium-high or high socioeconomic profile, the value per m² property has suffered slower growth during the housing bubble relative to the total slum.

To analyze the deflationary period (2007-2009), it has followed the same procedure. The first model (MOD3), in which only the variables have been introduced concerning the characteristics of the property, has obtained an R² of 0,177. This result brings us back to indicate that the change in value per m² in the slums has been partly because homes priced in 2007 and 2009 have not been the same. As has happened in the period of inflation, the constant representing the relevance of macroeconomics in the price variation is similar to the average of the declining value per m² in the shantytowns in that period, which was 17,28%, and the coefficient of the constant explains 16,26% of the variation of values.

Fig.6. Summary and model coefficients (MOD 3) in the period of inflation (2007-09)

Model	R	R ²	R ²	Stand. error	Durbin-		
			corrected	of the estimate	Watson		
1	,454 ^a	0,206	0,177	2,42612	1,564		
a. Predictors: (Constant), Charact_Var. Quality kitchen							
b. Dependent variablese: Price variation % (ABS) 2007-09							
Model	Non-standardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity statistics	
	B	Stand. Error	Beta			Tolerance	FIV
	1 (Constant)	16,268	0,536				30,346
Charact_Var. Quality kitchen	0,185	0,07	0,454	2,649	0,013	1,000	1,000
a. Dependent variablese: Price variation % (ABS) 2007-09							

Source: Base appraisal of residential values provided by Arends & García-Almirall (2013), quantitative indicators made by Jimenez (2011) and official statistics pages. Own development.

It is very striking that by introducing the second model (MOD4) all other variables concerning statistical data qualitatively differentiate the different neighborhoods where the city is divided, the R² obtained has tripled the result of the previous model reaching the value of 0,629. This result confirms the existence of a spatial component that explains the difference of unequal decrease in value m² between different neighborhoods. Just as in the period of inflation, the constant distance of the average change in prices of the aforementioned city confirming that macroeconomics has influenced unevenly depending on the socioeconomic characteristics of each neighborhood. Therefore, it can be confirmed that both inflation and deflation subsequent

housing bubble, has not affected in the same way in the city of Barcelona due to differences over the territory.

Fig.7. Summary and model coefficients (MOD 4) in the period of deflation (2007-09)

Model	R	R ²	R ²	Stand. error of the estimate	Durbin- Watson		
			corrected				
1	,834 ^e	0,695	0,629	1,6293	1,61		
a. Predicts: (Constant), Asian nationally, Charact_Var. Quality kitchen, Tenure_% ow n paid, African nationally							
b. Dependent variablese: Price variation % (ABS) 2007-09							
Model	Non-standardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity statistics	
	B	Stand. Error	Beta			Tolerance	FIV
	1 (Constant)	4,724	2,795				1,690
Asian nationality	0,398	0,084	0,681	4,731	0,000	0,641	1,561
Charact_Var. Quality kitchen	0,138	0,050	0,339	2,758	0,011	0,878	1,139
Tenure_% ow n paid	0,198	0,051	0,659	3,928	0,000	0,472	2,121
African nationality	0,322	0,139	0,355	2,309	0,030	0,562	1,778
Caract_Var. Heating	-0,040	0,018	-0,29	-2,246	0,035	0,793	1,260
a. Dependent variablese: Price variation % (ABS) 2007-09							

Source: Base appraisal of residential values provided by Arends & García-Almirall (2013), quantitative indicators made by Jimenez (2011) and official statistics pages. Own development.

In this second model, in addition to the variation in the quality of the kitchen and the variation in the existence of heating, variables were the percentage of population of Asian nationality, the percentage of people of African nationality and finally, the percentage of population with home ownership paid. All these values are positive, except the variation in heating existence, since the quality property in this period is indirectly related to the variation of its value in absolute terms. These results confirm the relationship between socioeconomic characteristics of the population and the spatial variation of values per m², as had been observed in the stage of inflation. The Pearson correlation, in this period, between the level of income and people of African nationality is significant at 95% and has a value of -0,455, as expected. In the case of the population of Asian nationality and tenure regime resulting in the model, surprisingly they are not statistically significant at the 95% confidence level with the level of income, obtaining a value of -0,365 and 0,016 respectively. However, the sign is expected as the population of Asian nationality, and that the greater proportion of this group exists in a smaller neighborhood is their income level.

The spatial distribution of the variables obtained shows that there is a higher percentage of people of Asian and African nationality in the center and the periphery of the city. These results suggest a tendency of immigrants to settle in areas of the city with low socioeconomic status and highlight the replacement process has been in those neighborhoods where the resident population, strongly associated with the working classes, has gradually been replaced by the immigrant population. Finally, the variable relating to the tenure, despite being slightly positive is not statistically significant. This is due to the spatial distribution of this variable is not as clear as the other variables by the city's own characteristics. The neighborhoods with a lower percentage of the population under ownership paid do not correspond in all cases to areas of greater

purchasing power of the city, but to areas with a higher percentage of the population rent, ie helmet old and the central area.

Conclusions

The analysis offered throughout this article show the relationship between socioeconomic status of the population and spatial distribution of variation in house prices in the city of Barcelona during the studied period (2004-2009). As pointed Josep Roca (1983) social prejudices tend to prioritize the property market differentiation impacting land values, and consequently housing.

The results suggest that once controlled the architectural features of homes, various socioeconomic indicators have an impact on explaining the uneven variation of residential values in the case of Barcelona. So that the areas where the population lives with less resources are most affected by the processes of revaluation and devaluation associated with residential macroeconomic changes. These areas are, on the other hand, the immigrant population given their slim chances of property auction end up living in the most disadvantaged areas concentrated. Our main hypothesis is that both the original population of these areas historically associated with working classes, as the immigrant population not only have lower educational levels than the average of the city, but also a lower financial training. Therefore it is likely, that together, in the time of economic boom has allowed access to the property by way of mortgage without any possible consequences that might flow from the then unlikely change in the economic cycle, and increasing residential values. So that the financial crisis, the increase in the unemployment rate (with defaults consequential and property repossessions), and reducing migration flows (even reversed in some cases) has also produced in these neighborhoods a greater fall property values. Quite the contrary, in well-off neighborhoods both the increase and the reduction in prices has been smoother, and it is likely that behind this greater stability underlies a population with more knowledge about the consequences of over-indebtedness, and a correlative better training and therefore a more robust labor position before the crisis and reduced reliance on financial markets to access a first home.

It is necessary therefore to make a reflection on the implications of the housing market on social equity, not only from a spatial perspective as it has done in the traditional way, but also temporary. It must be controlled in a more comprehensive way the mortgage market protecting citizens against possible abuses of the banking system and encouraging policies of financial education in order to reduce the overvaluation of housing and social exclusion in acquiring it. It remains to see how far the conclusions reached by our analysis are maintained in areas of broader, able to incorporate areas aimed at second home extension study. It is very likely that the inclusion of those territories that have been the focus of speculative real estate processes, reveals the existence of multiple real estate bubbles.

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THE CHALLENGE OF THE LAST FEW YEARS: PLANNING AGAINST POVERTY, MICROFINANCE

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Abstract

“Nisi est in intellectu quod prius non fuerit in sensu”, John Locke, 1690.

The last ten years have witnessed a heightened interest in infrastructure in both developed and developing countries, with emphasis on the financial crisis in developed countries, and the recurring attention on growth and poverty reduction. An edition of the UN Report underlines the choices available to policymakers across the range of economic, social, cultural and political challenges that are needed to bridge the *urban divide*.

The term “inequality” has many different meanings. Shortly we describe how an indicator of economic well-being is distributed over a particular population. The coefficient or index is commonly used for measuring the grade of difference in size, income, wealth, costs, etc. Gini's Coefficient (1921). Obviously the index only considers one aspect of difference, that of the distribution of income. The effect of social services which are administered directly, as for example, the Health Service and Education, even though they are extremely important for a substantial equality of rights and opportunities, is not taken into account.

As a group of eminent planning experts recognized in the *Global Report on Human Settlements 2009*: “Among the most significant challenges that urban planning has to address in the next few decades are increasing poverty and inequality, as well as the rapidly expanding urban sector.” Urbanization, therefore, does indeed play a positive role in overall poverty reduction, particularly where supported by well-adapted policies.

The challenge of the last few years: planning against poverty, microfinance

“Nisi est in intellectu quod prius non fuerit in sensu”, John Locke, 1690.

The last ten years have witnessed a heightened interest in infrastructure in both developed and developing countries, with emphasis on the financial crisis in developed countries, and the recurring attention on growth and poverty reduction in developing countries. Other

characteristics describe infrastructure as essentially public goods. Increasingly, the meaning of infrastructure has been shifting from one focusing on physical fixed assets such as roads, airports, sea ports, telecommunications systems, water distribution systems and sanitation. It now often embodies notions such as knowledge bases (Button, 2002).

In general infrastructure can be categorized into 'hard' infrastructure and 'soft' infrastructure. The former refers to physical structures or facilities that support the society and economy, such as transport (ports, roads and railways); energy (electricity, electrical grids, gas and oil pipelines); telecommunications (telephone and internet); and, basic utilities (water supply, hospitals and health clinics, schools, irrigation, etc.). The latter supports the development and operation of hard infrastructure, such as policy and institutional frameworks; governance mechanisms; systems and procedures; and transparency of financing and procurement systems. Broadly defined, therefore, infrastructure refers to all basic inputs for the proper functioning of the economy. In spite of this, there are two categories economic and social infrastructure, adopted in the 'Millennium Declaration, 1990- 2015, where 48 quantifiable indicators are set out.

The most relevant interactions on current urban issues take place with Reports of the United Nations. It is the venue for national government agencies, local authorities, the academe, civil society and private sector actors from all over the world to find synergies and explore collaboration. The UN addressed the urban divide, noting that much of the world is simultaneously trending toward increased urbanization, leading to the creation of hyper-segregated cities due to poor urban management practices. An edition of the UN Report underlines the choices available to policymakers across the range of economic, social, cultural and political challenges that are needed to bridge the *urban divide*. It charts a new course of action, with the steps and levers needed to achieve a more inclusive city, emphasizing the need for comprehensive and integrated responses that go beyond short-term perspective. Indeed over the last 20 years, many urban areas have experienced dramatic growth, as a result of the rapid population growth, and the world's economy has been transformed by a combination of rapid technological and political change. An estimated three billion people – virtually half of the world's total population now live in urban settlements ¹. And, while cities and towns command an increasingly dominant role in the global economy as centres of both production and consumption, an uncontrolled and rapid urban growth in particular in the developing world is hampering the capacity of most cities to provide adequate services for their citizens. Generally, it has been understood that the growth in most parts of the developing world has been driven mainly by rural migration.

¹ In October 2012, the World Urban Forum in Napoli (UN-Habitat and Commission on Human Settlements) the Commission requested "to promote a merger of the Urban Environment Forum and the International Forum on Urban Poverty". The World Urban Forum was the premier conference on cities, as well as the major global gathering for actors concerned with the planning, governance and management of urban areas.

However, in this process, the rural-urban migration can no longer respond to all the recent changes and transformations which have taken place in the world's cities. Beyond the rural - urban migration waves, an emerging trend shows that intra-urban migrations, and the processes of "reclassification", which consists of a gradual transformation of several rural areas into new urban centres contribute to the aggravation of the urban living standards for the most vulnerable portions of the population in several world's cities. Indeed, the emergence of new global issues and forces, including high levels of internal and trans national migration, globalization, climate change, rising urban insecurity and crime, human-caused disasters and conflicts, and rising informality within cities are interrelated with the internal dynamic of growth of cities themselves.

Economic infrastructure is also part of an economy's capital stock used to facilitate economic production, or serve as inputs to production (e.g. electricity, roads, and ports). This helps to produce items that are consumed by households (e.g. water, sanitation and electricity). Social infrastructure, on the other hand, encompasses services such as health, education and recreation. It has a direct impact on the quality of life with the attendant positive effects on efficient use of national resources and on poverty alleviation².

The "right to the city" has evolved over the past two centuries as a challenge to the exclusionary development and marginalization that are rampant in cities today. More than a new legalistic device, the right to the city is the expression of the deep yearnings of dwellers for effective recognition of their various rights. The concept has been deployed in various ways across regions, countries and cities of the world. In some places it has been used as a theoretical and political framework focusing on enforcement, empowerment, participation, self-determination and various forms of human rights protection at the city level. Some developing countries have made significant efforts to close the urban divide as part of a less specific "rights-based" approach, or only recognizing some particular aspects of the right to the city.

UN policy analysis shows that more often than not processes do not match because they fail to acknowledge the linkages among the dimensions of the inclusive city – economic, social, political, and cultural. Admittedly, cities will, time and again, adopt new rules in a bid to address some exclusion related issues; but these fail to spell out specific goal and sustained processes.

The most important factors that prevent cities from bridging the urban divide, include:

1) poor coordination among various tiers of government. Today, more and more authorities share the same basic philosophy: bringing government within the reach of ordinary people through enhanced mutual engagement. The physical space is becoming a political space in terms of systems of representation and participation and in this sense is a fundamental aspect of local democracy.

2) absence of scientific data for informed policy choices. Only those cities able to embrace different patterns to address inequalities and inefficiencies will be able to provide better lives for their residents, while limiting ecological damage. The future of cities will depend on which models can be devised and implemented to build a new type of city.

² M. Carta, Pianificare la complessità, Palermo 1990.

3) Exclusion of marginalized groups and discrimination of minorities; the Urban Divide can be characterized by various forms of inclusion/exclusion, integration/marginalization, wealth/poverty, equality/inequality. Those on the wrong side of the divide are excluded from the benefits of urban expansion and prosperity.

It is not surprising that a policy analysis survey perceived urban reforms as serving primarily the interests of the rich, with politicians and civil servants coming next. The urban poor stand to share only a minimal extent, if at all, in any benefits accruing from urbanization and related reforms.

This imbalance is very much influenced by man 's attitudes and values, and particularly by the inadequacies of traditional methods of formulating targets. There are also external influences arising from pressure groups – *the private property* - propaganda and media. When these functions are considered in a balanced and interconnected way, optimum solutions should emerge, which not only make the best use of available resources at the proper time, but should encourage a 'confident' response from the community.

Social divisions can permeate interactions amongst individuals even in the absence of significant ethnic, racial or other factors of segregation.

The Millennium Development Goal was widely adopted, namely in 2015 to reduce by half the proportion of people living in extreme poverty. But quite what this target might mean is obscured by the bewildering ambiguity with which the term 'poverty' is used, and by the pecuniary indicators proposed to monitor it. Poverty often appears as an elusive concept, especially from the perspectives of policy makers in developing countries. The best definition of poverty remains a different argument. Perhaps the only point of general agreement is that people who live in poverty must be in a state of deprivation; that is, a state in which their standard of living falls below minimum acceptable standards.

In general, poverty is a condition that is experienced over time and is the outcome of a process. While many are born into poverty and remain in it, others experience the condition at one or more stages of their life that deprive people of their human rights and result in inequitable and fragmented societies. The Human Development Report (2001) notes that 70 percent of the world's poor are female. The 2000/2001 World Development Report (World Bank, 2001) identifies three broad dimensions of poverty relating to lack of income, insecurity and lack of political voice. The *Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative* recently unveiled an innovative new "multidimensional" measure of people living in poverty, known as the *Multidimensional Poverty Index* or MPI.

The studies reviewed all look at infrastructure's contribution to economic growth rather than specifically poverty and inequality. Some evidence suggests that certain types of infrastructure service provision, such as roads and transport, have a potential contribution to agricultural output, and that infrastructure improvements (in electricity supply, transport and telecommunications) in small towns contribute significantly to industrial growth and employment.

On the whole, the evidence shows that public investment on infrastructure, especially on rural roads, improves local community and market development ³.

This study suggests that, while infrastructure investment needs to be very substantial and must be supported by factors such as improvement in social infrastructure so as to promote rapid reductions in poverty, high levels of personal and political corruption, facilitated by weak systems, have hindered a demand-led approach, investment choices and encouraged neglect of maintenance. Too often, there have been negative rather than positive consequences for poor people, including environmental damage.

We live in a new urban era with most of humanity now living in towns and cities. Global poverty is moving into cities, mostly in developing countries, in a process we call the *urbanisation of poverty*. The world's slums are growing as are the global urban populations. Indeed, this is one of the greatest challenges we face in the new millennium. The links between microfinance and the Millennium Development Goals must be emphasised because both spheres overlap in the crucial domain of worldwide poverty reduction. The overlap is such that microfinance can open up for the poor.

If microfinance is to accelerate Millennium Goal achievement, the degree and nature of donor and public sector support for microfinance must change. Microfinance providers do need to recoup operational costs, but this does not prevent them from using subsidies for the more vulnerable poor and market. The Millennium Development Goals has enabled the United Nations to claim a central role in international approaches. As a measure of poverty, the Millennium Goals are a compromise, but they serve to highlight the many dimensions that poverty can take. One can argue that the Goals do not do justice to the differences between rural and urban poverty or to the deprivations that beset millions of refugees and homeless people in the world. While the ultimate goal is to eradicate all extreme poverty, the immediate target is to halve the number of people in extreme poverty by 2015 compared with 1990. For example, while the world today produces more than enough to feed everyone. Social security has a role here, especially with regard to underweight pre-school and school age children. Fortunately, more than one generation of experience with microfinance is now available across the globe on which institutions can call to ensure that microfinance loans are not only pro-poor, but accessible and suited to their needs. This is especially so among the urban poor who have few opportunities to grow their own food. However, among the rural poor higher farm-gate prices are a boon.

Microfinance has enabled even the poorest agricultural households to reap the benefits of higher farm gate prices, financing the value chains that connect poor rural households with new markets. This kind of trend is consistent with reduced unemployment and more opportunities for the extreme poor to find better-paid jobs in less risky areas of production. The literature on extreme poverty is not as abundant or extensive as that on poverty in general. The needs of

³ For example, rehabilitation of rural roads raises male agricultural wages and aggregate crop indices in poor villages of Bangladesh. Likewise, in Vietnam public investment in infrastructure has resulted in an increase in the availability of food, the completion rates of primary school and the wages of agricultural workers.

those at the bottom of the poverty pyramid are not materially different from those of the poor in general. In reality, those needs and circumstances are different in important ways, particularly the way they manage money and deal with risk.

The concept of "adequate housing" is slowly but surely becoming internationally accepted as a basis for policies and programmes aimed at addressing the needs of low-income communities. The section presents concepts essential to understanding low-income housing, and explores the reasons behind the serious lack of decent, affordable housing in cities –and hence the problem of urban slums by examining alternative strategies about what to do about existing slum conditions and informal settlements, and how to avoid future slums through the production of new housing. Finally, the guide examines the main considerations needed to address the improvement of informal settlements and the production of adequate and affordable low-income housing on a city-wide scale.

Government and policy makers need to quickly enhance their understanding of low-income housing issues in cities in particular, because the housing situations and needs of rural communities are often quite different from those of city dwellers.

Productive dynamic demands understanding of what is going on in cities and thoughtful policy responses to these developments. Our key messages involved in urban planning and development are :

1. Urbanization is both understandable and manageable.
2. Sustainable urban development solutions exist, but they require trust, dialogue and new institutions.
3. Success can only come from pursuing the iterative cycle of acting-learning that drives innovative governments. Examples of such practices can be seen in areas such as land, housing and livelihoods.

Patterns of urbanization

Between 2000 and 2030, Africa's urban population – as example - will increase from 294 million to 742 million. This is a daunting prospect, given that most African states are currently failing to deal with the needs of their urban populations. Growth and migration - rural-to-urban migration accounts for only one-quarter. In other words, the bulk of urban growth comes from natural population growth within cities, a reality which undermines the policy migration. A common misconception is that urbanization implies an explosion of mega-cities (cities with more than seven million people).

We have seen that the urban poor are the most important actors involved in providing shelter in African cities and towns, despite the absence of government support and investment. Of course, because their houses are constructed without the supporting infra- structures such as access to water, sanitation and energy, they are insufficient and inadequate to represent anything resembling the kind of housing that is implied by the universal right, as set out in Article 25 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

The central challenge facing governments and managers is to recognize and appreciate the efforts of the urban poor, and build on their investments to progressively solve the shelter crisis.

Informal settlements contain entire vibrant local economies, with their own informal housing and land markets and their own diverse social and cultural groupings, while conditions in some settlements may indeed be squalid, unhealthy, impoverished and socially excluding. Governments, and in particular national services, need to draw on this knowledge to establish the numbers of people living in the settlement, their living conditions, their needs and aspirations -all vital information which must shape plans that will affect the settlement. Once this understanding has been reached, it must be related to four key aspects of development:

- It is overcrowded or characterized by extremely high density of dwellings and population.
- Its residents have insecure land tenure and may be evicted.
- Its residents experience high levels of poverty and social exclusion.

A slum household is defined as a group of individuals living under the same roof lacking one or more of the following condition: access to improved water; access to improved sanitation facilities; sufficient living area (not more than three people sharing the same room); structural quality and durability of dwellings; and security of tenure. Defining slums by household-level, however, does not fully capture the degree of deprivation experienced by a given household or slum community, or their specific needs -a dimension that is important.

Gentrification

At the same time, the restrictions put in place to ensure the preservation of the historic character limit the degree to which properties can be altered and thus impose a cost to their owners. We argue that with positive heritage effects, the policy benefits the owners by removing uncertainty regarding the future of the neighbourhood. At the margin, costs and benefits of designation will offset each other, resulting in a zero impact on property value. At all other locations in neighbourhood the effect would be positive.

Empirical analysis of the determinants allowing owners' interests play in the designation process against alternative motivations for designation, e.g. preventing decline or redevelopment. This analysis goes further in connecting the spatial outcome of a political bargaining process to one of the most striking contemporary urban phenomena: *gentrification*, that introduces our theoretical model of heritage designations and the institutional setting.

In the long-run there is a probability that at any location owners (re)develop their property causing a deterioration in internal heritage from the initial endowment . Such deterioration implies a fall in the external quantity of heritage everywhere in the city. While at any location x the internal heritage is under the full control of the owner, the external heritage at all locations can be expressed as an expected value determined by the probability of heritage deterioration across the neighbourhood.

We provide an explanation of the structure of an urban agglomeration, describing where firms in different sectors have decided to locate their activities, ranging from service supply to manufacturing products. Second, we consider a model formulation that implies that agglomeration economies are associated with a disproportionate expansion of jobs in knowledge-intensive producer services and household services. Moreover, as the diversity of household services in an agglomeration increases, new households are attracted to the

agglomeration, which implies that urban agglomeration stimulates expansion of both labour supply and job demand.

In summary, sectors are attracted to locate and expand in urban areas with higher than average supply potential, and when such sectors grow they stimulate additional service-producing firms to operate in the same urban area. When density gets higher the growth in certain areas may come to a halt. One may remark that the supply capacity of business services is measured empirically by observing the number of jobs which may be considered as a crude measure. An alternative would be to weigh jobs by using information about wage levels for different jobs.

Microfinance

Governments should be encouraged to adopt policies that enable the housing sector to work. Governments have at their disposal major instruments that address demand-side and supply-side constraints, and improve the institutional framework of the housing sector as a whole as a vital tool in disclosing these constraints and providing governments with the necessary information to take policy decisions.

Demand-side instruments are:

- 1) developing property rights: ensuring that rights to own and exchange housing are established and enforced, ensuring land rights and regularization of insecure tenure;
- 2) developing mortgage finance: creating the establishment of competitive mortgage lending institutions, and fostering innovative arrangements to provide greater access to finance by the poor, which includes micro-credit and micro-financing for housing and land acquisition;
- 3) rationalizing subsidies: ensuring that subsidy programs are of an appropriate scale, measurable, and transparent, preferably focusing on the demand side and avoid distorting housing markets.

Supply-side instruments are:

- 1) providing infrastructure for residential land development: coordinating the agencies responsible for provision of residential infrastructure (roads, drainage, water, sewerage, and electricity) for efficient development of urban planning instruments.
- 2) organizing the building industry: creating greater competition in the building industry, removal and use of local building materials, promoting the establishment of lab testing and quality control, supporting green technologies and low-carbon practices.

These instruments are to be supported and guided by developing the institutional framework: strengthening institutions which can oversee and manage the performance of the sector as a whole; bringing together all the major public agencies, private sector, and representatives of nongovernmental organizations, policies and programs which benefit the poor and elicit their participation. Such institutional framework should enforce transparency in housing markets, establish monitoring and indicators and regular updates on the performance of the housing sector and the property market.

Priorities for use of these instruments, however, vary across countries; priorities are to develop market oriented systems of property rights, facilitate the housing supply and enhance industrial competition.

One form of change is for local governments to coordinate effectively with central and state or provincial level authorities and vice versa. Inclusive policies for cities should focus more on aspects that could be integrated into formal municipal practices; such as the informal economy, social capital and informal institutional arrangements, including affordable land delivery and housing systems. The cost indices will always reveal the implication of developing any given land unit in relation to the land which appears to be the cheapest within the surveyed area. These indices, however, should not alone determine a planning solution directly, but rather provide a 'basis for choice' in the formulation itself. When such a basis is formulated, it becomes relatively a simple exercise to modify some of the parameters and to calculate how this would affect the cost of development. There is also a difference in the character of the costs involved between the second group of factors and the other three groups, where the costs tend to be fixed and to have a 'passive' character reflecting existing features of the analysed area. The planner can exercise no influence upon them; they are dependent variables.

Housing finance includes mortgage and construction loans. These are typically offered by commercial banks and building societies, which demand a lien on land (i.e., the right to keep possession until the debt is discharged). The vast majority of urban poor (in Africa or in Asia) have no access to any financial instruments, and no alternative but to finance their houses through informal mechanisms. These include mainly personal savings, small loans from relatives, friends or microfinance institutions.

The poor are denied access to formal housing finance due to lack of collateral resulting from the quality and/or legal status of their housing, limited incomes or uncertain employment status. Potential improvements to current housing finance systems include the following:

- 1- Reform of land regulations, property rights and land markets must allow private ownership, leasehold and transactions on open land markets;
- 2- Stronger tax bases for municipalities, putting them in a better position and access to capital markets;
- 3- Encouraging greater private investment and finance in urban infrastructure and services, whether through guarantee schemes including public-private partnerships with international financial institutions and private operators and/or investors;
- 4- Promotion of housing finance through microfinance institutions and housing cooperatives who know how to reach out to low-income urban communities and whose repayment can attract private and donor funding;
- 5- Urban poverty can have implications for other nations, apart from emigration flows. Deep deprivation weakens national capacities to combat organized crime, human trafficking, armed conflict, terrorism, social unrest and the spread of diseases.

As a group of eminent planning experts recognized in the *Global Report on Human Settlements 2009*: "Among the most significant challenges that urban planning has to address in the next few decades are increasing poverty and inequality, as well as the rapidly expanding urban sector." Evidence also indicates an inverse relationship between the degree of urbanization

and the overall incidence of poverty in individual countries. Urbanization, therefore, does indeed play a positive role in overall poverty reduction, particularly where supported by well-adapted policies.

Cities tend to be centres of economic power within local regions. Their influence results not only from their share of the world's population but also from their location and economic advantages, including economies of agglomeration and scale. The prosperity of cities usually mirrors the prosperity of countries, as an increase in urbanization generally goes hand in hand with higher GDP per capita, and in some countries contributes to a decline in overall poverty. In *Asia*, economic inclusiveness in surveyed cities is associated with government-induced employment (through infrastructure development, for example), together with fiscal incentives and sound contractual and legal frameworks.

The link between urbanization and economic development is clear in Asia or Africa, where rapid urbanization has been the major factor behind the growth dynamic. In Latin America, economic development and urbanization have historically been linked in a process of industrialization and modernization, even though this has resulted in high degrees of inequality between and within.

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BUILDING THE GLOBAL DEMOCRACY FROM URBAN PLANNING POLICY TO POPULISM IN ARCHITECTURE

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Introduction

It is possible to claim that there is an analogy, in terms of management and programming, between the modality of execution in political contents and the formalities of the application of architectural models, or more precisely in the methods of carrying out such proposals.

The choice and the management of planning strategies go along with the choice of political strategies.

The changes occurring in the politics and democracy can be also found in urban planning politics and involve mainly the public space and the design for the related public buildings.

The emptying of social content in most constitutional democracies, together with the spreading of populist “politics” are phenomena that emerge in the architecture of public buildings and in the way in which the architecture relates to the urban form of their surroundings.

Deprived of their contents, (which are related to their functions), public spaces and public building become non-ruled yet “objectified” spaces targeted for a collective use.

The first analysis, which comes out of my background, led me to look at urban planning in Europe, starting from Italy and keeping the focus on the politics of public spaces and on the ways in which their conception, design and relationship to the city, shape the collective social values, attitudes and demands.

These cases provide some opportunities for a reflection about governance and planning, focussing on the relationship between Democracy and Architecture.

Urban planning for Democracy. The Italian case

The term “democracy” in urban planning is strictly connected to “participatory” planning, born in the United States at the end of the Sixties through urban social movements, with the intention of generating opportunities for everybody to participate in common activities.

Although that stream of ideas and practices was also experienced in Italy during the movement of 1968, with even a few poorly organized results emerging, only since the 90’s are we seeing the creation of more detailed and accurate forms of participation, something which started in Latin America.

By analogy if modern democracy was born and developed as a representative democracy, the policy of intervention on territory or the urban realm aims to represent and respond to the

immediate needs of the population, for instance the urban planning for the re-building of cities in the post-second world war era and some further interventions.

By the end of the 80's the different political interventions followed the same procedures, using a large number of executive instruments as "urban planning tools", in order to manage the physical and the social dynamics in a political and geographical context and to promote the development of related activities in the territory. The common core is to ensure and represent the social welfare:

- Post-war Reconstruction Planning
- Political and social planning for social welfare (INA Casa- Piano Aldisio)
- The PTC (Piano territoriale di coordinamento) planning for the territorial coordination, from the regional scale to the town-planning.
- The Master Plan (PRG) - seen as a first opportunity to participate.
- The "preservation plans" (PCP) - developed exceptionally to preserve the 8.000 minor historical centres in Italy.
- The Social-housing program (PEEP) - to promote social-housing and Infrastructural plans, to respond at the real needs of the population.

The Aldisio Plan (1948) (INA-CASA) was created to boost the national economy, improving construction work to absorb a higher number of annual work units and at the same time promote public intervention to help families in need.

Figure 1 Social Housing-Aldisio Plan 1948



Source: 2015 Associazione Culturale no profit TuttotfrattammagGIORE-Napoli.Italia

The environmental emergency during the 70s and 80s made people react against high environmental impact designs (such as waste deposit, cellular and Radio antennas and nuclear plants in Montalto di Castro). Opposing interests created extremely conflicted situations because of the lack of any shared any pact of responsibility.

In the early 90's, participatory design began to become more structured, with defined targets and actions as well as methodologies and tools. The intent was to help designers and local administrations to manage and realize most public projects and to produce results to be shared.

Out of this came the figure of the “expert” who, often, without specific knowledge of design made him unable to connect between the decision-making organs and the citizens who could neither comprehend professional advice, the proposals nor prioritise the needs of the population.

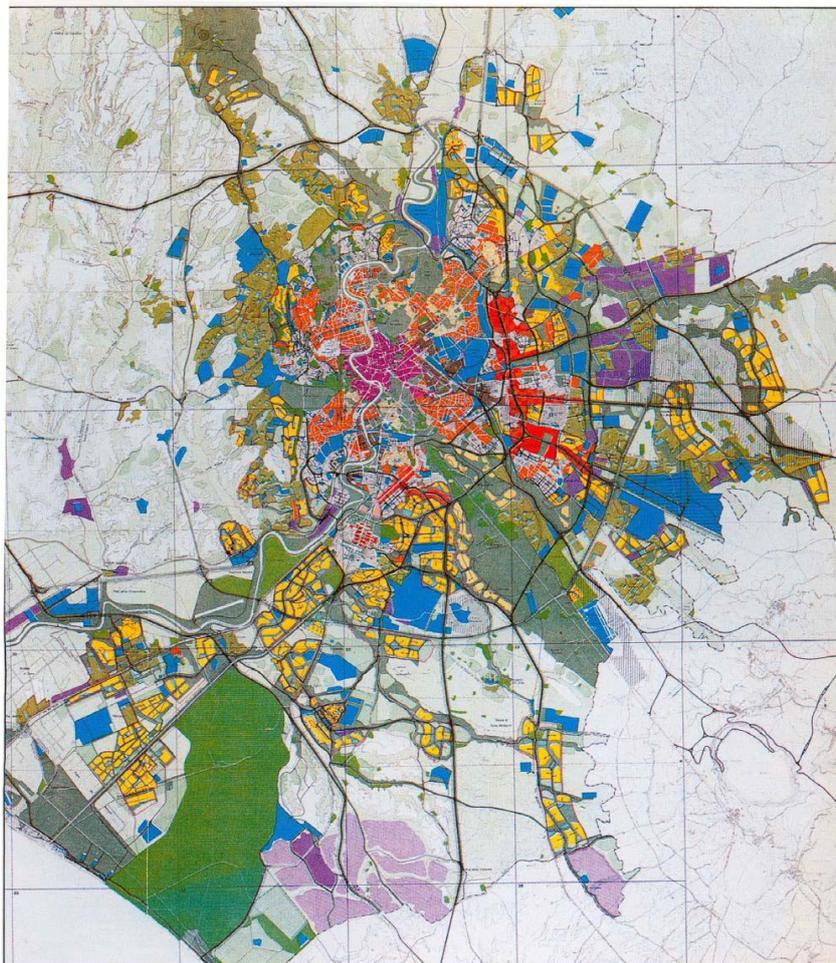
The Italian governments, in a similar way, turned more often to groups of technicians “super partes”, operating on a “virtual” political–social program.

In that way the re-interpretation in the first PGR (Masterplan) of Rome (2001) predicted a need to realize public and private buildings based on a non-existent population growth, which was estimated to be around 3.5 million people for the year 2000.

(Actually the population growth in Italy is estimated about ca. 2.7 million inhabitants).

In that case the goal was not the welfare of the population but profit; political power had been replaced by economical power¹.

Figure 2. Master Plan Rom, 1962, Italy



Source: © City Hall of Roma, Italy

¹ Ash Amin (2006), Collective culture and urban public space, text produced for the Project “Inclusive cities: challenges of urban diversity”

Social Architecture and the “globalized Architecture”

Social purpose in architecture: political and economical process of globalization

At the core of social architecture, there is the choice by politicians and decision-makers to design for the public welfare or even more for the welfare of the society, therefore promoting the growth of civic sense and responsibility that is at the core of the community's participation and inclusion.

Cultural and spatial needs are the fundamentals of social architecture, which generates space and evolves from the place.

“Urbanists have long held the view that the physical and social dynamics of public space play a central role in the formation of publics and public culture. A city's streets, parks, squares, and other shared spaces have been seen as symbols of collective well-being and possibility as an expression of achievement and aspiration by urban leaders and visionaries, sites of public encounter and formation of civic culture, and significant spaces of political deliberation and agonistic struggle. While urban commentators and practitioners have varied in their views on the precise detail of collective achievement across time and space, they have generally not questioned the assumption that a strong relationship exists between urban public space civic culture, and political formation”.²

Social purpose in architecture goes through the intensification of the political and economical process of globalization while globalization and the new communication and information technologies give rise to ‘virtual communities’.

We can almost say that the European city was planned in the past as an anti-model to modernity: it promised density, multi-functionality and management of the historical and regional patrimony.

On the contrary, today the image of the traditional European city has been internationalized, globalized, acquiring its own autonomy: we cannot talk anymore about exporting the cultural tradition of a place but instead of the bi-dimensionality of cities which paradoxically, even discarding such content, represent the Manifesto of the global cultural evolution.

“Today, however, the sites of civic and political formation are plural and distributed. Civic practices – and public culture in general – are shaped in circuits of flow and association that are not reducible to the urban (e.g. books, magazines, television, music, national curricula, transnational associations), let alone to particular places of encounter within the city.

Similarly the sites of political formation have proliferated, to include the micro-politics of work, school, community and neighbourhood, and the workings of states, constitutions, assemblies, political parties and social movements. Urban public space has become one component, arguably of secondary importance, in a variegated field of civic and political formation. This would almost certainly be the view held in cultural and political studies, with the emphasis falling on the salience, respectively, of media, consumer and lifestyle cultures, and of representative, constitutional and corporate politics. The dynamics of gathering in, and passing through, streets,

²Ash Amin (2006), Collective culture and urban public space, text produced for the Project “Inclusive cities: challenges of urban diversity”

squares, parks, libraries, cultural and leisure centres, are more likely to be interpreted in terms of their impact on cultures of consumption, practices of negotiating the urban environment, and social response to anonymous others, than in terms of their centrality in shaping civic and political culture”.³

The contemporary city is a mix of multiple uses and practices, at place of forms of complex mobility, a place of accumulating various materials, a place of multiple identities, a space of minorities; dismissed spaces of production, "planned fenced spaces", commercial streets, directional centres, shopping centres, suburbs, islands of repetition. All those offer the potential for social communion if organised and managed properly.

The globalised city is everywhere and nowhere. It can be seen in California as well as in Potsdam or southern China. It is not a real place but a concept created around the key images of the post-modern urbanization, something that architects and urbanites have been working on for the last thirty years; now known as "new urbanism" or "traditional urban design."

The urban system is about balancing the global economical system with the defence of the historical identity of cities.

“(…) material and immaterial components of urban phenomena are one and the same. Show the image of any unnamed city and everyone will immediately recognise it as a city, despite the endless variations of urban forms and types. But there is another city that cannot be seen: - observes Martinotti – it is strictly not visible: not through physical wavelengths at least.”

This is the urban society or the sociological city which not only is no less real than the one visible through physical wavelengths, but at the same time is the maker and the “product” of the visible city, with which constitutes an inextricable unity”.⁴

“For centuries the basis of the financial sustainability of the city was the wealth produced by its inhabitants. Residency or citizenship was the basis for taxation”.⁵

Today the economics of cities rest increasingly on consumption outlays by mobile populations that do not have residence in the same areas where they work and consume.

One particularly interesting case is the development of a specific market for aesthetics and symbolic activities as an important part of the economy of places, especially urban places (ex. Bonn Bethovenhalle). Beautiful cultural objects are the symbolic testimony of the wealth of its citizens; the “new urbanism” commends a return to compact housing, public urban assets with mixed uses, “beautiful cities”, ideal cities planned following the projects of “urban renaissance”, like “La città della salute”

The aspiration of urban practitioners has veered just to obtain the consensus of the social community, the applause of the common consensus that is the applause of the mass.

Analysing the link between democratic practices and the “physical” empty hole, “la Piazza”, which has been taken for granted for decades, this condition is going to be denied if the relationship between democracy and participation collapses.

This complex informal urban space (obviously not only the Piazza), allows- as Saskia Sassen

³ ib.

⁴ Guido Martinotti, in Davide. Diamantini, Guido Martinotti, “Urban Civilization”, Napoli 2009, Scripta Web, s.54 ff.

⁵ id.

observes- space for informal productions.⁶

The production of political informality is also due to the lack of a new formal political answer to the new political transformation. Informal politicians are informal actors for the execution of the project they represent in the space of the city: they produce “informal space”.

Informal spaces are often, in the contemporary city, spaces for symbolic projection, in other words non-places as social places.

Figure 4. “The good Volcano” Shopping Mall in Napoli, Italy, Renzo Piano



Source: © Moreno Maggi

Democracy against Architecture: Case studies in Europe

If democracy is participation, participation seems to be the answer to controlling the masses by a power that increasingly invades public activities; if urban planning (which can be considered a service for the social community), becomes a political tool, where architecture becomes the promotion of social politics and forgets the real needs of the community, then we can talk about democracy versus architecture.

I will analyse two forms of debate: the first one, the legitimate participation, initiated by social actors, the citizens, a formal procedure that gives them the opportunity to express consensus or dissent during the execution phases of a project and which implies active and public participation. The second directed participation, as appeals to the popular sovereignty of promoters, to reach a common agreement which can be transformed into public opinion.

⁶ Saskia Sassen, in Davide. Diamantini, Guido Martinotti, “Urban Civilization”, Napoli 2009, Scripta Web

In Italy, as well as in Europe, the constitutional democracy is attacked by a slow but ongoing process of emptying out of political contents and their transformation into surrogates.

Today more than participatory design we can talk about a manipulated attendance, because the attendee does not have enough information to take an active role. Such phenomena of manipulation of the consensus, as well as the more sophisticated forms of disinformation, are manifestations of populism.

A clear example of this discrepancy can be also found in the application of the methodology of Architectural Competitions and in their realizations.

In fact, the world of architecture-as Antonio Pietro Latini observes-never misses an opportunity to praise the skills of miraculous healing attributed to the competition of ideas, thanks to which one can in short legitimately decide – with all methods to investigate but without a conscious investigation - the future destiny of entire areas which have considerable size and impact on the territory. The final result, the choice of the winner, happens without rational or transparent analysis or even without attending to the objectives and the essential morphological and functional components of the project.

The “brand design” prevails also in architecture, which becomes at the same time a great marketing tool, an instrument to win competitions and a reason get more volume to build and to fill a big budget.⁷

Vice versa, in addition to the budget, or rather to various types of participatory budgets, the most common forms of participatory democracy regard land management.

The common characteristic of these is that they are public and follow official procedures in which “ordinary” citizens, without having requested a specific title of legally protected interest, are asked by the institutions to intervene on the decision-making activities of the institutions themselves, through a determined methodology regulated by law. Those procedures extend the decision-making beyond the competent authorities, which will nevertheless remain owners of the final decision.

We can call it therefore a “democratization of legislation or administrative activities”, without, however, that the representative democracy would be superseded. That will be empowered by more legitimate, and possibly more effective, in meeting the needs of the community.⁸

One can hardly speak of innovations in recent years; in a political climate of populism and lack of power for the main political parties, the economic crisis has resulted in a general contraction of public intervention and put severe financial constraints on local authorities who have been forced to give up following earlier ambioned projects and to find other solutions for cooperation, like the intervention of private investors.

Public space does not encourage public - political life; however public space has the connotation of political place, better seen as politicized space.

“Innate to the process of forming a coherent image of community is the desire to avoid actual participation.”⁹

⁷ Antonio Pietro Latini, *Forme nella Città / Spazi nella metropoli*, Berkley.it, 2007

⁸ Umberto Allegretti, *Democrazia rappresentativa e democrazia partecipativa*, 2009

⁹ Umberto Allegretti, *Democrazia partecipativa e processi di democratizzazione*, Relazione generale al Convegno “La democrazia partecipativa in Italia e in Europa: esperienze e prospettive”, Firenze 2009.

In other terms the new city needs a redefinition of public participated space. Cities now are also overfull of immaterial places in which the democracy of our times has to be renegotiated.

Populist Architecture or Populism in Architecture?

“Populism has been considered as a complex phenomenon, a syndrome, and more recently as an ideology. This contribution gives some methodological indications in order to analyse populism as a particular kind of ideology. It is based on the morphological approach. This approach permits to find the core of populism and a cluster of central and peripheral concepts. The most important principle of the morphological approach is the de-contestation. As Michael Freedon showed, the de-contestation concerns the competition of the meaning, given to the conceptual combination of the terms of the political sphere”.¹⁰

In recent years some politicians have found necessary to screen the popular decision on whether or not to fund the construction of a particular building with direct public interest. The cases of some European cities (...) confirm the emergence of a short cut between architecture and democracy, which is expressed as architecture in service of populism or as ‘democratism’ inoculated in decision-making, aimed at the realization of potentially innovative architecture.

Populism is the phenomenon through which governors can pretend to have a direct and exclusive relationship with the people - today it would be more appropriate to say with the public opinion. They patronize people tickling the more hidden and mediocre aspirations, often according to the mechanism of so called mimetic wish, well described by R Girard. (A. Spadaro) “Contemporary populism, defined phenomenon as very heterogeneous and ephemerous, is regarded as a syndrome, which manifests itself mainly in times of crisis large economic and institutional instability”.¹¹

Similarly in the policy of architecture and in its morphology, populism assumes a weak ideology with a strong core: the concept of popular sovereignty; an ideology very close to democracy, and to other non-democratic ideologies.

The central idea, based on the morphological analysis, is the "de-contestation" of political concepts, that is a procedure that allows the association of a clear meaning with a political term, but depriving it of its effectiveness.

The configurations of such a kind of visual concept create the conditions for political theory and practice. This form of thinking allows privileged access to the understanding of the origin and the nature of political power. We can define better, as a procedure, the "de-contestation", which refers to the emulation to the legitimate meanings in political parlance, as well as to the choice of combinations of concepts,- which are applicable for the understanding of the political world. Even if it is reasonable, to the concept of ideology in the singular, to outline a precise concept thus, there are used the ideologies in their various manifestations, which are ultimately of vital importance.

¹⁰ Lorella Cedroni, Die Morphologie des Populismus, Berlin 2011

¹¹ id.

Innovation, Elite and Popular Legitimacy

The creation of the global democracy is based on collective instances such as the environment, life quality, primary resources access and the need for functional urban infrastructure, all of which have become global.

It is not a matter of "globalizing" the procedures and habitats or mobilizing the citizens in order to get a plebiscitary answer on the organization of buildings and urban space; justifying or legitimating decisions already made is not necessary, especially if it involves specific competences such as urban planning.

Social, political and economical needs of the citizens can be elaborated by an organization based on real competences and capable of giving the best solutions.

Figure 5. Magdeburg, requalification of public space, competition



Source: © City Hall of Magdeburg

The global democracy is at participatory democracy, asking people their preferences, giving them prior specific information, in order to produce an adequate consensus.

The global democracy is a participatory democracy based on quality - not quantity as it is -, instead the eastern democracies are interested in the populist leeway, where the concept of global democracy has been replaced by the concept of "mass democracy".

But what are the real and effective strategies to promote the vision of a journey towards the expansion of participatory – global-democracy?

First of all it is necessary to gradually apply its practices in the social urban context and similarly to the political one.

We should start by introducing them one after the other, considering the context of the subjects and the level of requirements. Similarly, we must introduce experimentation to acknowledge the signs of change from the current experience.

To assume this method of participative practices in Italian and European political and social life, might not produce immediate effects and a solution to the crisis of democracy, but it can eventually produce significant consequences and stimuli for innovations in individual institutions; a sort of "molecular effect" that will enable a more comprehensive change. "Participatory democracy does not determine the paligenetic effects that we would presume to obtain like from any "great reform", which would be often desired and, hopefully never realized.¹²

That would be like the architecture of great symbolic gestures, the architect of ideas and ideal planning, valid always and everywhere.

A participatory democracy will legitimately raise ethical and political virtues which can still be considered in our societies along the path of human civilization.

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INTERNATIONAL EXPO IN LODZ: AN OPPORTUNITY OR THREAT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY. IMPACT OF A CULTURAL EVENT ON THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE

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Abstract

The presented study discusses the currently announced candidature of Lodz for the organization of the International Expo 2022 in the context of its impact on territory development and urban structure. The main goal of this work is to evaluate the role and importance of cultural events such as the International Expo in the process of shrinking cities regeneration. The methodology of research is based on the analysis of local and national initiatives taken in terms of Expo organization as well as urban policy. The study shows that the concept of Expo is in agreement with and completes current local projects including the New Center of Lodz, main railway station and the revitalization program. Moreover, this initiative is in line with new urban politics at a national level (Urban Renewal Act, National Urban Policy, National Strategy of Urban Renewal). Urban renewal, the central theme of the Expo 2022 in Lodz, opens new possibilities and may become a catalyst for the redevelopment of the degraded urban tissue. The Expo should not be treated as a single cultural event but it should rather be a long-term initiative constantly stimulating the city. The candidature of Lodz, in contrast to previous Expos located in the suburbs of cities, relies on the development of urban tissue located in the center of the city. The initiative of Expo 2022 will certainly promote the development of Lodz. With its main theme and localization, the Expo 2022 supports the model of compact city.

The role of culture in the urban regeneration process

There are many strategies being developed today to counter the effects of deindustrialization such as shrinking cities. The aim of renovating the degenerated areas is not only to change the negative image of the territory but, most importantly, to attract new investors (Landry, 2000). The key question is if and how introducing culture-led regeneration will exert a long-term impact on the development of the city. The subject of this article is set against the background of a

wider analysis of the role of culture in the broadly defined urban space regeneration. We refer to the recurring statement that: "culture has become increasingly important in regeneration processes designed to deal with urban futures" (Prior, Blessi, 2012, p. 78). However, promoting the city as a touristic spot is not enough. It is necessary to refer to the entire process that boosts the self-confidence and pride of the local community (Paris, 2010, p. 41). The possibility of profiting from this phenomenon by reversing the process of social impoverishment is of utmost importance (Binns, 2005). An obvious reference in the context of culture-led urban regeneration are undertakings such as the Guggenheim in Bilbao or the Internationale Bauausstellung Emscher Park in the Ruhr district. There are many other projects based on similar foundations, however, culture in urban areas often emerges in other forms. Short-term cultural events such as festivals, the Olympics or temporary exhibitions are all examples of the revitalization process. Mass events of this sort often constitute "a key moment (...) [that] reflects the whole transformation process impacting this city or region" (Paris, 2010, p. 34). The European Capital of Culture initiative may serve as an example, especially the 1990 winner Glasgow (Miles, 2005) or the 2004 edition in Lille (Lefebvre, p. 39) which has had a huge significance to the renewal of the entire metropolis. Spacial transformations brought about by sports events such as 1968 Winter Olympic Games in Grenoble, the 1992 Summer Olympic Games in Barcelona or in Sydney eight years later are also worth mentioning (Prior, Blessi, 2012). Finally, returning to the title exhibition, the 1998 International Exposition in Lisbon was a valuable experience as well. Most of the public spaces and structures created during the event are still functioning today, adapted to current needs (João Santa-Rita, a lecture during the "Pomyśl o Expo w Łodzi" [Think About the Expo in Lodz] conference, 2016). While analyzing the impact of large-scale cultural events on urban tissue, we will often find a working division into "before" and "after" the event. However, Lodz's candidature for organizing the International Exposition in 2022 alone is an important catalyst for changing the image of the region, and the possible nomination, as in the case of the Olympiad in Sydney, has the potential to "speed[ing] up the process on a scale that would not otherwise have been possible" (Cashman 2011).

The need for regeneration in Lodz

Since the collapse of the textile industry in the 1970s, negative economic, social and urban phenomena have intensified. The difficult situation and limited development prospects are reflected in the shrinking demographic projections. In the next 20 years, the number of Lodz inhabitants will decrease by 20% (Polish Central Statistical Office, statistic for the city of Lodz). The polarization of the negative phenomena takes place especially in the structure of the city center in Lodz. According to research carried out in years 2008-2009, 23% of Lodz inhabitants describe the quality of life in the city center as bad, while around 70% believe that buildings should be renovated (Social Renewal Strategy, p. 32). The difficult situation makes the strategic projects currently introduced absolutely vital. The project of the multi-modal station Lodz Fabryczna is the first one on a long list of new investments. Although the project is not perfect and will have to deal with problems such as excessive road infrastructure surrounding the station, the final through station may still become a permanent fixture in the urban development strategy. The area surrounding the Lodz Fabryczna building ground was defined as the New

Center of Lodz (Resolution no. XLV/840/12 of the City Council of Lodz). The idea is to create a modern quarter in the heart of the city center in Lodz. However, despite the ongoing modernization of infrastructure and an excellent location, an investor for the region has not been found yet. Another measure taken by the municipal authorities is the program of district revitalization (Description of the Object of Contract). The aim of the project is to change the image of the city center which, culturally, is the most valuable part of the city. The initiatives mentioned adhere to new urban policy developments in the country: the National Urban Policy and the National Strategy of Urban Renewal. In the future we need to discover how they may benefit from operational support tools created for instance in the Urban Renewal Act. It appears that Lodz is becoming a huge experimental field in the revitalization process. Simultaneously, it is important that the large cultural inheritance is not dismissed. The unique architectural landscape: factory complexes, eclectic and art nouveau tenement houses, palaces (Janiak, 2014) are just as valuable as the immaterial inheritance: film traditions, the legacy of artists in the world of modern art.

The International EXPO as part of development strategy in Lodz

Lodz's application to organize the International Exposition in 2022 is a continuation of the activities that have been described above. The so-called "small Expo" is a cyclical event which takes place every four years between larger world expositions (the last World's Fair took place in 2015 in Milan). The difference between the World and International Expo refers to the range of subjects the expositions cover and the organization of the pavilions. The small Expo focuses on one narrowed-down field. In the case of Lodz, it will be the issue of urban revitalization. Unlike the World Expo, most countries have no individual pavilions. The right to organize the Exposition is issued by the International Exhibitions Bureau (BIE) based on the results of a vote among the 167 member countries. The formula makes governmental support vital: "as Kamil Kulesza from the Expo team in the department of management in the City of Lodz Office stresses, it is not Lodz, but rather Poland, that is applying to organize the world exposition" (Magnuszewska, 2016). It seems that Wroclaw's failed endeavor to be granted the International Expo in 2012 confirms the words above. The Polish government granted project funding to support Lodz's candidature and is the only candidate who officially announced their wish to host the exhibition. Turkmenistan is also interested in organizing the Expo in 2022. The next exhibition of the kind will be held by Kazakhstan in 2017. So far none of the Central European countries have hosted the Exposition. It is another argument supporting Poland's candidature. The Deloitte company is currently working on Lodz's application and the application form itself is to be submitted by the end of 2016. The initial urban concept prepared by the Sud Architekt Polska studio, who carried out the conversion of the factory complex "Manufaktura" in Lodz, has already been published.

An answer to the paper's title question of how hosting the International Expo in 2022 may influence urban development supports a thesis that an actual revitalization processes in Lodz depends on the adopted project solutions and the support of both local and central authorities. Thus, locating the Expo in the city center, or, to be precise, in the New Center of Lodz zone, is a key issue. Such a strategy is a consistent execution of the concept of compact cities (discussed

at the 5th Polish Urbanists Congress, 2015) which opposes the advancing process of suburbanization. This solution, in the case of the Exposition, will create short-term difficulties. However, eventually, it will lead the process of (re)urbanization to the most valuable areas of the city. During the exposition, i.e. three months, as well as during its preparations, the difficulties for the inhabitants will be comparable to those which happened during the works on the infrastructure of the Lodz Fabryczna train station. The localization of 25 ha in the inner city center creates an opportunity to directly improve the central spaces of the city. Locating the exhibition in the vicinity of Piotrkowska Street, the historical axis of the city, may contribute to reinvigorating the street as the main representative route with a dominant commercial function. This would also locate the Expo right next to the multi-modal station. The Lodz Fabryczna station given in the figure below will be the biggest train station of the kind in that part of Europe. The exhibition, then, will perfectly justify completing such a large construction as necessary for world-scale events, such as the International Expo. Associating the Exhibition with the station also allows to implement the key communication strategy: public transport. Mass transportation complements the subject of the exhibition: revitalization, which, in turn, is bound with the concept of sustainable development.

Figure 1. The multi-modal Lodz Fabryczna station building ground.



Source: Monika Maria Cysek-Pawlak, 2015

Moreover, hosting the exposition in the New Center of Lodz (NCL) will allow to promote the completed EC1 heat power station complex (Cysek, 2016) which was adapted for cultural and

artistic purposes. The complex shown in the figure below has already received many awards nationally, among others: “Bryła roku 2013,” in spite of the fact that it is not fully operating yet. The EC1 complex includes a conference and exhibition part connected with the building of the Center of Science and Technology. The history of the power station is narrated by thematic paths crossing the original interior where the original machines still stand. The inclusion of the complex into the exhibition will pave the way for the popularization of industrial inheritance and will undoubtedly strengthen the local pride of the inhabitants. In all probability the last part of the EC1 complex, today in a bad technical condition, will also have been renovated by 2022. Another opportunity the exhibition creates worth seizing is promoting the immaterial legacy. The National Center of Cinematography operates in the power station.

Figure 2. The EC1 complex.



Source: Monika Maria Cysek-Pawlak, 2014

Moreover, the guests at the International Expo will have a chance to see part of the Avant-garde inheritance of Łódź in Katarzyna Kobro's¹ market square. This space is the central square in the New Center of Łódź urban planning scheme. Initially, the spatial arrangement of the NCL was designed by Rob Kier, a Luxembourg architect. Now the binding guidelines accepted by the Local Urban Plan (Resolution no. III/40/14 and no. III/41/14 of the City Council of Łódź) to a large extent correspond with the initial designs. The concept was made possible thanks to moving train rails which had divided Łódź underground. In this way, the strategic area was made available and can now serve as a place where the neglected city center is united and reborn (workshop “Zszywanie miasta” [Stitching Up the City], 2011). The NCL area, which covers around 100 ha, is bigger than the exhibition area itself. The part excluded from the Expo

¹ The City Council of Łódź has organized a competition for managing the market square. The results will be announced in March 2016.

activities, if an investor is found, may be sold before 2022. Such a solution does not block any building plans in the NCL area. It will only freeze the 25 ha needed for the Expo. However, given the lack of interest to buy the area, it should have no negative repercussions on the investment dynamics in this part of the city center. It does seem, however, that the International Expo will advance the process of commercialization by strengthening the trust of the investors to the city. Moreover, the exhibition area itself will benefit from new infrastructure and, more importantly, attractive public spaces. Examples thereof are visible in the sketch below. The investment value of building grounds will definitely rise.

**Figure 3. Concept sketch of the Exposition's public spaces planning.
The Expo 2022 feasibility study materials**



Source: The Ministry of Development and the City Council of Lodz, 2016

Therefore, the buildings created for the Expo should be strategically designed to last after the Expo is over. After the exhibition, they will be converted into office blocks, apartments and service buildings. Nicolas Roques from the Sud Architekt Polska studio stresses that "around 80 per cent of buildings will be there to stay. Some of them may be dismantled and moved to another location so that Lodz inhabitants may use them as sports halls or cultural buildings" (Magnuszewska, 2016). Pavilions designed as temporary constructions may be mobile. By changing their purpose, they will still play a role in the urban space after the exhibition. The structures remaining in the original location after 2022 need to match the target functional structure of the city and comply with the

strategies of the New Center of Lodz as well as the decisions of the Local Urban Plan. An analogous guideline applies to the form of the buildings. The particular architecture of the exhibition buildings poses a great challenge to architects. An in-depth analysis of project solutions needs to be carried through, including a redivision of storeys, extensions and superstructure. The aim is to create a multi-functional quarter adapted to the scale of the city and the needs of its inhabitants. In this context, the preservation of all historic buildings in the exhibition zone is an important guideline. This includes not only the unique elements of post-industrial landscape, such as chimneys² or large-format warehouses, but also valuable tenement houses. In the exhibition area, apart from the renovated EC1 complex, there are many degraded historical buildings, for example stylish Heinz warehouses in the vicinity of a former hat factory or neglected residential buildings on Tuwim street bordering on the exhibition. Constructions are thoroughly renovated as part of the Expo and after the event will serve as an integral element of the regenerated urban tissue (see: figure below). While these actions are being undertaken, possible interventions in the direct vicinity of the exhibition area should also be taken into consideration. The Expo cannot simply become a high-quality space out of context, but should develop into an area which generates comprehensive revitalization of the urban organism.

Figure 3. The exhibition area. The Expo 2022 feasibility study materials



Source: The Ministry of Development and the City Council of Lodz, 2016

² There is a historic chimney with the name of the last company's owner inscribed. The Enkew company, to whom it used to belong, was involved in a lengthy litigation with the city about the possibility of keeping the manufacture in the inner city center. Finally, the company will move to a less strategic location.

The strategy is complemented by the Area Regeneration Project, whose pilot scheme is being implemented in the NCL and to a small extent covers the Expo area. The initiative stems from the Local Strategy of Urban Renewal in Lodz 2020+ (ZLPR³), which includes the entirety of the culturally most valuable Lodz Urban Zone. The project aims to undertake comprehensive activities which will determine the change of the center's image (Area Renewal Strategy, p. 30). Investments concern the housing sector, the economic sector, and, above all, the improvement of the quality of public spaces. A public consultations concerning the program is being carried through. It is therefore advisable that its guidelines involve an urban concept of the exhibition. The Area Regeneration Project in Lodz would then become part of a wider context for the Expo in Lodz and remain consistent with the subject of the exhibition.

Summary

Having analyzed the possible development of Lodz from the perspective of Lodz's application to organize the International Exhibition in 2022, it is clear that the Expo project should be seen as a comprehensive process rather than a short-term event. As Jason Prior remarks: "'one-shot' cultural event such as the Olympic Games [may serve] as a catalyst and engine for regenerating urban areas" (Prior, Blessi, 2012, p. 78). An assessment of Lodz's application to organize the Expo clearly shows that the potent process of change has already started. Apart from activities directly connected with the preparations for the candidature and the feasibility study, a cycle of conferences⁴ broadening the knowledge about urban revitalization has been inaugurated. Becoming aware of the problem and a search for solutions both serve as important elements in the whole process. However, political support is a strategic factor⁵. An execution of such a complex event without a strong and clear support of the Government is hardly conceivable. The success is also determined by a consistent plan and implementation of the undertaking according to the doctrine of sustainable development. If we abandon this strategy, we will encounter problems with which the organizers of the Winter Olympiad in Sochi are still tackling (Müller, 2015) or the designers of the Expo in Milan⁶, who only after the event did try to decide how the released area should be managed. While preparing the exhibition in Lodz, we should use the strategies employed by cities which have organized such large-scale events. Basing on London's experiences, the host of the Summer Olympiad in 2012, or other places mentioned at the beginning of the article, Lodz should construct its own strategy adapted to the local character and current conditions. The aim

³ While defining the guidelines mentioned in the ZLPR, we should make use of the new tools introduced in The Urban Renewal Act. It seems that this will allow us to avoid the mistakes made in the previous edition of the Local Revitalization Project in Lodz 2004-2013, which failed to fully incorporate the social aspect.

⁴ The series of conferences "Pomyśl o Expo w Łodzi" [Think about the Expo in Lodz] have so far taken place at the Technical University of Lodz and the University of Lodz. Popularizing the idea of organizing Expo in Lodz during the meetings sparks off a debate about the possible evolution of urban structure.

⁵ After the Polish Government's official announcement of support for the Expo project, the Government's support of the organization strategy in the international arena is absolutely vital. The Government's activities are insufficient in this regard.

⁶ The authors of the first urban concept of the exhibition in Milan, the generally acclaimed Herzog & de Meuron studio, decided to withdraw for three years because the organizers had decided to abandon the initial sustainable solutions connected with the promotion of the "slow-food" concept in the functioning and space of the exhibition.

is not only the promotion of the city and country, obvious given the number of visitors, but also "a cultural turn in urban policy deliver[ing] urban revitalization" (Miles, 2005, p. 889). The change of the image of the area should come from the outside thanks to journalistic reports describing a revitalized Lodz with its unique industrial legacy as well as from the inside: permanently changing the image of the city in the eyes of its own inhabitants. The complex process of culture-led regeneration influences not only the exhibition area but the entire urban structure in economic, infrastructure and social aspects. The strategy taken in Lodz will undoubtedly improve the development dynamics of the whole agglomeration. An impulse from the voivodeship city will determine the organization of the accompanying cultural events in smaller adjoining units. Lodz, historically rooted in multiculturalism, today has a chance to use this potential and its festival traditions to organize the festival of revitalization: the International Exposition.

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THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT IN THE REALITY OF VIRTUAL WORLD: THE CASE OF PUERTO RICO

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Abstract

In the new virtual world, it becomes necessary to consider new concepts of development that allow to achieve social justice and equity. It is for this reason, in this article present a synthetic review of the development theories evolution, the definition of the concept of territorial development and the implication of this concept in the case of Puerto Rico. The findings presented in this article are part of a larger investigation that was developed in the Doctorate Program of City, Territory and Sustainability at the University of Guadalajara, Mexico. The main objective of this research was to determine how the processes of territorial development were affected by the presence of dependent territory geopolitical condition.

However, this academic research is only the basis for extending a discussion about a concept that requires further analysis for adjust to other realities in the world and to incorporate the lessons and experiences of other individuals. It necessary understands that territorial development concept is relatively young and has only two decades since its first formulations, so it requires a process of operationalize the definition components. Such work would allow the territorial development concept can be considered in the preparation of different territorial studies and analysis.

Introduction

Today, there is talk that society has entered into a new era where communication and information have become their most important assets. A new era, in which society begins to have part of their existence in a world that not materializes in the physical sphere but rather in the virtual. Usually, in the field of information and technology, virtual is used to refer to the reality constructed by systems or digital formats.

This virtual world has been seen by some people as a positive element for countries and individuals because the knowledge is socialized, the relationships and interactions are globalized and more freedoms are extending for the human being. But the benefits of this virtual reality are far from being global because there are many people in the world who do not have access to this technology.

For this reason, it is necessary to observe the phenomenon of virtuality as a barometer of global inequality and the problems that have territories to achieve adequate levels of development. The lack of access to the internet is today, cause of social exclusion processes. Individuals that want to join the networks cannot do so because they have lack economic resources, poor infrastructure, unknown the technology or simply are not a basic necessity of their lives.

Given this reality, which is inevitable for the various societies in the world, it is necessary to revisit the notion we have of development in the territories. It is necessary to re-examine if only look the development from the perspective of economic growth or we should consider the introduction of other alternative conceptions that give more weight to human development. Therefore, in this article is examined the evolution of the concept of development, the definition of territorial development and the analysis of the study case of Puerto Rico.

Evolution of the development concept

Before introducing a definition of the territorial development concept must start from the historical evolution of the development term. This term emerged in the nineteenth century from the study of the richness accumulation processes in the industrialized countries and that over time became a theoretical formulation directed at changing the reality of economically backward countries. This theoretical formulation, which is prepared for the second half of the twentieth century, was constantly changing because in the implementation received multiple critiques.

In a thesis prepared by Antonio L. Hidalgo (1998) for the University of Huelva, Spain, it can appreciate the different kind of thoughts that various theorists elaborated about development. In this thesis, he classified the development thought into five categories shaped by the theories of modernity, structuralism, neo-Marxism, neo liberalism and alternative theories of development. This kind of thought started to copy the development processes of the industrialized countries but the difficulties encountered in the implementation of many theories will be the engine for the constant evolution of the concept.

The first line of thought which was elaborated about the development was related to modernity. There is an effort to rationalize the historic transition from preindustrial society to industry, in order to establish strategies that were applicable to countries that were economically laggards after World War II. The theoretical formulation under this stream of thought goes from 1940 to

1960. The theories related with this stream of thought were found: the stages of economic growth, the doctrine of the vicious circles of poverty, the post-keynesian dynamic models, the neoclassical models of structural change and the debate on the balance and imbalance of growth.

It is part of an evolutionary approach, which views development as an end to which all nations should aspire. Different countries therefore should be placed along a *continuum* that is bounded by the poles of tradition and modernization. According to Hidalgo (1998), the fundamental characteristics of these theories are five and consist of: 1. identify development with economic growth and modernity, 2. consider the phenomenon of underdevelopment as a problem of backwardness and stagnation, 3. see industrialization as a key element of modernization, 4. conceive planning as an essential element of development policy, and 5. consider the aid, loans and foreign investment as activators of the growth process (p. 68).

The first criticism to the modernization theories arises from the structuralism that taking place in Latin America. These theories have its origins to the late forties, due to the development of a critique of neoclassical theories of international trade. Among the theoretical contributions of this school of thought found works as the tendency to deterioration of the terms of trade, the center-periphery model, the dualism, the obstacles to development, the structuralism dependence, interdependence, and the neo-structuralism.

The elements of the structuralist theory of the development, according to Hidalgo (1998), consist in distinguish between economic growth and development and define the concept of underdevelopment (pp. 104-105). Structuralists conceive the economic growth as merely expansion of production based on the use of existing technology while economic development is defined as a continuous expansion of the number of sectors using advanced technology. Underdevelopment, rather than being seen as an economic backwardness in certain regions, as proposed by the modernists, is seen as a particular historical problem of how these economies are inserted into the international economy.

Among the proposals suggested to address the problem of underdevelopment, it's found the interventions of governments of peripheral countries directed to transform its production structure by the creation of diversified national industrial sectors. This economic strategy has been called the industrial model of import substitution. As imported products are produced internally in the territories by local actors, also must be reduced the dependency relationships between countries.

The neo-Marxist theory arises during the postwar as an alternative to the theory of modernization. Among the theoretical works produced in this school of thought are the modern theory of imperialism, neo-Marxist dependency, unequal exchange, the world capitalist system and disconnection. The main elements of the neo-Marxist theory can be summarized in the elaboration of a definition of underdevelopment, explanations of unequal relations between countries and establish the need for a radical political change to achieve economic development (Hidalgo, 1998).

Underdevelopment for neo Marxist thinking is a process characterized by continuous extraction of the surplus generated in the periphery by the advanced capitalist economies. The industrialized capitalist countries introduced the peripheral countries to a system of relations of

unequal exchange in which the economic surplus was extracted from the periphery. Such unequal relations destroy pre-capitalist artisan production of the peripheries and reduces incentives to indigenous capitalist industrial development.

Parallel to the development of structuralist and Marxist theories, was forged a critical stream to the modernity theory from conservative sectors. Since the mid-seventies, the development thinking has been clearly dominated by the neoclassical approach, developed by neoliberal thinkers. According to the work of Victor Barone (1998), the economic policies of neoliberalism are based on the absolute free market, privatization of state monopolies, intervention on macroeconomic variables, containment of wages, against tax reform and trade oriented to the exports promotion.

These policies are implemented by an ideological discourse characterized by the commodification of rights and conquests of the workers, identification of the state with all bad, the development of a sphere of virtual consumption, the imposition of a common neoliberal sense, appropriation of the vocabulary of progressive forces, the illusory characterization of alternative options and envision the lefts and social organization as spokesmen of defeatist pragmatism.

The economic perspective that have the neoliberalism and the other theories lead in the seventies to the elaboration of other conceptions of the development denominated alternative theories. According to Hidalgo (1998) these theories are the result of a change of view that capital accumulation is no longer the further end of the development but rather the satisfaction of the basic needs of man (p. 232). Among the features of consensus that has this line of thinking are found: the satisfaction of human needs, take advantage of endogenous resources of the territories, strengthen the confidence of society, make proper use of the resources of the biosphere and generate a political transformation that allows self-management and citizen participation.

Territorial Development

Alternative theories have been a breakthrough in the conceptual evolution of development. These have achieved to redirect the focus on the economic field to other aspects were also important for development as the environment, society and political rights. However, these theories have been developed fragmented so it has required an effort of synthesis and consolidation to make them operational. This process of theories consolidation can be found in many works produced by various theorists and institutions about territorial development.

The concept of "territorial development emerged as a concept associated with the idea of territory" (Becerra & Pino, 2005, p. 91). The geographical location became the main element to be considered in generating a development process. The territory is not only a physical place where a population lives but rather the geographical area in which social dynamics are built through networks, institutions and social capital (CEDET, 2011). However, according to Schneider & Peyré (2006), the territory in this concept of development "loses its heuristic and conceptual sense" (p. 84) to become a variable in which can perform some type of intervention about the space or the population.

In this sense, "the territorial development approach presupposes action on space and changing social relations" (Schneider & Peyré, 2006, p. 84). The territory has the dual function of being; on the one hand, the lens or supposed where the solution to the problems of development is conducted and, secondly, the subject where practices are implemented to achieve a welfare state. These features lead to consider the factors or dynamics affecting the subject of study. In theoretical work produced by Boisier (2004), Bervejillo (1995), Méndez (2002), FAO (2005), MIDEPLAN (2005) and Ramírez (2011) are presents the new territorial reality.

Sergio Boisier (2004), provides the keys to understanding the new environment in which territories are immersed. This author establish that this new environment is configured through the interaction of three new sceneries that are contextual, strategic and political. The contextual scenery is related to the processes of external trade opening that globalization has developed and the internal political opening that has been created by government decentralization. In the strategic scenery it has given a new territorial organization based on a virtual logical and a new forms of territorial management focused on the quasi-states and quasi-companies. In the political scenery is noted a modernization of the state based on territoriality and reinventing of local governments to host functions of direct and encourage the development.

The statements of Boisier are supported by the work of Blanca R. Ramírez (2011), who tries to revalue the functions of the state and institutions in the current global reality. For Ramirez, the welfare state as the neoliberal have confronted problems to impel policies which tend to development the territories. Given this reality, states need a transformation to become in agents of territorial cohesion, make a rational, fair and by consensus of the natural and heritage resources use; and promote an equitable and fair competition.

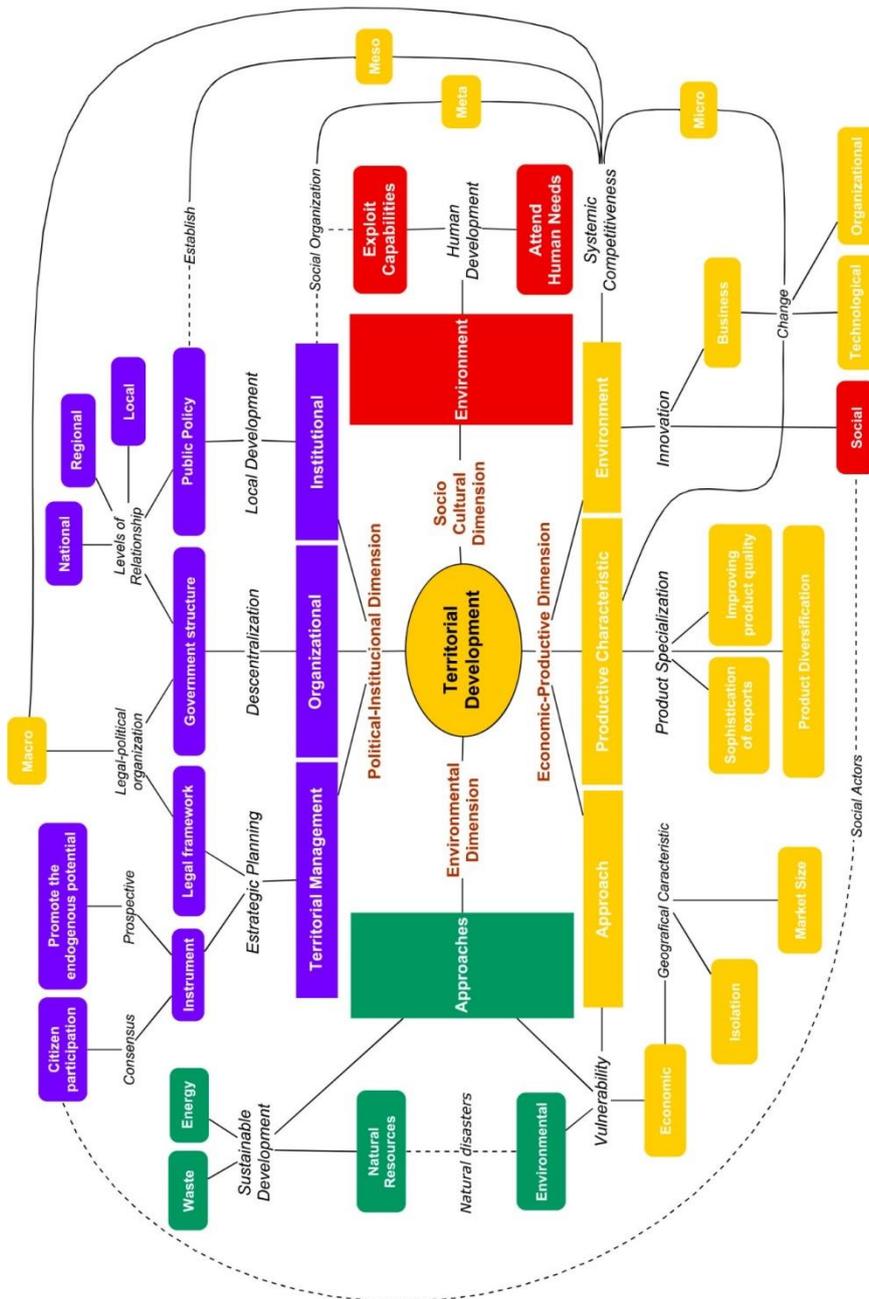
In the writing, *Territories in the Globalization*, Federico Bervejillo (1995) suggests the need to associate development with the creation of a new environment in which the competitive is associated with the advantages of the territories and the activities to be performed at different levels of system. Therefore, for this author, the creation of innovative environments that are articulated in inter-local production networks are an important consideration for the development. Ricardo Méndez (2002) coincides with these appreciations when developing an article dedicated to the relationship there are between Innovation and territorial development.

On the other hand, Bervejillo contributes to the elaboration of a definition of territorial development when he argues that territory intervention should be performed on the basis to redefine the planning process. For this author planning should incorporate strategic management and prospective. The Ministry of National Planning and Economic Policy of Costa Rica (MIDEPLAN, 2005) supports the approach of Bervejillo when expose that prospective is "a unique event which serves to overcome the limitations and contradictions posed by the short-term and generate hope for citizens " (p. 5).

In the case of Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO, 2005), citizen involvement is another element to be considered in the definition of territorial development. In the experience of developing technical assistance projects for 30 years, this organization have found that top-down strategies do not work. In its point of view, the social entities, every day, have been taking a more leading role in decision-making on the territory, which leads to consider new approaches such as "bottom-up" and the use of participatory methodologies.

The approach presented in different areas of territorial development carry to consider other theoretical works that grouping different perspectives and visions which they have been done on the issue. Among these works are important to mention those produced by Maria S. Di Filippo (2008), DDTs (2009), CEDET (2011) and Bernard Pecqueur (2013). Works that help to define dimensions, components, categories, variables and indicators of the territorial development.

Figure 1



Making a reflexion of the different definition that have been elaborated about the concept of territorial development, we can say that it is a development approach that integrates different disciplinary and sectoral strategies; whose purpose is systemically build social environments that ensure constant improvement of the quality of life of citizens who are part of a territory. To achieve this objective, territorial development requires systemic solutions that address different areas of society life as are the political-institutional, economic-productive, environment and culture-social.

Concerning to political and institutional dimension, territorial development must incorporate institutional, organizational and managerial processes. Institutionally, it should be given process of promoting local products through enterprises development that receive public support. Organizationally, the local government structures must be transformed to assume the historical responsibility of managing the territory. Function that could be perform strategically by means of prospective, the public participation and use of endogenous substantive elements.

The economic-productive dimension of the territorial development should be achieved through changes and transformations in the productive environment that will allow a good insertion to markets. These changes should result in a productive specialization, generating innovative environments and development systemic competitiveness. Economic achievements that must be accompanied by improvement of the social and environmental aspects.

In social terms, territorial development should be directed to build an environment in which human development is achieved. This means to articulate a process in which the actors of a given territory exploit their full potential and satisfies their needs and interests. This social construction must not be in conflict with the environment, because there must be a balance where the natural and local cultural heritage is valued.

The territorial development in the case of Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico is an island located in the Caribbean Sea, between the geographical coordinates: latitudes 17° 50' and 18° 30' North and longitudes 65° 13' and 67° 58 'west. It is located at the junction of the Greater and Lesser Antilles, which positions to the center of this region (Gould, et al., 2008, p. 8). Superficially, it has a land area of about 9,104 square kilometers. Its territory is composed of a main island, two smaller islands, Vieques and Culebra, and several islets and cays as Mona, Monito, Desecheo and Caja de Muertos. It bounded on the north by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by the Caribbean Sea, the east with the Virgin Islands Passage and on the west by the Mona Passage.

This island for its geostrategic importance since its discovery in 1493 has been in a position of subordination of economic powers. Initially this subordination was under Spanish empire, but since 1898 is part of the territories dominated by the United States of America. This domain condition has made Puerto Rico a place of implementation of various development models through its history in order to be exported to other parts of Latin America. Among development strategies that have been implemented in Puerto Rico from the second half of twenty centuries are found the policies of structuralism, the model of modernization and various strategies of neoliberalism.

During the last government administration established by the United States in Puerto Rico, between 1941-1946, the industrialization process used criteria similar to those proposed by the structuralist strategies. The last US governor in the island, Rexford G. Tugwell, implemented strategies consonant with what is known as a model of industrialization through import substitution and public interventions to sponsor for the creation of diversified national industrial sectors. In this task the government creates institutions that were projected as physical manifestation of the aspirations of Puerto Ricans to development.

The process of industrialization of Puerto Rico began in 1942 with the creation of the Industrial Development Company. This agency was created with the initial goal of establishing factories with financial support from the government. The factories were created to produce goods for local consumption with raw materials produced in the country (Silvestrini & Luque de Sánchez, 1987, p. 507). Among the factories that were established by the Development Company were cement, paper, shoes, glass, and ceramic products. This first industrialization strategy failed in the great task of reducing unemployment and poverty, because the effects caused by the Second World War that overshadowed any achievement in this regard.

Before the assumption that first model of industrialization was a failure, subsequent governments were obliged to adopt the prevailing trend of the theories of modernization. The government changed its development strategy by the adoption of an economic policy that persecuted to convince American capitalists about the advantages of invest in Puerto Rico. These advantages consisted on cheap labor, competitive operating expenses, granting tariff protection to goods produced on the island and enter to United States market, low production costs for new businesses (including water and cheap electricity), generous tax incentives and implementation of government programs to train workers for these US companies to increase their yield (Muriente, et al., 1994, p. 214).

In that sense Puerto Rico became an industrial enclave of the United States where local production was geared towards generating products and services that need this country. This economic strategy had its achievements as increased life expectancy, improved health conditions of citizens, raised the level of education and developing a significant middle class. However, modernization strategies, which remain the country's economic policy, have ceased to succeed when the world has globalized and economic policies have led to neoliberalism. The opening of markets between countries and the development of free trade agreements have undermined competitiveness of Puerto Rico. There are countries with access to the US market that offer better benefits to companies that were located on the island.

Given this reality, the economic and social model of Puerto Rico has entered a process of economic contraction that has reduced labor supply and government revenue. It is for this reason, since the nineties, the government has been implementing neoliberal measures that are looking to reduce functions. The state government has decentralized functions to municipal authorities and has hired private companies to provide government services. Among the services most affected by neoliberal policies are health. It went from a universal health care system to one in which private insurers, contracted by the government, provide services to the medical indigents.

Thanks to this neoliberal development model has been shrinking governmental structure, but at the expense of creating a private sector that dependent on government funds. A private sector that sometimes does not improve the services offered by the government and does not reduce the fiscal costs to dispensed these. In this dilemma, Puerto Rico requires restructure its development model to fit the new global reality, hence worthwhile examining the contributions that could be obtained of the concept of territorial development.

At the political level the governmental structure of Puerto Rico complies with the precepts that territorial development concept seeks to achieve institutionally. On the one hand, they have delegated functions to local level and on the other, have instituted processes to ensure citizen participation. It is only necessary that the spacial plans preparation incorporate the prospective approaches and the processes of strategic planning.

In the economic sphere, Puerto Rico require of a productive specialization that is not tied to productive changes in their administrative authority. It necessary that the island economy specializes in the creation of products and services that truly exploit the capabilities of manpower and physical resources available. But above all, it is urgent to incorporate a development strategy that generate an innovative environment. This change of perspective should be accompanied by a redefinition of competitiveness as a business opportunity that values the good structuration of the different territorial system level.

In the social sphere, Puerto Rico required measuring human development indicators. The data for this indicator are produced by the UN for many independent countries, but not for dependent territories. The measurement of these indicators would allow Puerto Rico compare its performance relative to other countries in the world as well as with other units of the same territory. Finally, in the environmental sphere the case of study shows contradictions palpable because, although has strict environmental regulations, in the practice its urban model goes against sustainability strategies. Puerto Rico has implemented a model of suburban development that consumes the limited resources of the island and promotes the car as the unique means of transport.

Conclusion

The virtual world has been expanding across countries and social groups thus forming a new territoriality that required different conceptions of development. Today is inescapable that the progress and development of countries is strongly tied to the connection with the communication networks. The lack of access to these media are causes to exclusion and backwardness of certain social sectors. Therefore, it is necessary to check the visions of development in the countries.

A new view of development can be found in the alternative theories, especially from the perspective of territorial development. This concept is relatively young and seeks to synthesize various theoretical currents as human development, local development, systemic competitiveness and sustainability. Currents of thought that developed in isolation and required unified in one concept. Therefore, in this article we have developed a definition of territorial development based in the contributions of different theorists.

The definition of territorial development, however, requires changes that can adapt to different territorial realities. In that sense, the case of Puerto Rico becomes relevant because it shows the inability of certain development strategies to adapt to territories of small surface area, in isolation and under the control of another territory. In this case, any development strategy must be tied to a redefinition of the geopolitical relations and implementation of solutions that not originating in continental realities.

On the other hand, the Puerto Rico limited extension and its location in the path of hurricanes do necessary to consider other concepts such as smart growing and resilience. It is important modify the patterns of suburban settlements to reduce the consume of scarce soil that owns the island. Furthermore, although it is necessary to continue implementing sustainability policies, the reality is that everybody have to face with the effects caused by climate change and natural phenomena. All these concepts could enhance territorial development definition.

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CHALLENGES OF THE NYC URBAN GOVERNANCE

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Abstract

New York is the city that once was called by Rem Koolhaas- the urban laboratory with a distinctive ability of implementing innovative solutions to meet its development challenges.

That was years before the explosion of the Asian megacities, when New York had to face the problems of the rapid growth of its population together with the uncontrolled urbanization.

Continuing of having an ambition to be the world's most dynamic urban economy New York is also set to be the city of choice where families, businesses, and neighborhoods thrive. From the New York City's priorities of being the world's capital of capitalism and the global city – nowadays there are visible changes in planning for the city growth. The main focus of the urban policies is ensuring quality of life for generations of New Yorkers to come and one of the goals of the New York City's strategic plan for the future is to be a strong and just city. At the same time, its diverse neighborhoods with their own distinctive character, history, and culture are listed among the city's greatest assets.

Is it an innovative solution for city's strategic plan? – probably not and the more adequate term would be return to the origins of democracy – but in terms of New York's development history - it is a slightly different case.

Introduction

The rapid urbanization concentrates population and economic growth in the cities. That process creates more and better opportunities for professional and personal development. At the same time cities have to face many challenges like overcrowding, poverty, air pollution, financial stability. The functioning of all of the above influence not only an economic situation of the cities and their inhabitants but also affect the quality of their life conditions.

Jerzy Regulski notes that experience shows that in urban systems there are no efficient self-regulatory relations that could eliminate internal tensions and restore the optimum balance of the city system components. Conversely, the existence of a center of power and coordination which would prevent the city crises is a necessary component of the proper functioning and

development of the city. That, in Regulski's opinion, requires the need for the compromises and solutions that would satisfy all concerned stakeholders, but to make such dialogue possible, objectives and rules for the implementation of urban policy must be clearly defined by the authorities both for the entire city as well as for each of the actors individually (Regulski, 1984, pp.120).

That gives a conclusion that cities need good governance – city management that would be able to provide a system of regulations that would give a direction for the future development. Good city governance is a crucial factor of the proper development of the cities with the respect of the environment and the equal rights of all their inhabitants. This is especially important in the bigger cities where the level of the accumulation of the problems is much higher than in small towns. The 'proper' development of the contemporary cities has been identified for the recent years with sustainable development. The concept of sustainable development includes both care about the environment (solutions promoting energy conservation, development of the environment friendly technologies, the preservation of green areas), and the application of economic measures to promote integration, the reduction of social stratification and preventing social exclusion.

Urban governance

Urban governance is a common subject of discussions in the works of the professional of many fields among which there are urbanism, politics, economics. The emergence of large, global cities and extensive metropolitan regions with their complex and multi-layer structure resulted in the need for comprehensive urban policy that would be efficient in a new context of city governance. That proper urban governance becomes often a main problem confronting cities independently from their geographic location.

Governance signifies "a change in the meaning of government referring to a new process of governing or a changed position of ordered rule, or the new method by which society is govern" (Rhodes, 1996, p. 652-3). Gerry Stokes notes that even "the traditional use of *governance* and its dictionary entry define it as a synonym of government" but "there is a redirection in its use". He also points that "governance is ultimately concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective actions. The outputs of governance are not therefore different from those of government. It is rather a matter of a difference in processes" (Stoker, 1988, p.17). Jon Pierre notices that in many countries the urban politics, from 1990s was gradually transformed into the urban governance. In his opinion "governance, unlike government, looks at the interplay between state and society and the extent to which collective projects can be achieved through a joint public and private mobilization of resources" (Pierre, 2011, p.5). David Harvey writes that urban governance means much more than urban government. "It is unfortunate that much of the literature (particularly in Britain) concentrates so much on the latter when the real power to reorganize urban life so often lies elsewhere or at least within a broader coalition of forces within which urban government and administration have only a facilitative and coordinating role to play" (Harvey, 1989 pp.6).

Tadeusz Markowski defines governance as "an action consisting in the impact on the people in order to induce them to perform set tasks, and such using of the organization's resources to

achieve the established goals” (Markowski 1999, p.15). Urban policy considered as the urban governance is a very complex issue, including among others: economic policy, transport, environmental, social or spatial development policy. It also involves the system solutions to ensure the proper development and functioning of the entire city. Different participants, who have to work together on areas of accumulation of conflicting interest groups, should be involved in the process of the implementation of these solutions.

Cities can be economic engines in their regions but while one group of the cities grow, the other decline. Besides all, one of the key factor which affect their success or failure is their governance.

The real challenge for governments is to adjust the policy to the changing determinants. They need to provide a proper governance framework at the right level. The right level means long perspective of planning that would be based on local assets and resources and provide benefits for all types of the social groups. Sometimes the local governments make the attempt to boost economies through the effort of possessing new investors compromising spatial, environmental and social issues. Willem van Winden and Luís de Carvalho note that according to the European Commission`s 2011 report ‘Cities of tomorrow’: “In this dynamic environment, a key challenge for cities is to achieve economic growth that benefits all citizens and does not compromise the environment” (van Winden, de Carvalho, 2015, p.9).

Climate change, soaring (and sometimes declining) population, territorial competitiveness and economic changes are among the main challenges of the development of modern cities. The policy of sustainable development has become the basis of strategic development plans of most cities - regardless of their size and geographical location. New York is also included in the group of the cities which development is based on the sustainability. Challenges of the future development described in the New York urban policy include not only as mentioned above economic growth, better living conditions for New Yorkers but also a significant improvement of environmental issues.

New York

New York is a prototype of metropolis which Rem Koolhaas called also the urban laboratory with a distinctive ability of implementing innovative solutions to meet its development challenges. From the times of New Amsterdam, New York is a fast developing city where the changing growth determinants have become real challenges to the local government.

In 2002, the City Planning Commission presented a report with a projected population growth of the city of one million inhabitants by the year 2030. This fact became essential for planning the city’s development strategy based on the principles of sustainable development, so as to ensure better living conditions for the 9.1 million New Yorkers. The development program includes the dynamic and adaptive strategies to address the current challenges as well as these that the city will face in the future. The current challenges were defined in the following general areas: climate change as substantial risks to city’s communities and infrastructure (sea level, temperature etc.), population growth (infrastructure), competitiveness, affordability and access. According to above issues the Mayor’s Office of Sustainability introduced the necessity to conduct work in the following areas: housing and neighborhoods, parks and public space,

transportation, energy and buildings, waste and recycling, clean air, water, and land, access and opportunity. In 2007, New York released PlaNYC 2030, a comprehensive long-term plan to create “a greener, greater New York”. Beside of aspects of the urban development, the city’s pathways towards a sustainable development included also issues which are crucial in the process of improving the quality of life of New Yorkers. To reach sustainability development goals, the city’s initiatives have targeted the energy efficiency of the new and existing buildings to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, the certification of urban development projects, increasing green areas within the city, improvement of the city streetscape, zoning for growth and neighborhood character and many others. One of the basic premises of New York City’s long-term sustainability plan, PlaNYC 2030 follows this logic by assuming that continued growth in the city, with the appropriate infrastructure development, can be sustainable and beneficial to the environment, and produce public health benefits.

Housing and neighborhoods

Growing population requires solving the problem of availability of housing units especially for low and middle income families. The effort to preserve and create affordable housing units for current and future New Yorkers is the real challenge for the city administration. The most important policies and programs that are implemented by the city agencies concern work with communities to identify areas that can support new affordable development or provide opportunities for preservation for existing units in all five boroughs. In order to ensure diverse and inclusive communities, the city programs include requirements of mandatory inclusionary zoning in transitioning neighborhoods and increasing the portions of the new housing developed to be permanently affordable to low- or moderate-income households in developing areas.

Many aspects of the housing need to be supported by city programs conducted in the long term planning. Sustainable urban development is based on a system of spatial planning and urban design and architecture, which determine the shape and the principle of transformation of urban space. The attempt to follow the principles of sustainable development requires strategic and coordinated action considering the dynamics of development. Under these condition the key element is an indication of the priority areas of the most valuable and protected urban structures (where unplanned development investments could result in a loss values and resources). The most important strategic decisions about the most of contemporary cities are connected to provide or keep the existing spatial balance of built and unbuilt areas of different functional program what relates to the idea of the model of polycentric cities, compact cities and smart growth. Other challenges are availability and affordability of housing for inhabitants at all income levels and also the social integrity of city’s neighborhoods.

Housing projects are awarded as investments whose impact is to improve the standard of living, especially those of lower economic means to provide affordable housing (Inclusionary Housing Program), designing public spaces on private land, improving the image of local streets by putting greens, rewarding commercial buildings providing fresh food for the locals to designated areas poorly invested. Inclusionary housing program is a planning tool to level social differences between different areas of New York, and the second providing more housing at a price accessible to the average city dweller. This program promotes, with the bonuses of investment

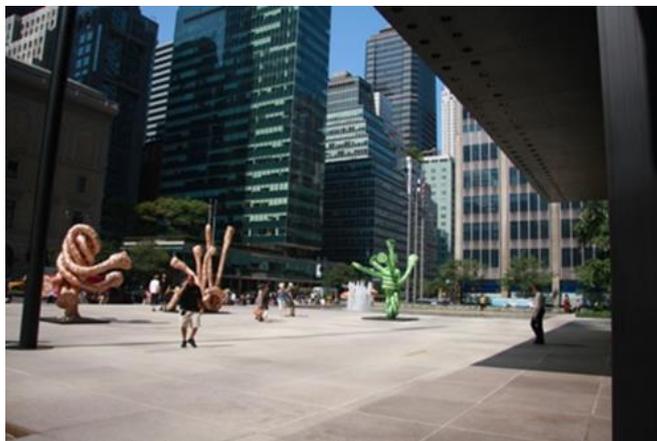
(based on the principles of zoning resolution) new residential units for people with lower incomes. The bonus increases the maximum rate of usable space in the building.

Another important element of New York's housing policy is a aim to build strong and diverse neighborhoods. Its unique history and culture are essential and beneficial component to the development of New York City because they allow to build social integrity of communities based not only on common goals but also on their tradition and heritage. Sustainability of New York is simply related to the city's housing and neighborhoods in the following aspects: energy-efficient buildings, neighborhood walkability and availability of green and open spaces, access to the public transportation and healthy food. The plan favors the concentration of new development around existing transit nodes accompanied by improvements to public transportation and open space, better air and water quality, and reduction of the city's contribution to global warming.

Parks and public space

In accordance with the principles of sustainable development, improving the quality of life of the inhabitants of this metropolis the city's goal is to increase the access to growing green and public space. The City committed to provide more greenery to the city's landscape by ensuring that all New Yorkers live within a 10-minute walk of a park, opening waterfronts to recreation by 2030 and providing more greenery in the streetscape (program MillionTreesNYC). This also included opening underutilized spaces as playgrounds, creating new and upgrading existing parks, and also incorporating sustainability throughout the design and maintenance of all public space.

Figure 1. Bonus Plaza. Seagram Building, Park Avenue.



Source: author

The most interesting city initiatives include projects of private public spaces that are created and maintained by private owners. The idea stems from the provision of bonus plaza (see Figure 1), when it introduced the idea of an open, public spaces around the buildings on densely built-up areas. The regulations on private public spaces provided guidelines for their implementation, size, location, guidance on seating, greenery and parameters of buildings such as kiosks or small cafes. The set of specific objectives aims to create attractive, open and inviting spaces for

city inhabitants and visitors that are especially important in a dense urban areas. These spaces have to provide seating areas and greenery to be easily visible and accessible from the street to encourage passers-by to take advantage of them. To meet this requirement the most spaces are located at the street level that also allow a sense of security thanks to the direct relationship with the surroundings.

Another important feature of New York's public green spaces is waterfront. According to the definition of coastal areas is the area located in the immediate vicinity of the shoreline, and its scope determines the parallel line away from the shoreline about 800 feet (about 244 meters) inland, while the water-side boundary is the line of the breakwater. Due to the huge impact of these areas on the image of the entire city, they are bodied by specific legislation. Regulations are formulated in the framework of special districts or individually set for each location, both in Manhattan and in other neighborhoods. Waterfront zoning is not only to control the process of building the city, forming its skyline (especially important in the case of Manhattan), but also the social benefits of these areas due to their unlimited accessibility for residents of New York City. Assumptions of the basic rules, introduced in 1993, and reformed in 2009, was to provide the largest public green space along the shoreline, which thanks to its special advantages, landscape, bring valuable new value to the urban landscape.

Figure 2. Waterfont public walkways.



Source: author

Waterfront zoning regulations not only regulates the forms, functions, parameters of the new buildings but also the required quantity and quality of land allocated for public purposes. Spaces designated for public purposes are compulsory throughout the city. Exceptions are port, industrial and aviation zones but also residential areas with a low density area (outside Manhattan). Private investors alongside the creation of public spaces in the coastal areas (as in the case of all private public space) are also obliged to maintain them later in an unchanged form. Legal rules require the creation of public open spaces along the shoreline (see Figure 2) and planning transport connections (pedestrian and bicycle) these areas to other parts of the city. Zoning provides standards for the design of public spaces located along the waterfront, and they are: minimum size, shape and proportions, greens, and landscape architecture and equipment. Boundary areas designed for public access have to include: walking areas (shore public walkways), transport connections, with particular emphasis on pedestrian traffic (upland

connection), and scenic corridors between the coast and the hinterland (visual corridors). Walking areas available for public use must be located on the waterfront as a series of walking (often combined with bicycle paths) and equipped with seating.

Transportation

Since transport is one of the largest producers of the city pollution, the subject of sustainable transport is often brought to action to reduce emissions to the atmosphere. But the development of the foundations of the principles and mechanisms of sustainable mobility, relied on the opposition to the destruction of the urban heritage. This attitude was much stronger in Europe than in the USA especially when the development of car oriented cities required transformations of the city landscape. The most significant transport related transformations in New York started in the late 1920 and were experienced due to Robert Moses projects towards the creation of new city transportation system. Many of them were constructed including the TriBorough Bridge and Brooklyn Queens Expressway. But when another project of the Brooklyn Battery Bridge was planned to physically encroach and destroy the large part of the part of Lower Manhattan with financial district and Battery Park, it met very strong opposition from New Yorkers supported of the Regional Plan Association. The main goal of these protests was a protection of the existing urban development of that are. One of opponents during that time was the urban activist Jane Jacobs. In her works she focused on the vitality of the city and its inhabitants who create on the conditions of cities proper functioning. Jane Jacobs also pointed the aspects that currently are considered as essential elements of the sustainable city – good and healthy conditions for people living in the diverse neighborhoods. Over the years the core transportation problems have been transformed from the spatial issues into the environmental ones.

Transport is a key element in the functioning of the city but it also can become the barrier and a source of development problems of the city. Besides ecological issues, transport efficiency not only directly depends on the quality of spatial planning, but also determines the form of the urban space. In New York the tools that are used to stimulate sustainable mobility are cycling, public and car transport. The main premise of the City's sustainable transport system is to expand the public transport system in order to reduce the pollution caused by road transport and the intensity of traffic on city streets. Initiatives to improve the city transit are focused in the following areas: increasing use of subway and rail transit, expanding and improving bus rapid transit, providing better conditions for electric vehicles, promoting biking and walking.

Subway and commuter rail serves as a very efficient system of transportation of passengers and goods which also helps to reduce road congestion and air pollution. New York City conducts expansion projects with the goal of creating complex and diverse system of connections in order to best serve for a growing city. Improving bus rapid transit is an important goal especially in some neighborhoods, where buses are the only transit options for residents. The City launched the program Drive Electric that aims to make using electric cars easier. In addition, the City of New York is testing electric taxis and requires that new off-street parking is built "charger ready" what will increase availability of them. Biking and walking improve and increase sustainable transportation system while reducing city congestion. A well-designed system allows move freely within the territory of the city but as public bike system also allows

the rotation of users and reduction of the occupied space. WalkNYC is standard for pedestrian wayfinding that provides a clear visual system of graphic signs that can encourage walking in the city by providing consistent and helpful information about the environments in the city. The New York City Department of Transportation conducts various programs to increase safety in the City's streets and public spaces, improve their quality and provide more activities around them. Some of the initiatives are NYC Plaza Program, Street Seats, DOT Art, Weekend Walks, Neighborhood Slow Zones and Safe Streets for Seniors.

Cycling infrastructure in New York offers ways to get around the city, connect to transit, and get to work. New York City's public transportation system of bike sharing, Citi Bike was launched in May 2013. The City administration encourages cycling by expanding the bike network, installing outdoor bike parking and managing the Bikes in Buildings program. In order to increase safety in the streets the DOT provides safety tips and resources for private and commercial cyclists including free helmets for the first ones.

Energy and buildings

Buildings are the biggest energy consumers responsible for the majority of greenhouse gas emissions in New York. Energy efficiency is the most important goal of the city agencies but that means not only work to reduce energy consumption but to make the energy systems cleaner, dependable and more affordable.

For the construction industry, the promotion of sustainable development refers to processes, climb buildings and manage the entire life cycle. Sustainable architecture, embracing a broader spatial context, should direct the development of construction, based on the ideals of sustainability, utility and beauty. The tasks of sustainable architecture and construction should renew and creating objects available, safe, healthy, comfortable and productive, with the environmentally-friendly concept at all stages of design.

The Greener, Greater Buildings Plan is an extensive municipal policy, passed in 2009, that focus on the energy efficiency in large existing buildings. To achieve this goal there are four provisions which ensure pursuing the most cost-effective energy efficiency:

- Local Law 84 – Requires large buildings (greater than 50,000 square feet) to perform energy and water use benchmarking annually
- Local Law 85 – Created the NYC Energy Conservation Code (NYCECC) to close a loophole in the energy code to require all buildings to meet the current energy code for any major renovation or alteration project
- Local Law 87 – Requires large buildings (greater than 50,000 square feet) to conduct energy audits & retro-commissioning once every 10 years
- Local Law 88 – Requires lighting in large, non-residential buildings to be upgraded to meet code and large commercial tenants be provided with sub-meters by 2025.

Certification is a kind of eco-labeling. Its aim is to concluded to provide information about the size the impact of building on the environment: the degree of energy consumption, resource consumption, emissions, the type and amount of waste generation, integration with the environment. Certificates awarded objects, that meet certain criteria. Typically, at the design stage determines a standard that the building has to meet and it selects appropriate solutions

utility and technology. Starting with the transformation of the public buildings, the city administration provides the examples of possibility of greenhouse gas emissions. Among the leading initiatives are LEED Law (Local Law 86) which requires most new City government building projects and renovations to achieve Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design certification and Municipal GHG Emissions Reduction requiring that the GHG emissions from City operations be reduced by 30 percent in just 10 years to meet PlaNYC goals. In addition, the City has implemented a number of programs and initiatives to green City buildings, such as Environmentally Preferable Purchasing, Sustainable Civic Buildings, Sustainable Housing and Sustainable Schools. Additionally, Mayor Bill de Blasio launched the city program The New York City Carbon Challenge of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 80 percent below the 2005 levels by 2050. The program set up the plan of energy efficiency improvement in the city buildings. The program is conducted in a partnership with private organizations and institutions like universities, residential management firms, hospitals, global companies.

Waste and recycling

Waste management is an important issue in the city in the aspects of environment and financial problem. New York City works on efficient and effective solutions of the waste management through the areas regarding waste reduction, recycling and composting and organic waste diversion. In order to increase the scale of the waste reduction city (Department of Sanitation) started a program of voluntary residential organics recycling and a program The Food Waste Challenge encouraging city restaurants to increase organic waste diversion. Part of the diverted material was donated to City food banks. In 2013, the City Council passed Local Law 146 which classifies commercial establishments covered under the law and mandates those establishments to divert food waste.

In addition the city expanded the recycling program to include all rigid plastics and provided safe and convenient opportunities for electronics, automotive, flammable recycling. New York City launched an education program dedicated to engage New Yorkers to turn into more sustainable lifestyles through the energy use reduction and less waste production. The City's goal is called zero waste sending to landfills by 2030 and 80% reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by 2050 [GreeNYC].

GreeNYC is New York City's public education program dedicated to educating, engaging, and mobilizing New Yorkers to take simple, but meaningful, steps to reduce their energy use, generate less waste, and live more sustainable lifestyles. These steps are critical to achieving the city's goal of sending zero waste to landfills by 2030, reducing NYC's greenhouse gas emissions by 80 percent by 2050 and improving the quality of the city's environment.

Access and opportunity

Access and opportunity for all New Yorkers means more public transit options, providing more housing choices and employment opportunities at all income levels and for all communities. It means development of mixed use neighborhoods that offer commercial and community services within walking distances.

Health and well-being programs are supported by city to improve the distribution and disposal of healthy, sustainable food within New York City and promotion of healthy lifestyle. That includes the City's action Take Care New York to improve the quality of air, water, and the inhabitants life within healthier environment and buildings. In a consequence it will not only benefit the environment but it will provide positive public health and economic impacts.

Communities are working together to decide what they can do to make their neighborhoods more sustainable and this is an ongoing dialogue that people get involved in, locally and through our programs in the areas regarding healthy food access, health and well-being, workforce development, support for small businesses and neighborhood development. Health challenges of growing population require creative and modern shifts in how the city operates.

Workforce Development New York City is focused on providing new jobs and training opportunities that can be found working in areas of sustainability and resiliency. This includes work in rebuilding and resiliency projects which were taken after Hurricane Sandy when city started to invest in new infrastructure. It creates possibility of the collaboration with local companies and local residents for particular projects. There are also some business recovery and resiliency programs intended to support impacted businesses by hurricane. They focus mainly on financial support, development of effective technologies to protected the impacted areas and encouragement development projects.

New York is like twenty different cities since its neighborhoods are extremely diverse in terms of spatial, social and economic, that is why they need to protect the unique character in a parallel collaboration according to the city's common goals like improving of public transit, increasing the number of affordable housing units and straightening the employment situation.

Instruments and monitoring

Implementation of all of above the New York City's sustainable policies requires financial and incentive tools for the City's building industry that are available at the national, state and local level. Besides federal funding for green building and energy efficiency related projects, State Incentives for energy efficiency for a variety of programs, New York City has developed financial incentives to supplement state incentives where gaps have been identified, or where certain strategies have been targeted to reduce barriers for adoption. Examples include tax abatement programs for green roofs and solar panels.

The other important element of the process of implementing the New York growth policies is a system of monitoring the achieved progress by the analysis of the obtained results.

Conclusion

Globalization, growing diversity, migration, multicultural society, climate changes and environmental problems are among the most important challenges of the contemporary cities. Some of them like globalization can create both positive and negative impact on the development because it can give an economic shift to the city but also it can negatively affected the local tradition and values.

The nature of the problems of the particular example of the city depends on many factors and local conditions that is why there isn't one good model of urban governance. Cities, on account

of their complicated and dynamic nature, will never constitute an ideal system of regulations. The most important factor of the good urban governance is its flexibility and ability to adjust to the new challenges that may appear due to the changing conditions. Also, the defined urban policy with its principles, instruments of implementing will not eliminate all mistakes or negative effects on the urban structure.

The efficient system of urban governance requires the involvement of all city stakeholders both in taking responsibilities through common decisions and providing sources of financing. Participations of private sector and city inhabitants guarantees not only the understanding the process of development but also common work on its continuity. Equally important is the process of monitoring the effects of the urban governance in all of the aspects.

The one of the most important step in constructing the model of future development is defining the problems and establishing the goals. But sometimes the conditions and challenges can change or develop and the system of governance need to respond to the new reality.

New York is an unique city but each of the other cities also is. As it was mentioned before there aren't two identical cities so there is not one ideal and universal system of urban governance that could be applied in cities. New York with its own challenges provides its way of solving the development problems and implementing policies that are supposed to create good city environment in the future. The main focus is put on the environmental and social issues because there are provide the good and perspective base for the economic growth. The most important conclusion is that consistently pursued urban governance with clearly defined objectives can guarantee the optimum development of the city in economic, spatial and social aspects.

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REAL INVESTMENT IN THE VIRTUAL SPATIAL PLANNING PROCESS – QUALITY OF URBAN SPACE IN CONTEMPORARY LEGAL REGULATIONS IN POLAND

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Abstract

City spatial planning is a complicated process with several targets such as the quality of space and proper urban development. Important aspect of this process is the scope of planning tasks required to be done. Another one is the transposition of prepared, virtual plans into the process of real building investments' creation. The article approaches the problem of chosen existing and newly proposed, legal instruments of spatial planning in Poland, formulating the general thesis, that current polish legislation does not focus on its actual outcome - the quality of investments and its surroundings. Seeking potentially most convenient, legislative solutions, two alternative ways of possible changes have been analyzed.

The first way, "the descriptive way", is a way to provide in local spatial development plans, much more detail inscriptions (than it is now) concerning obligatory features of potential investments. The first way also leads to a greater level of different restrictions inscribed in city's planning documents and gives less opportunities for architects.

The second way, "the evaluating way", is a way which assumes much smaller degree of planning restrictions in local plans and greater opportunities for architects, but it also allows proper public authorities (other than conservator's office) to evaluate and possibly reject particular design, not only on the objective, legal grounds but also on the subjective grounds of spatial harmony and visual appearance of the project.

The analysis of these two seek the most proper solutions for possible changes in Polish legislation system, considering them either as the alternative ways or as the combination of both at the same time. The research also leads to the underestimated role of urban - architectural competitions. The implementation of this instrument into Polish planning system, (as a legal instrument) can potentially have the highest impact on the quality of designed space and be widely approved by the society.

Introduction

The ability to create high quality urban spaces on the basis of legal regulations is one of key issues of each spatial planning system. In the Polish legislation of the 21st century, this issue becomes a considerable challenge. Contemporary building investments implemented in the space of cities reveal the weakness of the existing legal frames.

Under the Act on Spatial Planning and Development¹ each construction investment should be consistent with the regulations of the Local Spatial Development Plan², or if there is no such plan, with a location approval administrative decision³ called Conditions for Construction and Land Development, issued by the authority on the basis of an urban planning analysis of the neighbouring area. Observing numerous contemporary projects, it is however difficult not to get an impression that many of new investments are being designed to create the quality only for themselves. These way of designing, obvious and natural from the investors' point of view, rarely go hand in hand with the quality of space that appears as a result of such investments. The objectives of the presented studies are, therefore, the necessary directions of changes in the Polish law, which could improve the quality of contemporary urban space in Poland.

Legal frames of the Polish spatial planning system in the context of actual creation of urban spaces

The presented issue of the creation of 'urban spaces' in the context of legal regulations requires a reference to specific legal frames. The notion of 'urban spaces' does not appear in the Polish legislation at all. The Act on Spatial Planning and Development that is currently in force adopts a term of 'a public space area'⁴, which should be understood as 'an area of special significance for satisfying the needs of residents, improving the quality of their life and establishing social contacts due to its location and functional/spatial properties, defined in the study on development conditions and directions'⁵. According to art. 10 section 2 item 8 of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development, all public spaces must be covered and regulated by a local spatial development plan/plans which must correspond with all the inscriptions of the above mentioned study and must be passed by the commune.

The notion of a city / town, in compliance with a definition provided in the Act on Official Names of Towns and Physiographic Objects⁶, stands for 'a settlement unit, with the prevalence of compact development and non-agricultural functions, granted with municipal rights(...)'. Therefore, it should be assumed that the notion of the quality of urban spaces in the Polish

¹ Notice of the Speaker of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland dated 5 February 2015 on the announcement of a consolidated text of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development, Official Journal 2015, item 1999

² Local spatial development plans within the meaning of art. 4 section 1 of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development

³ Decision on the determination of Conditions for Construction and Land Development within the meaning of art. 4 section 2 of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development

⁴ Public spaces within the meaning of art. 2 item 2 of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development

⁵ Study on development conditions and directions in communes within the meaning of art. 9 section 1 of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development .

⁶ In accordance with art. 2 item 3 of the Act on Official Names of Towns and Physiographic Objects, Official Journal 2003, No. 166, item 1612 as amended.

legislation should be referred to the quality of public spaces located within the territory of settlement units granted with municipal rights.

It is also worth pointing out that the definition of public spaces quoted above concerning the special significance of these spaces incorrectly suggests that areas of all public roads together with their surroundings in general do not constitute a public space. This rule, indirectly resulting from the inscriptions of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development, as well as from the Act on Public Roads,⁷ is extremely important for the entire system of urban spaces' creation in Poland.

Instruments in force and their effect on the quality of urban spaces

Act on Spatial Planning and Development

The fundamental legal instrument speaking terms of the urban development process is the aforementioned Act on Spatial Planning and Development. The Act introduces a general principle⁸ according to which 'the determination of the intended use of an area, arrangement of a public-purpose investment and definition of the land development types and conditions is formulated in the local spatial development plan (...)'.
The local spatial development plan obligatorily determines elements such as: 'intended use of the land, lines that demarcate areas of different uses (...), principles of the spatial order and environmental protection, (...), requirements resulting from the needs to form public spaces, principles of designing buildings, (...) the maximum and minimum plot ratio, the minimum share of the biologically active area (...), the maximum height of buildings, (...) as well as build-up lines and sizes of the buildings'⁹.

Simultaneously, only depending on current needs, the local spatial development plan defines the way in which individual buildings are to be arranged towards streets, the colours of buildings and types of roofs, principles of street furniture and fences arrangement, as well as sizes and material standards that are to be applied¹⁰.

In practice, despite the relatively large number of requirements which may be specified in the local spatial development plan, its inscriptions often are quite general. Considerable freedom is reached due to the fact that only the maximum height of buildings must be defined in the plan. Practice also shows that authors of the plan often do not require specific building materials or colours. Thus, the degree of the investor's freedom in the designing process of new buildings, also those forming the quality of public spaces, is relatively high.

Discussing the existing legal regulations, it is worth paying attention to the provision of art. 16 of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development, according to which 'the local spatial development plan must be drawn up in the scale of 1:1000, using official copies of the master maps'. At the

⁷ In accordance with the definition of a public road within the meaning of art. 1 of the Notice of the Speaker of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland dated 27 February 2015 on the announcement of a consolidated text of the Act on Public Roads, Official Journal 2015, item 460.

⁸ In accordance with art. 4 sections 1 and 2 of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development

⁹ In accordance with art. 15 section 2 of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development

¹⁰ In accordance with art. 15 section 3 of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development

same time, in compliance with the relevant secondary legislation¹¹ it is only admissible (but not required) to use maps in the smaller scale of 1:500 for plans covering public space areas.

In current legislation the scope of prepared planning documents has been, therefore, limited to flat drawings done in a relatively large scale and written inscriptions.

The Act on Spatial Planning and Development imposes an obligation to pass a local spatial development plans for any public space areas shown in the communal study on development conditions and directions. The manner of defining these spaces in the legal act is however responsible for the fact that communal studies rarely point out the location of public spaces.¹² Therefore, communes do not have to develop local plans for them.

In case where no local spatial development plan has been established, 'the determination of development types and conditions' is being established in the decision on conditions for construction and land development.

This decision, issued by an administrative authority on the basis of an analysis of direct vicinity in compliance with the relevant secondary legislation¹³ specifies the admissible surface of the area to be developed, build-up lines, height of the building and its roof geometry, as well as the width and height of its front elevation. The requirements specified in this regulation do not address issues of the required materials or colours of the newly planned buildings. The urban analysis that precede issuing the decision, prepared by the authorised public office worker, evokes concerns as to the objectivity of these findings. The decision is being granted as a response to individual investor's application, yet legal frames which regulate the process of granting the decision marginalise the issue of surrounding space quality which will be created with the erection of new building.

It is also worth noticing that public space that accompanies buildings is most often the space of an adjacent public roads or squares. If these spaces are not being covered by any any local spatial development plan, if they are situated beyond areas of monument conservation protection, and they are located within the existing boundary of public roads, all changes in their area can be done in a simple administrative procedure called 'reporting of planned construction works', i.e. without a building permit, by the road administrator, according to the principles defined by administrator itself. In the reconstruction of the public space performed in this procedure, the only element that actually links the public space of the road with all surrounding private spaces it is the location of exits and entrances to private properties.

The location decision on the conditions for construction and land development that exists in the national legal system has, therefore, a very limited area of impact on the quality of the urban space. Considering the fact that the Act on Spatial Planning and Development does not impose an unconditional obligation to pass new plans for entire territories of communes, the actual care of high quality urban spaces in Poland seems to be questionable.

¹¹ In compliance with § 6 section 2 of the Regulation of the Minister of Infrastructure dated 26 August 2003 on the Required Scope of the Draft Local Spatial Development Plan, Official Journal 2003, No. 164 item 1587

¹² Buczek, Grzegorz. *Przestrzeń publiczna a jakość życia i zamieszkania*. On the basis of the chapter *Definicja ustawowa a praktyka planistyczna*, Warsaw, 10 May 2011, Internet publication <http://www.urbanistyka.info/content/przestrze%C5%84-publiczna-jako%C5%9B%C4%87-%C5%BCycia-i-zamieszkiwania>

¹³ In compliance with § 1-9 of the Regulation on the Method of Determining Requirements Concerning New Land Development and Construction in Case of Lack of the Local Spatial Development Plan, Official Journal 2003 No. 164 item 1588

'Landscape' Act¹⁴

The Act on Amending Some Acts in Connection with Strengthening of Landscape Protection Tools, referred to the Landscape Act, is a legal act whose initial goal was 'landscape protection by a comprehensive approach to issues so far dispersed'¹⁵.

From the point of view of this analysis, the act has introduced the notions of 'landscape', 'priority landscape', 'view corridor', 'exposition forefield' and 'vantage point', but these definitions have been placed within the Act on Nature Protection¹⁶, with their key role of strengthening the protection of landscape parks. Therefore, these provisions have not been translated into the method of urban space development.

An important issue are articles 37a-e added to the Act on Spatial Planning and Development, which enable communes to introduce principles of 'arranging street furniture, advertising boards and advertising devices, as well as fences, their sizes, quality-related standards and types of construction materials they can be made of'. Under the act, the principles passed by communal councils are provided with a rank of the local law. The resolution can determine 'conditions and time limits for adjustment of existing street furniture, fences and advertising boards (...)'. This way an aforementioned legal instrument allows to subordinate the structures located in communal and private plots and to adjust them to new requirements in the established time limit. It is worth pointing out, though, that the principles described in art. 37 a-e are facultative, and therefore the commune does not have to enforce them. Furthermore, implementation of these regulations by the commune, with no local spatial development plan, may not bring the intended effect. The richness and diversity of spaces is difficult to govern by general written inscriptions of a single resolution.

Act on Revitalisation¹⁷

Discussing existing legislation with an impact on the quality of urban space in Poland, one should have a closer look at the regulations of the Act on Revitalisation, passed in 2015. This Act – under art. 2 – refers to the process of 'dealing with the crisis in degraded areas in a comprehensive way, by integrated actions for the benefit of local communities, space and economy (...) on the basis of the communal revitalisation programme'. On the basis of the section 37f introduced in the Act on Spatial Planning and Development the communal council can pass a local revitalisation plan for a revitalisation area, which constitutes a special form of the spatial development plan.

The local revitalisation plan, besides elements which are always included in the local plan, additionally determines - depending on the needs - 'principles of spatial composition of new development and harmonising of the planned development with the existing development,

¹⁴Act dated 24 April 2015 on Change of Some Acts in Act in Connection with Strengthening of the Landscape Protection Tools, Official Journal 2015, item 774

¹⁵The government's standpoint submitted to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland to the President's bill on change of some acts in connection with strengthening of landscape protection tools, the Sejm form No. 1525, Warsaw, 3 March 2014, p. 1

¹⁶In compliance with art. 5 item 15 a-c of the Act dated 16 April 2004 on Nature Protection, Official Journal 2004, No. 92, item 880 as amended

¹⁷Act dated 9 October 2015 on Revitalisation, Official Journal 2015 item 1777

inscriptions concerning characteristic features of building elevations, detailed arrangements referring to the development of public space areas, including the arrangement and location of greenery, the concept of traffic organisation on public roads and sections of streets’.

The graphic part of the revitalisation plan is to be drawn up in the scale of 1:100 to 1:1000. Furthermore, during the preparation of the local revitalisation plan, ‘visualisations of the planned solutions must be presented and published, consisting of at least an urban planning concept, a 3D model of the area spatial structure, and a view of the street elevations.’

On the background of previously presented legal regulations, inscriptions of the Act on Revitalisation, introduce the most far-reaching, legal solutions to affect urban spaces. They include plans and sections of streets’ interiors drawn in urban and architectural scales, visualisations of concepts, and even alternative traffic organisation. Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that these regulations apply only to areas which are in a crisis situation, which fall under a facultative communal revitalisation programme.

Act on the Protection of Monuments and the Guardianship of Monuments¹⁸

Discussing the process of urban space development, one should also focus on exceptional regulations of the Act on the Protection of Monuments and the Guardianship of Monuments. Under art. 36 of this Act, a permit of the provincial monument Conservator is necessary for ‘conducting construction works in the vicinity of a monument’. Thus, shaping of the urban space in the vicinity of monuments is governed by this Act. Furthermore, according to other accompanying regulations¹⁹, in order to obtain a permit for construction works it is obligatory to submit in the conservator’s office of a design project of proposed changes. The scope of project should be sufficient to evaluate by Conservator’s office the effect of the planned construction works on the monument’.

In the context of the subject matter, the essence is the lack of defined legal rules according to which the regulatory office should assess the project documentation submitted for this purpose. The documentation can be consistent with the local spatial development plan or the decision on the conditions for land development, and yet it may not be given a permit of the Conservator. This arbitrariness is explained in a verdict of the Provincial Administrative Court of Warsaw dated 26th of March 2015. According to its justification, the notion of principles of the conservation protection ‘does not appear in legal regulations; nevertheless, these rules are a heritage of the doctrine of monument protection and conservation. They constitute a substantial basis for the evaluation of investment projects and their impact on a monument. (...) These evaluation in form of administrative decision (...) is issued in form of the administrative recognition.’²⁰.

¹⁸ Act dated 23 July 2003 on the Protection of Monuments and the Guardianship of Monuments, Official Journal 2003 No. 162 item 1568 as amended

¹⁹ In accordance with § 4 sections 1 and 2 of the Regulation of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage dated 14 October 2015 on Conducting Conservation Works, Restoration Works, Construction Works, Conservation Research, Architectural Research, and Other Activities at a Monument Entered to the Inventory of Monuments and Archaeological Research and the Search of Monuments, Official Journal 2015, item 1789

²⁰ Excerpt from the justification of a ruling of the Provincial Administrative Court in Warsaw dated 26 March 2015, file ref. VII SA/Wa 866/14, Internet publication: <http://www.orzeczenia-nsa.pl/wyrok/vii-sa-wa-866-14/zabytki/531fa8.html>

The essence of the legal acts discussed herein is their exceptionality on the background of the entire spatial planning system in Poland. This system, through legal requirements specified in a descriptive and graphic form, attempts to obtain the highest level of the expected spatial order possible, and the formal fulfilment of these requirements by a potential investor opens the path to the implementation of an investment. The assessment of a building aesthetics and of the quality of the space created around it can not become the foundation for a refusal to issue a building permit by an administrative authority. An exception here is a situation where the planned construction works are to be performed within a monument or in its vicinity. The investment project then falls under a subjective assessment - the administrative recognition of the Conservator's office. This subjective assessment conditions obtaining a building permit for the potential construction works.

Planned legislative changes and their potential

*Bill on the change of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development*²¹

The bill on change of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development and some other acts is a bill proposed by the Polish government in 2015.

On September 7th 2015 it was submitted to parliamentary proceedings. According to the bill's justification²², its key objective is to 'strengthen of the planned space management and the connection between the spatial policy of the commune (the study) with its actual needs (...)', 'to determine the principles of effective space management, including principles of a compact, low-emission city, friendly towards pedestrians and cyclists', and to 'improve the quality of local spatial development plans (...)'. The bill contains proposals of new legal regulations, such as e.g. increase of social participation in the process of preparation of new spatial development plans and numerous limitations in the process of issuing decisions on the conditions for land development. In the area of interest of this analysis, the bill does not introduce any essential changes that would aim to the improve of the quality of public spaces within cities' boundaries.

Construction Code

The second bill discussed herein is a bill concerning the Construction Code. For the purposes of its preparation, on the 26th of July 2012 the Council of Ministers appointed a Codification Committee of the Construction Code²³. Its goal was to develop a comprehensive legal regulation concerning entire investment and construction process. On the 27th of October 2015, the Codification Committee submitted a project of the bill concerning the second part of the Construction Code, entitled 'Urban Planning Book Chapters I-VI'²⁴.

²¹Bill dated 8 July 2015 on the change of the Act on Spatial Planning and Development and some other acts, prepared by the Government Legislation Centre and submitted to the Sejm, Internet publication <http://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm7.nsf/PrzebiegProc.xsp?nr=3896>

²²Justification of the bill as above, pp. 6-7, Internet publication: <https://legislacja.rcl.gov.pl/docs//2/12271105/12282759/dokument175238.pdf>

²³In accordance with § 7 of the Regulation of the Council of Ministers dated 10 July 2012 on the Creation, Organisation and Operation of the Codification Committee of Construction Code, Official Journal 2012, item 856

²⁴Draft Urban Planning Book of the Construction Code dated 27 October 2015, Chapters I-VI, Internet publication: <http://mib.gov.pl/media/11033/ksiegaurbanistyczna20151106.pdf>

The document in art. 5 § 2 introduced a rule according to which 'restrictions in the intended land use, conditions for its development due to the legally protected values can be defined in the local spatial development plan, and restrictions in land development – can be defined also in local urban planning regulations'. Thus, the bill proposes to liquidate of the decision on conditions for construction and land development that has functioned so far, and to replace it with the so-called urban planning regulations.

In art. 3 of the bill a new glossary of terms has been provided. A definition of 'a compact urban complex' was added, which stands for 'a group of not fewer than 10 buildings, with the exception of buildings with exclusively utility functions, between which the largest distance of each buildings located next to each other can not exceed 10 metres'. 'Social infrastructure' is another newly added term, meaning 'buildings where social or cultural services are provided, especially in the scope of safety, education, science, sports, social welfare, and healthcare, as well as public greenery areas'. Among other changes, the definition of 'public space' that has functioned so far has been removed. For unknown reasons, it has not been replaced with any new definition, although the obligation concerning the location of these spaces in the study on the development conditions and directions and in the local spatial development plan has remained. According to art. 27 of the bill, the amended study on the development conditions and directions should determine three fundamental types of areas, i.e. 'urbanised area', 'restricted development area', and only if necessary 'area of development'. The last type of area would be established only after a thorough analysis indicating the actual need. Each of the area would be then divided into specific functional use zones.

The urbanised area would include the single-family and multi-family residential function, services, warehousing, production, sports and recreation, ecologically active functions, and public-purpose investments. The restricted development area would include the following functions: agriculture, forestry, sports and recreation, a single-family residential function, including services and underground exploration. The area of development, on the other hand, would repeat the functions listed for the urbanised area. Establishing a spatial development plan would be obligatory only for areas of development. According to art. 33, preparation of a development plan would also be obligatory for areas of public spaces determined previously in the study on development conditions and directions. Urbanised areas, as well as restricted development areas, would not have such obligation.

Analyzing the scope of information to be included in new local spatial development plans drawn up under the Code, most requirements included presently in the Act on Spatial Planning and Development have been duplicated. An essential exception however is the provision of art. 34 § 3, according to which 'in the event referred to § 2 item 7, an integral part of the local spatial development plan would be an urban planning concept, which would define the following elements in a graphical and descriptive form:

- 1) principles of spatial composition of the new development, view corridors and compositional axes;
- 2) characteristic architectural features of the planned buildings, their sizes and heights, and – if necessary – architectural details characteristic for the region;
- 3) principles of harmonisation of the planned development with the existing one,
- 4) public greenery areas, pedestrian routes and passages;

- and it would contain visualisations presenting the proposed urban planning and architectural solutions.'

Therefore, the tools proposed to be applied in the process of drawing up local spatial development plans are similar to those discussed above in the Act on Revitalisation. This concerns the possibility of creating urban planning concepts as an integral part of the plan, the goal of which is to harmonise the new and existing development with the surroundings. Such a concept would take into account principles of urban planning composition and spatial relations between covered areas on one hand and public greenery areas and pedestrian routes on the other. The condition for the creation of such concepts with reference exclusively to § 2 item 7 of the Code, i.e. to the types of 'temporary development' defined in local spatial development plans is however completely unclear. Seems that this inscription is an obvious error of the author and it needs to be corrected immediately.

In areas deprived of the local spatial development plan, all investments would have to satisfy the requirements of the so-called local urban planning regulations, defined in art. 37 of the bill, as long as such regulations are passed by the commune. If there are no such regulations, the investment implementation would fall under the regulations of chapter IV of the Code.

In urbanised areas (and only within such areas), under art. 37 § 1 the commune could pass its own urban planning regulations, which would constitute an act of local law. They would define 'principles of new investments (...) in compliance with the existing function'. Within each functional area, under section 38 § 2 the regulations would determine the maximum plot ratio, the minimum ratio of biologically active surfaces, admissible number of storeys, the required number of parking spaces, and the minimum sizes of construction plots. Furthermore, under art. 38 § 3 communal regulations could facultatively define additional development features, such as location of a building on a plot of land, the maximum and minimum height of the upper edge of the front elevation, the size of the roof and the location of its ridge towards the adjacent road, colours of elevations and architectural details of buildings. Local urban planning regulations would include a graphic part in a scale similar to the one in the local spatial development plan. The bill places all issues connected with the location of street furniture, fences, and advertising boards under a separate resolution of council, following the model of the resolution established in the Landscape Act.

In urbanised areas and in restricted development areas, in case of no local spatial development plan and no communal urban planning regulations, investments could be made based on the requirements described in art. 84-109 of the Code, defining the so-called 'general spatial order'.

According to the proposed regulation, the determination of conditions for potential development and construction on the basis of the general spatial order could be possible after a prior determination of the existing function of the land property where the investment is planned (art. 84). In urbanised areas this determination would be 'based on the dominating type of use of adjacent properties, bordering on the territory of the planned investment, and in restricted development area – on the previously valid type of use for this very property' (art. 85). The Code determines in a descriptive way the principles of conducting the necessary analysis. It defines uniform rules of shaping individual types of development for the entire country, particularly in the scope of restricted development areas. It also establishes – in art. 88 § 1 – an

institution of a 'location promise', i.e. an administrative decision issued by the authority, confirming the compatibility of the planned investment with the general spatial order.

Therefore, it is difficult to deny that despite the liquidation of the decision on conditions for construction and land development, the bill partially leaves it in a slightly different form in the legal system. The general principle of the proposed Building Code defined in art. 5 § 2, according to which 'restrictions on the intended use of land (...) can be determined in the local spatial development plan, and restrictions on construction and land development - also in local urban planning regulations' is not being fully respected within the actual inscriptions of the bill.

Summarising the above issues, it should be concluded that the aforementioned error in art. 34 § 3 and incorrectly removed definition of a public space bring up doubts as to the actual concern of the urban spaces' quality in the project of this legal act. The proposed principles of the 'general spatial order' and of the 'location promise' do not guarantee the improvement of spaces' quality. The code regulations (as presented by the Codification Committee) do not define the time in which communes should update their study on the development conditions and directions. The rules of a transitory period were also not determined.

Potential directions of changes

As it is demonstrated in this analysis, the question of quality of urban spaces is still waiting to become a key issue in the Polish spatial planning system. Location of public spaces in the city should be determined in planning documents; nevertheless, even their previous, defective definition was somehow removed from the bill presented in 2015. In case of no spatial development plan, the institution of the decision on conditions for construction and land development currently in force, as well as the proposed legal alternatives, do not fully guarantee the quality of the created space. All the above leads to the informal principle according to which the private interest dominates the public one in the spatial planning process of Poland. In this context a question concerning necessary directions of law changes arises. Based on the currently valid and the planned legislation presented above, two potential directions of change can be distinguished.

First direction – 'descriptive'

The first direction of the national spatial planning system evolution, called 'descriptive' and based on the German planning system²⁵, stands for an attempt to provide within the plans more precise features of all newly constructed investments. This direction would develop the practice applied so far, enforcing the existing law and limiting freedom and ambiguity of numerous planning regulations concerning urban spaces.

The descriptive direction would entail the need to draw up analyses and urban planning concepts, defining much more precisely than today the parameters of the admissible development. It could also define in a graphical form the types of admissible architectural

²⁵ Izdebski Hubert, Nielicki Aleksander, Zachariasz Igor. *Zagospodarowanie Przestrzenne, Polskie prawo na tle standardów demokratycznego państwa prawa*, Efficient State Ernst & Young Programme, Warsaw 2007, Chapter I.1.1., German spatial development planning system, p. 14

details, street furniture, elements of fences, etc. The descriptive direction would potentially strengthen the role of the architect in the spatial planning process, and simultaneously it would limit the architect's freedom designing individual construction investment. Plans would have to be drawn up with participation of designers with considerable, professional experience.²⁶ The descriptive direction would also require more time to prepare good draft of a local spatial development plan. The time that communes already do not have.

Second direction – 'evaluative'

The second direction, more revolutionary one, was generally never adopted in the national spatial planning system. Its assumptions could be partially based on those functioning in the United Kingdom²⁷. This 'evaluative' direction, assumes significantly less restrictive limitations and significantly higher creative opportunities for the architect designing the concept plans of individual investment. This direction also assumes an opportunity to evaluate the solutions proposed in the concept design by properly appointed authorities. Their evaluation would be carried out in terms of the consistency with the law, as well as the quality of the proposed concepts. The quality of public space created by construction project would have to be evaluated with particular care. It would be, therefore, an evaluation with considerable dose of subjectivity, done by the administrative authority with relevant qualifications. A negative assessment by this authority would result in a refusal to issue a building permit due to its insufficient aesthetic and spatial values. This solution, however, would be unfamiliar in Polish law enforcement practice and difficult to implement, due to social distrust to any decisions basing on a subjective assessment done by the authority. It is not difficult to imagine accusations of partiality or even corruption in the decisions taken. Nevertheless, one must remember that 'administrative recognition' has functioned quite well for years in the national legal system concerning monuments' conservation protection. The concept of using the institution of administrative recognition to cover issues concerning public spaces and urban design should not be, completely abandoned, especially if a specific decision would be collective, and the individuals taking this responsibility could represent high professional standard.

Summary and final conclusions

Summarising the issues related to the quality of Polish urban spaces in contemporary legal conditions, it should be concluded that contemporary legislation, despite its 'descriptive' character, has not formulated an effective model of forming such spaces. The emanation of the problem is the lack of a legal definition providing a comprehensive description of a public space, both in the existing and the planned legal acts.

²⁶ In compliance with the Act dated 9 May 2014 on Facilitating Access to the Performance of Some Regulated Professions, Warsaw, 10 June 2014, Item 768, the Chamber of Polish Urban Planners was liquidated and the requirements conditioning access to this professions were lowered.

²⁷ Izdebski Hubert, Nielicki Aleksander, Zachariasz Igor. *Zagospodarowanie Przestrzenne, Polskie prawo na tle standardów demokratycznego państwa prawa*, Efficient State - Program Ernst & Young Programme, Warsaw 2007, Chapter I.1.2, English spatial development system, p. 16

The statutory necessity to indicate public spaces in the study of development conditions and directions and in local spatial development plans is difficult to enforce, considering the fact that according to the currently valid definition, hypothetically, such spaces may not even occur at all. Important problems that influence the quality of urban spaces concern also demoralisation of the society by the existing regulations, especially the decision on the conditions for construction and land development, the misunderstood freedom of construction and imprecise inscriptions of many development plans.

The newly proposed regulations which may replace the decision on the conditions for construction and land development, seem to be a direction of changes which will not sufficiently protect the quality of urban spaces. They focus on general parameters of building investments themselves, and thus they do not guarantee the proper protection of surrounding public spaces.

In this contest, the following final conclusions should be formulated:

- Space formation along public roads and squares, which is of key importance for the way it is perceived, calls for the improvement of the existing legal instruments. This space should be understood and defined as a form of an urban interior, made of public road area and parts of private properties that are adjacent to it, together with the existing and potential development, determining its final shape. This interior should be treated with special attention and protection by all urban planners.
- The national spatial planning system at the level of the commune requires additional instrument in the form of a ‘Masterplan’ of spatial development covering entire territory of the commune. This document could even replace the existing studies on the development conditions and directions. The masterplan, besides conditions referring to the required and possible intended land use, general development and necessary infrastructure, would also determine the principles of designing new buildings along roads and public squares. It could also indicate areas for which ‘detailed plans’ would have to be drawn up.
“Detailed Plans’, on the other hand, could have a similar scope to the local revitalisation plan discussed previously. Simultaneously, in a situation where there are no “Detailed Plans’, ‘masterplans’ could constitute an appropriate foundation for coordinated planning activities and for issuing by an administrative authority a form of a location promise or a decision on the conditions for construction and land development, necessary for obtaining building permit.
- In the context of public space quality, the role of architectural and urban planning competitions, much underestimated in Poland, calls for a considerable support. A wider application of this instrument is necessary, in terms of planning investments financed from the public budget. Competition entries could essentially develop the discussion and knowledge on the possibilities of spatial development in the commune. A legally binding decision of a professional jury would constitute a form of administrative recognition discussed above. This subjective decision, due to the collective judgement of a professional jury and the rank of the competition, would be difficult to question by the society. In case of planning solutions, competition results could establish the

grounds for future spatial development plans. Architectural and urban planning competitions, appropriately authorised by the Act on Spatial Planning and Development and the Act – Public Procurement Code²⁸ could, therefore become the most socially accepted instrument of planning and development of urban spaces, combining two potential directions of changes in the national legislation: the descriptive and the evaluative one.

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POTENTIAL OF CITY NETWORKS IN SHAPING THE WORLD'S ECUMENE

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Abstract

The contemporary global space is characterised by huge disproportions of social inequalities, drastic division between a core and peripheries, unequal access to education and general mobility, and many more. These phenomena lead to a feeling of dependence and marginalisation of specific social classes as well as ethnic, national and religious minorities. In the extreme situations that might evoke a feeling of humiliation. The scale of tensions results in unpredictable acts of aggression.

The need for taking actions in order to reduce these disproportions has emerged. It is necessary to aim at achieving the balance on a world scale. This means creating the world ecumene defined by Ulf Hannerz as a 'region of persistent culture interaction and exchange.' To a certain extent, the state of balance is an ideal state. Reaching it fully is very challenging, or perhaps even impossible. Nevertheless, we should aim at achieving the balanced state by implementing the further steps of its pursuit.

Activities related to a city network might become the mechanism which enables to create the ecumene. The efficiency of public engagement is based on: (1) an anti-ideology syndrome – focusing on basic problems of living, which are universal to all of us; (2) an overlap of two basic self-organisational activities: protest politics and social participation (based on deliberative democracy); (3) performance phenomenon – depends on generating the audience for the protest politics; (4) consistency and firmness of protests practices, which results in high efficiency.

In terms of architecture, aiming at the ecumene means shaping public spaces which are crucial to multiculturalism. The theory of *thirdspace* of Edward W. Soja (which is contradictory to the concept of Homi K. Bhabha) might be an inspiration for creating of the ecumene. The theory holds that public spaces are superpositions for two 'worlds' – real and symbolic. Spaces which are formed in this way enable to reveal in a performative way the potential of unexpected meetings of remote cultures.

Clash or meeting of civilisations in the perspective of the principle of 'long term' (*longue durée*) by Fernand Braudel

A fundamental dilemma of the contemporary political reality is the issue of settling to what extent the space of globalisation is a realistic space of flows and of an open society in the scale of the planet, and to what extent it is just an unfulfilled ideal, or even an intellectual construct, closer to fiction. The global space in the technical and economic sense, the space of instant cash flows in real time, has become a fact. The social space, on the other hand, is in fact a space of unequal opportunities and irregular selective mobility. Society in the planetary dimension is characterised by a dramatic lack of cohesion, discontinuousness and fractures along national, ethnic, religious, and material boundaries. The existence of such a dramatic entanglement of contrasts at the beginning of the 21st century could be explained by means of the principle of 'long term'.

The principle of 'long term' – *longue durée* by a French historian, Fernand Braudel from the Annales school, proposes to consider political and historical phenomena in long time perspectives, reaching centuries back. This principle is enriched with an assumption of examining history in the aspect of a multidimensional character of historical variability. The method of 'long term' provides for historical phenomena to be considered in three time perspectives: (1) the layer of events (e.g. recorded by contemporaries and annals), (2) history of social processes and changes of social structures, economic processes, economic booms, etc., (3) the deepest perspective – civilisation transformations (with religious transformations among them).

At the foot of contemporary dramatic contradictions there lies the social memory of colonialism, slave trade, maintaining humiliating dependence relations of enormous groups of people over a long period of time, which derives from the 'long-term' structure. Hannah Arendt in her book 'The Origins of Totalitarianism' posed a thesis that colonisers in Africa dared to cross moral frontiers impossible to be crossed in their homelands. The process she dubbed 'reopening of Africa's wounds' after several centuries, according to the author led to tragic events of the World War II with its climax – the holocaust.

On the other hand, the analysis of the 'long-term' principle offers positive conclusions, as well. Steven Pinker, in his monumental work 'Twilight of Violence, Better Angels of Our Nature' in a quite convincing way proves the title thesis. The scope of using violence over centuries gets visibly reduced, despite momentary fluctuations.

Postcolonialism and 'intellectual rule' over the so-called dependent communities

The present epoch is the time of a dramatic dissonance between political trends and concepts propagating various forms of cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, transnationalism, and in fact politics implemented in a planetary dimension. After a great process of decolonisation in the 1960s, there have come the times of vacuum in political activities. It is accompanied by axiological emptiness, the lack of great concepts in spite of proliferation of different ideas comprising specific parts of the political reality, which sometimes annul each other.

Inequalities in the development between developing countries and the rich ones, apart from the petrification of the division and frequently of degradation, are the cause of migration movements. Immigration processes evoke an entire range of social phenomena which on one hand refer to immigrants, and on the other to the country and society which receive immigration. Currently, a range of sciences, theories, and cognitive perspectives have come into being, whose subject matter are phenomena connected with inequalities between states and nations, phenomena of migration in the global scale, and multiculturalism. Within the scope of this range one could perform a very simplified division into three key orientations: the first one – postcolonialism; the second – comprising cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and transnationalism; and the third – which actually defends interests of the European population against realistic and imagined threats from immigrants.

The first of the orientations listed above is postcolonialism (or the postcolonial theory). It is a science and an intellectual tendency, but also a certain cognitive perspective, involved in the research into the consequences of colonialism, to some extent oriented towards the past.

Postcolonialism as a notion emerged at the time of decolonisation processes. They actually took place in three stages: the first one, in the 1940s, comprised Asian states (predominantly India and Pakistan); the second – in late 1950s and early 1960s, comprised decolonisation of British and French territories (49 new independent states were incorporated in Africa), the third one in the 1970s was crowned with Portugal colonies gaining independence. Regaining independence did not bring an end to problems of populations oppressed by colonisers. As Leela Gandhi puts it in her 'Postcolonial Theory', 'Colonialism does not end with the end of colonial occupation. However, the psychological resistance to colonialism begins with the onset of colonialism. Thus, the very notion of a 'colonial aftermath' acquires a doubleness, inclusive of both the historical scene of the colonial encounter and its dispersal [...]' [Ghandi 2008, p. 24].

Postcolonialism theoreticians point out not only to the aftermath of colonialism and inequalities in the development of states, but also to the phenomenon of a biased perception of the reality from the western point of view. Robert J.C. Young in his book 'Postcolonialism. Introduction' states, 'Postcolonial cultural analysis has been concerned with the elaboration of theoretical structures that contest the previous dominant western way of seeing things.' [Young 2012, p. 17]

Consolidation of postcolonialism as a direction and a notion came into being also thanks to two famous books. In 1961 Frantz Fanon published his work 'The Wretched of the Earth', which glorifies the liberation fight of the Algerian nation against the French colonial regime. Another important book was the famous 'Orientalism' by Edward Said, published in 1978. In his work, Said analyses methods of stereotypisation of the image of the Orient and the techniques of legitimisation of the imperial policy. Leela Ghandi in her book published in 1998 'Postcolonial Theory' summarises the analysis of processes of stereotypisation of the image of the Orient performed by Said, 'Accordingly, colonial/Orientalist discourses are typical of discursive activity whenever they claim the right to speak for the mute and uncomprehending Orient and, in so doing, relentlessly represent it as the negative, underground image or impoverished 'Other' of Western rationality. In other words, Orientalism becomes a discourse at the point at which it starts systematically to produce stereotypes about Orientals and the Orient, such as the heat

and dust, the teeming marketplace, the terrorist, the courtesan, the Asian despot, the child-like native, the mystical East. These stereotypes, Said tells us, confirm the necessity and desirability of colonial government by endlessly confirming the positional superiority of the West over the positional inferiority of the East. What they deliver, in his words, is the unchanging image of 'a subject race, dominated by a race that knows them and what is good for them better than they could possibly know themselves (Said, 'Orientalism' publication from 2005, p. 71)' [Ghandi 2008, pp. 73-74]. Said defines this stereotypisation as 'intellectual rule'.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, one of the leading postcolonialism theoreticians, in 1985 took the initiative to undertake studies into the so-called subaltern classes (Subaltern Studies Group). These studies largely concern people from former colonial states.

The most crucial and most spectacular manifestation of the postcolonial trauma is racism. Frantz Fanon in one of his works 'Peau noire, masques blancs' ('Black Skin, White Masks'), published in 1952, develops dramatic and very personal deliberations devoted to racism, which disturbs the perception of one's bodily schema. Here is a quotation from his book: 'I had to meet the white man's eyes. An unfamiliar weight burdened me. In the white world the man of colour encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema. [...] I was battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects. [...] I took myself far off from my own presence. [...] What else could it be for me but an amputation, an excision, a haemorrhage that spattered my whole body with black blood?'¹

Cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and transnationalism – attempts to build a new world order

The second orientation is constituted by a group of intellectual trends and political views which aim at the reconstruction of relations between nations and ethnic groups and eventually at the creation of a 'global society' of some sort. These are: cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and transnationalism.

The third orientation, which is in opposition to the two previous ones, aims to guarantee better rights to local populations. It propagates reduction of immigration and limitation of multiculturalism. To a certain extent the very existence of this dispersed orientation is a reaction to extreme behaviour of some immigrants and their groups and organisations.

Theories which belong to the second group: cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and transnationalism, constitute an attempt to transform the paradigm of relations between nations and ethnic groups. A long-term goal of these theories is to create a new world order, to form a 'global society'. These attempts are accompanied by tendencies aiming to weaken the role of a national state.

The oldest of the concepts referred to above is cosmopolitanism, which derives from the ancient Greece. The first segment of its name – the word *kosmos* - signifies the world, the second – *polis* – a Greek city-state. Cosmopolitanism – contrary to the common beliefs – does not depreciate the notion of a nation, it stands for a double civic affiliation of an individual – firstly to

¹ Frantz Fanon, *Peau noire, masques blancs*, (*Black Skin, White Masks*) 1952, pp. 110-112., Quotation after: Bhabha H.B., 2010, p.29.

their own country (state, nation, ethnic group or specific space in which they live), and secondly to the broadly understood world.

In the modern history, an updated, enlightened-based interpretation of *ius cosmopolitanum* was presented by a great German philosopher, Immanuel Kant in his important essay 'Perpetual Peace, A Philosophical Sketch' ('Zum ewigen Frieden. Ein philosophischer Entwurf') published in 1795. The subject matter of the essay is a visionary concept of 'perpetual peace' among nations, much ahead of its own time. The text also contains opinions concerning the right to 'hospitality' (which should not be merely an expression of e.g. generosity), regarded as the anticipation of the contemporary cosmopolitanism and readiness for the inclusion of immigrants. A German sociologist Ulrich Beck is the author of a contemporary interpretation of cosmopolitanism and an attempt to apply it to the political system of the European Union. Sebastian Żukowski in his book 'Kosmopolityzm i postmodernizm a ład światowy' ('Cosmopolitanism and Postmodernism vs. World Order'), when discussing the views of the famous sociologist, characterises the notion of contemporary cosmopolitanism: '[...] the cosmopolitan vision is a contradictory perspective. Cosmopolitanism focuses on getting to know 'the otherness', beyond the erroneous understanding of the territorial space and homogenisation. The cosmopolitan perspective respects and appreciates the dignity of the culturally different.' [Żukowski 2009, p. 19]. Ulrich Beck specifies his version of cosmopolitanism in the form of a vision of cosmopolitan Europe under a somewhat controversial name of 'European Empire'. He included this proposal in his book 'Cosmopolitan Europe. Society and Politics in the Second Modernity' written together with Edgar Grande. Cosmopolitanism seems to be an utopian concept; nevertheless, it is close to the concept of the European Union in a natural way.

Multiculturalism, or cultural pluralism, is defined as 'a system where ethnic groups maintain cultural differences whilst participating in the broader life of the society'². This concept has been questioned over recent years. Terrorist campaigns conducted with the participation of immigrants have certainly contributed to that. One of defenders of this concept is Tariq Modood. Among the postulates proposed by this theoretician, the one that is particularly important is the postulate of building of a multicultural policy with reference to specific claims, instead of taking it away from the notion of culture. Modood states, 'In fact, we begin to speak of multiculturalism when the said groups cannot be described in "racial" categories only [...], but when issues of perceived relations basing on the structure of community, family standards, cultural heritage, religious tradition, seem to be equally important as phenotype or origins. This way, reinforcement, reformulated notion and negotiation of the difference become of key importance for the creation of a group and evolution, and thus for multiculturalism, as well.' [Modood 2014, p. 52]. The essence of the discourse is the following statement: '[...] an appropriate sociological starting point is a negative difference and [...] politics consists in aiming to transform what is negative to what is positive, not in deleting the difference, but in transforming it into something that will enjoy social respect.' [Modood 2014, p. 53].

² Giddens A., Sutton Ph. W., *Socjologia. Wydanie nowe*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2012, p. 1096.

Modood conducted an analysis of three types of processes of interaction between immigrants and natives: assimilation (where interactions have one direction); integration, where the types of interaction are of a two-way nature, and multiculturalism, which assumes the process of integration, and apart from that it operates differently in different groups. Multiculturalism turned out to be definitely an optimal one. According to Modood, it is a form of integration, which pertains not only to individuals, but also to groups.

The notion of transnationalism is connected with network relation systems described by Manuel Castells. Steven Vertoves, author of the book 'Transnationalism', defines this concept in general terms: 'The understanding of transnationalism [...] is connected with some kind of social formation spreading over boundaries. A classic example of transnational communities are diasporas.' [Vertovec 2012, p. 5]. The phenomenon of transnationality is connected with the phenomena of the awareness of multilocality and 'transnational imagination' (phrasing used by Wilson and Dissanayake).

The phenomenon of immigration has another side to it, as well. From the point of view of local communities, immigrants in a way colonise European countries. Paul Scheffer, a Dutch philosopher, professor of urban planning at the Amsterdam University, journalist and theoretician, is the author of a number of publications where he expresses moderate scepticism towards the concept of the multicultural society in Holland. In 2007 his book 'The Second Homeland. Immigrants in an Open Society' was published. In an insightful discourse, the author attempts to redefine relations between immigrants and natives. The inflow of large numbers of people, often completely different in cultural terms, has become a challenge for the societies of developed countries. Scheffer adopts a metaphor of 'the world which has nested'. Scheffer combats too far-fetched cultural relativism connected with multiculturalism. He wishes to restore the role and significance of the western civilisation. He emphasises universal values of the western civilisation, which have 'got detached from their source' and have become the property of people of the whole world. He writes, 'Like classicists in music, construction engineering or literature have found recognition far beyond their homelands, democratic revolutions in America and France can be recognised as a universal legacy which has got detached from its source. The legitimacy of human rights is not limited by the fact that they come from Europe.' [Scheffer 2010, p. 366].

Contemporary city and its public spaces as an agora for multicultural debates. Theory of thirdspace of Edward W. Soja.

Public spaces of cities should be the arena for solving problems of integration of immigrant communities. The contemporary times are the times of revival of cities, in a way a return of the ideal of the Greek *polis*. Numerous factors decide about the efficiency of urban movements. The most crucial of them are: (1) an anti-ideology syndrome – focusing on basic problems of living, which are universal to all of us; (2) an overlap of two basic self-organisational activities: protest politics and social participation (based on deliberative democracy); (3) performance phenomenon – depends on generating the audience for the protest politics; (4) consistency and firmness of protests practices, which results in high efficiency.

The contemporary architecture, urban planning, and arts largely distance themselves from problems of multiculturalism. There is a need to create architecture which would shape public spaces stimulating dialogue between multi-ethnic communities.

The issue of multicultural spaces in an analytical aspect is the subject of interest of an American urban planner and geographer, Edward W. Soja. He is the creator of the theory of *thirdspace*. The theory defines this 'thirdspace' as a place where, somewhat simultaneously, there occur realistic and imaginary regions, a sort of superposition of these two 'worlds'. Soja also uses the notion of *real-and-imagined places*. Doris Backmann-Medick in her book 'Cultural Turns. New Orientations in the Study of Culture' describes them in the following way: 'Real-and-imagined places are conceptualised as spaces that are at the same time material and symbolic, real and constructed, and present in concrete spatially oriented actions as well as in images.' [Backmann-Medick 2012, p. 357]. The pursuits of Edward W. Soja were convergent with the works by Homi K. Bhabha, an acclaimed theoretician of postcolonialism. He described his version of 'thirdspace' in his book 'The Location of Culture' [Bhabha 2010, pp. 22-25]. 'Thirdspace' can be recognised as a performative enhancement of transnational networks of the world's ecumene. The concept of thirdspace is also an argument in favour of the concept of multiculturalism.

The best known and most spectacular exemplifications of Edward W. Soja's theory could be the project of Piazza d'Italia in New Orleans, and an urban square, or actually a group of three urban squares of Superkilen in Copenhagen. At this point it should be stressed that the designs and their implementations, like works of virtual arts connected with multiculturalism, are true rarities. Both works of architecture, or actually public spaces, are divided by a long time period. The construction of Piazza d'Italia was completed in 1978. Its author was Charles Moore together with the studio of Perez Architects. Superkilen square was designed in 2007 by Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG), the Superflex group, and the studio of Topotek 1. It was put into use in 2012.

I have decided to analyse the differences between the two designs of public spaces adopting their 'openness' as one of the criteria. The category of openness is present in the contemporary theory of arts and philosophy in numerous forms: as a theory of an open work of Umberto Eco, an Open Form of Oskar Hansen, finally the theory of an open society of Karl Rajmund Popper. In this case I used five types of openness. These are: (1) openness of an urban form, (2) social openness, (3) openness of the process of creation, (4) openness to a vast range of social needs, (5) openness to individual types of activity. Individual types of openness are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Forms of openness of public spaces of Piazza d'Italia in New Orleans and Superkilen square in Copenhagen

Faces of openness	Piazza d'Italia – New Orleans	Superkilen – Copenhagen
Openness of the urban form	Creation of a closed form of a piazza	Complex of three squares as a 'connective tissue' integrating the quarter of

		Nørrebro
Social openness	Exclusive character – space for one out of numerous ethnic groups in the city (Italian community)	Inclusive character – space for many ethnic groups (57 ethnic groups)
Openness of the creation process	Architect's creation (largely 'arbitrary')	Architect's creation verified in the process of users' participation (representatives of ethnic groups)
Openness to a broad range of social needs	'Festive' space, architecture of a 'stage-like' character	Space of every-day life, of pop-culture gadgets
Openness to individual types of activity	Place of meetings, piazza as a space for celebrating the annual festival of St. Joseph, patron-saint of the Italian community	Place of meetings, playgrounds for children, skate-park, cycling lanes, music equipment, boxing ring

Source: prepared by the Author

Piazza d'Italia was given an urban form of a clearly crystallised square. It was to create a symbolic space of the community of Italian immigrants in New Orleans. The project was actually addressed to one ethnic group in a multi-ethnic city – it was of an exclusive character. Users' participation during the creation process was not taken into account.

Charles Jencks in his work 'Postmodernist Architecture' describes the symbolic structure of Piazza this way: 'This diagonal [the drawing on the flooring] is enhanced by a cascade of broken forms – the Italian 'boot' – which lead to the topmost plateau of the 'Italian Alps'. This way we receive a clear organisation of the form and the contents. Just like Italy rises towards the Alps, towards the north, five orders of Italian columns rise, with the culmination of the sixth order [...]' [Jencks 1987, pp. 143-146]. Jencks explains the need for complex symbolism of the space of the Piazza: 'Since the ostentatious reason for building of the piazza was to bestow a community with an Italian identity in a city dominated by other ethnic groups (the French, the Spanish, black Americans and Anglo-Saxons), the pretext for the historicising rhetoric and eloquent contents was sufficient.' [Jencks 1987, p. 146]. The space of the piazza has a festive character – one of its function was to create a place for celebrations of the annual festival of St. Joseph, the patron-saint of the Italian community.

The space of Superkilen square is addressed to the multi-ethnic very diversified community of immigrants in Copenhagen. This community comprises fifty-seven ethnic groups – representatives of this many groups participated in the designing works. Contrary to Piazza d'Italia, it is by definition a space of an inclusive character. The name of the square – Superkilen – in free translation is 'super-wedge' - I believe it should be interpreted as a wedge of fabric, a type of insert of fabric sewn into a piece of clothing. The intention of the authors of the design and of the municipal authorities was to create a connective tissue between two parts of the previously degraded quarter of Nørrebro in Copenhagen. Obviously, the shape of the complex of the squares also exhibits a clear outline of two wedges. Unlike the defined, closed form of Piazza d'Italia, the form of the public space is open.

Contrary to the somewhat estheticised (although also ironically speaking) space of Piazza d'Italia, the authors of Superkilen square operate the poetics of a ludic collage. Gadgets of pop culture become elements of this collage. The gadgets emphasise the love of everyday items shared by everybody, which unites contemporary people more than noble ideals. Items referring to the everyday life 'collected' in the square are e.g. a road sign from Moscow, a fountain from Morocco, an advertisement board of a bar from the USA, an octopus from Japan, and even a rainwater sewer hatch from Gdańsk. The gadgets loosely scattered all over the square create a ludic unassuming space of everyday banal items, which, however, may differ in every culture. The proposed method of shaping of the space of Superkilen square inscribes in the trend of interests in the sociology of the everyday life.

Architecture and urban planning vs. creation of the global ecumene. Towards cultural amalgamation

The opportunities of architecture influencing complicated relations of multicultural communities are limited. The current political reality does not foster the development of such communities. The trajectory of the dilemma 'civilisation clash' vs. 'civilisation meeting' has bent dangerously towards the former option. Y. Courbage and E. Todd in the book 'Meeting of Civilisations' polemicise with the theses of Samuel Huntington contained in his famous work 'The Clash of the Civilisations', trying to prove by means of e.g. demographic analysis the peaceful character of the contemporary Islam. Nevertheless, the fights of the so-called Islamic State question this reasoning.

Table 2. Goals and methods of operation of public spaces of multicultural communities

Goals	Methods
1. Allowing for a performative presentation of the phenomenon of cultural diversity of immigrant (national and ethnic) communities. Aiming at the revision of the stereotypical image ('intellectual rule') given to immigrant communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Architectural activities • Activities from other fields of arts • Educational activities
2. Aiming at the creation of a social dialogue network. Stimulation of a dialogue between immigrant and native communities and between individual immigrant communities.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mechanisms of deliberative democracy and participation, e.g. modelled on the deliberative polling by James Fishkin • Educational activities

<p>3. Activities aiming towards crystallisation of social relations between communities. Long-term goal: creation of public spaces would aim at forming the global ecumene. Four scenarios of the global ecumene (according to Ulf Hannerz):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Global homogenisation; 2. Cultural saturation; 3. Cultural deformation; 4. <u>Maturing cultural amalgamation</u> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluation of educational activities • Architectural activities and activities from other fields of arts • Propagating the concept of a multicultural dialogue; of gradual weakening and eventually liquidation of the asymmetrical relation between the centre and the suburbs.
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Source: prepared by the Author

The first and foremost goal of architecture in the field of integration of multinational communities should be shaping of public spaces allowing for a performative presentation of the phenomenon of cultural diversity of individual ethnic groups. This postulate comprises social and artistic goals. With very few exception, public spaces do not take advantage of the opportunity offered by the possibility of differentiating and enriching them by such a manifestation of multiculturalism. The most important goal of the performative presentation of the phenomenon of diversity would be the verification of the stereotypical image of national and ethnic groups, this 'intellectual rule' described above upon the example of 'Orientalism' by E.W. Said.

Designing such spaces is connected with the need to overcome numerous dilemmas: (1) When designing a presentation of multicultural elements one should aim to avoid potential conflicts. (2) The distribution of emphases between universality and pluralism should be considered. (3) An optimal solution would be finding some common feature, some common denominator.

Another goal should be the creation of spaces that stimulate a dialogue between immigrant communities and native communities. This dialogue overlaps with interactions between individual immigrant communities. Indeed, a whole dialogue network comes into being.

The third, long-term goal would be an attempt to crystallise social relations between these communities. Creation of public spaces would aim at forming of the global ecumene. Ecumene, in its initial meaning a geographical term, according to the dictionary of foreign words³ means 'an area inhabited and economically exploited by man'. The travesty of this term and its transposition into the grounds of anthropology was made by Alfred Kroeber. A Swedish scientist Ulf Hannerz modified and arranged the notion of the 'global ecumene'. '[Global] Ecumene is an area of constant cultural interactions, reciprocal penetration and exchange of cultural contents.' [Sztompka 2002, p. 593].

Ulf Hannerz differentiates four scenarios of the global ecumene: 1) global homogenisation; (2) cultural saturation; (3) cultural deformation; (4) maturing cultural amalgamation.⁴ The first three assume different forms of dominance of the western culture and maintaining the relations

³ *Słownik wyrazów obcych*, 1962, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warsaw, p. 182.

⁴ These scenarios are discussed in detail by P. Sztompka in his work *Socjologia. Analiza społeczeństwa*, 2002, Wydawnictwo Znak, Craow, pp. 592-596.

between the centre and the suburbs. The fourth one postulates a largely equivalent intercultural dialogue and gradual weakening and eventually liquidation of the asymmetrical relation between the centre and the suburbs. The effect of this scenario would be hybridisation, or, as Hannerz calls it, 'creolisation' of culture. Creation of space for such scenarios should become a challenge for contemporary architects and urban planners.

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URBAN PLANNING IN CRACOW AND LOCATION OF SUSTAINABLE OFFICE BUILDINGS

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Key words: Sustainable buildings, site selection, office location, GIS

Abstract

Social, economic, and environmental benefits of sustainable buildings result in increasing demand and supply of green office space and governments adopt green buildings requirements as policy instruments. Effect of public (local, state) policies on construction and diffusion of sustainable buildings have been analyzed in few research (e.g. (Choi 2010a), (R. Simons, Choi, and Simons 2009)), demand for sustainable offices (e.g. (Zieba, Belniak, and Gluszak 2013), motivations for investing (Fuerst and McAllister 2009)(Popescu et al. 2012) were the subject of research but the impact of public policies and tools used by local governments, in the form of development plans and zoning maps, on the location decisions of investors realizing green buildings still requires more insight.

The objective of this paper is to verify whether local development plans (zoning maps) facilitate location of sustainable office buildings on sites that are best-choice using the criteria of green buildings' certification and most beneficial from the point of view of sustainable urban development.

Authors assume that local governments would support choice of best sustainable location by investors, as it's beneficial for local community, economy and environment. Also, we state that real estate developers' choice of location is the function of firm's own criteria, zoning map

restrictions, availability of land for new developments.

This paper proposes a methodology to identify the best areas to locate sustainable offices in Cracow district Zablocie, using spatial data analysis.

Zablocie was selected because the zoning map exists for the whole district and the area - postindustrial district, still provides many sites for new developments and it's featured by high concentration of sustainable office buildings.

The evaluation criteria was based on BREEAM (BRE Environmental Assessment Method) green building certification categories. The data was collected and processed in ArcGIS. The locations, identified in spatial analysis process, were compared with locations available in Zablocie for commercial (office) developments as indicated by local development plan.

Sustainability in property investments

Real estate market and construction sector together have significant impact on natural environment and also strongly influence social and economic situation on the local, regional, countrywide and global level (Belniak, Głuszak, & Zięba, 2013, pp. 61-69). Buildings consume large amount of energy, potable water, construction materials, generate immense amount of greenhouse gas emissions, are resource intensive and generate considerable amounts of waste. These features make them perfect vehicles to achieve energy efficiency, carbon abatement and corporate social responsibility (Chegut, Eichholtz, and Kok 2013). The goals could be accomplished with construction of sustainable buildings (or green, high-performance), which are the response of construction and real estate industry to environmental concerns, are featured by reduced negative environmental impacts, solutions aimed at improving local social, economic and ecological conditions, and by lower energy and water consumption, economic use of unrennewable resources, lower 'production' of waste, health and wellbeing of users' concerns. Design and technological features of sustainable buildings include several parameters aimed at achieving ecological and social goals (Shiers 2000) and "*are designed, constructed and operated to boost environmental, economic health and productivity performance over that of conventional building*" (Shi et al. 2014) . Construction and investing in sustainable properties is the most direct way of applying Responsible Investment concept into real estate market. RI combines in business decisions environmental (reduction of negative environmental impacts, protection of natural environment), social (wellbeing and health, security of employees, and local community), economic (profits, value, cash flows) criteria (Pivo 2008) (Portney 2008) (Garriga and Melé 2004) (Revelli and Viviani 2015) (Rapson et al. 2007) (Pivo and Mcnamara 2005). This investment concept endorses investors and shareholders goals and acknowledges and encourages fulfillment of duties for the society and natural environment.

The paper does not focus on the concept and policies of sustainable urban development, but introduction of the concept demonstrates that promotion of green buildings converges with it, and supports green urban growth, socially and environmentally friendly, while economically sustainable.

Sustainable urban development concept of urban development, recently applied by policy-makers, encompasses four major aspects of sustainable urban communities: institutional, social, environmental and economic sustainability (Turcu 2012). It is also, or foremost, the

development that contributes to global sustainable development, with its environmental awareness, inter-generational equity, social wellbeing, and geographical equity combined with economic growth (Haughton 1997). There's been a lot of scientific arguing about the term 'sustainable urban development' or 'urban sustainability' but for all different definitions, these term includes environmental aspects (like lowering greenhouse gas emissions or waste amounts), social aspects broadly defined as better quality of life and economic stability and sustainability, which may defined as access and availability of local jobs, business activity, local training and skills. Measurement of urban sustainability in the form of indicators, is compliant to some extent with aims of sustainable buildings, i.e. environmental sustainability of urban communities includes careful resource exploitation – energy, waste, water which are also important categories in green-buildings certification schemes. In terms of buildings' location the next overlap would be infrastructure category, especially public transport. Among discussed features of 'sustainable urban development', some are generally agreed upon: emphasis on reduction of private (car) transportation and improving public transportation, supporting other active transportation modes like walking and cycling, limiting urban sprawl and promoting inner-urban dense development and mixed-use areas (Gurran, Gilbert, and Phibbs 2015). Accessibility by public transportation and supporting other, ecologically non-destructive modes of transportation are thus included into criteria of green buildings evaluation (green certification schemes, like BREEAM or LEED).

Locational choices for sustainable buildings

The process of making location decisions by real estate investors, involves considerations of numerous factors, important for the investors and facility users. The set of factors is flexible, dynamic, depends on the type of industry and overall conditions for business (Karakaya and Canel 1998). Real estate industry considers location as one of crucial variables in achieving investment profits, and consideration of several location factors and specific qualities of a company, normally precedes final selection of location site. Locational characteristics refer to the selection of *general location* that includes macro- and micro-environment for conducting business and *specific site (exact location)* for investment. Selection of exact location happens in the final stages of location selection by commercial organizations and crucial decisive attributes include (Aarhus 2000) cost factors (land, construction); ease and speed of administrative procedures of issuing construction permits and other required administrative consents; physical features of site and/or building (e.g. size, shape, flexibility of development, surroundings), public visibility.

Rymarzak and Sieminska (Rymarzak and Siemińska 2012) provide more detailed classification of factors affecting site selection, comprising of cost factors, physical and spatial (geographic location) factors and characteristics of accessibility and traffic. More than generally acknowledged location attributes affecting site selection, decisions to locate sustainable buildings, consider some additional factors or scores conventional factors differently (e.g. abundance of parking space is not crucial for high performance buildings). In selection of site for sustainable construction, strong emphasis is placed on accessibility by environmentally friendly modes of transport: public transportation, bike, walking, to replace negatively impacting

environment car transport and provision of amenities for pedestrian, and bikers, or car-poolers and electrical vehicles. This even leads to promotion of sites where low number of parking spaces is allowed (reducing parking footprint in LEED certification scheme). Strongly promoted (and highly ranked in environmental building assessment schemes) is selection of brownfield land over greenfield, and protection of natural habitat and eco-diversity, and enhancement of ecological value of a site. Apart from purely ecological features or transportation, the functions and density of surroundings, adding to diversity of uses in the area are the advantage.

Investigation of actual locations of green buildings, support the assumption that spatial diffusion reflects these features of sustainable buildings locations. Diffusion of LEED certified buildings (Braun, Cajias, and Bienert 2014) demonstrates locational pattern of higher share of these buildings in prime urban locations (best office locations in each respective city, well accessible with various transportation means, visible, in the functionally well-developed area, with access to amenities and facilities, maximal intra-metropolitan rent value) (Braun and Bienert 2015). The share is disproportionally higher in prime locations and the diffusion pattern is centrifugal (hierarchical), and with increasing saturation of the market in prime locations, the distance to CBD is growing but still prime locations are definitely more 'green buildings' saturated'. Similar conclusions conveys the research on distribution of green buildings in Germany - they are located closer to CBD in cities with over 500 thousands inhabitants, and tend to locate close to each other – spatial concentration of sustainable buildings within 'green clusters' surrounding CBDs, the biggest concentration of within 1-2 km from city center (Maier, Ciora, and Anghel 2014). These effect of clustering has been also noted in USA (Kaza, Lester, and Rodriguez 2013) sustainable buildings, located close to one another, demonstrate spillover effect. Sustainable locations or locations of sustainable buildings contributing to the benefits of local communities (ecologically, economically) should comply with criteria of sustainable urban development.

Public policies and green building promotion

Sustainable office construction, that forms one of major trends in commercial property markets, brings advantaged to stakeholders (investors, users, tenants, local government, local community) in various forms, that compensate the costs of sustainability. The occurrence of benefits generated by green (rather than traditional) buildings has been documented in several research worldwide and described in an extensive body of literature e.g. (Zieba, Belniak, and Gluszak 2013) (Galuppo and Tu 2010) (Malkani and Starik 2013) . Benefits of sustainable office buildings include:

- *for investors* (economic, financial, image, marketing benefits of responsible investing and sustainable buildings' development, lower investment risk)
- *for users and tenants* (health, wellbeing, functionality, lower maintenance costs, high standard, better conditions for employees)
- *for local community* (limiting negative impacts on the environment, respecting the needs of a neighbouring community, including transportation issues into location selection, environmental and social concerns of investors)

- for local government (property and income taxes, less environmental burden, investments respecting local transportation and communication conditions, creation of more 'local community friendly' structures generates less protests and burdens, social responsibility of investors should result in more smooth cooperation with local government, respecting local laws and administrative or planning requirements).

The overall benefits of green real estate and responsible investments in property markets, result in increasing volume of sustainable commercial buildings and in growing number of policy-makers incentives to encourage more of this type of construction. Still, in scientific debate there's ongoing discussion on motivations driving sustainable real estate investments. The development of sustainable buildings stock might be contributed to market and non-market drivers. Market motivations include financial, economic, image benefits for investors and tenants: higher value of a property, higher rents, lower maintenance costs, lower risk, lower turnover ratio among tenants, lower vacancy ratios, better working conditions and wellbeing of building users, favorable opinions (extensive literature proves occurrence of the benefits). Non-market reasons for the development of the sector of sustainable construction and green real estate include various public policies' instruments, used to steer and encourage development of the built environment into direction which is beneficial for local communities, natural environment and local economy and habitat.

Policy instruments formed at global (e.g. UN guidelines), national, local, international (EU policies) levels, could be arranged into incentives and requirements (or regulatory policies - spatial planning) as well into legislative (affecting all firms and institutions) and executive (affecting public agencies/institutions) tools (May and Koski 2007). The incentives, of positive character, generally consists of three types of encouragements: administrative, fiscal and technology support (Choi 2010a), though, they may take the form of negative incentives – fees, penalties, compensations and on the market level, public policies significantly affect the green building development (Zuo and Zhao 2014). Green buildings policies have several goals related to sustainable buildings, among others – encouragement, via legal and regulative instruments for sustainable buildings development (Shi et al. 2014).

Further justification for public policies promoting sustainable building via planning tools (delimitation of investment sites) comes from research proving that, large share in investors' motivations to realize green building is related to non-economic factors of *social influence* and *facilitation conditions* e.g. availability of information, technology of construction, land (Malkani and Starik 2013). Creation of various instruments to promote green construction supports diffusion of green buildings technology in real estate markets (Głuszak and Zięba 2014).

And even though the incentives and ideas of green real estate came from non-governmental organizations like Green Building Council, the public policies possess probably the most influential tools to promote green development. Financial incentives are costly, should be carefully administered, executive orders are quick but cannot be applied if there's no proper legislation facilitating them. Though legislation tends to be dissolved in political debates. Leading by example (e.g. green public buildings) is a good path to raise awareness (R. Simons, Choi, and Simons 2009). But for the maximum effects of public policy tools in promoting local sustainable development, integration of tools and policies in the form of Integrated Planning

Approach is the solution. Applying integrated approach may lead to significant reduction in energy use (e.g. 25% as in the case of Jinan development plan), lower pollution (from car transport) (Shirgaokar, Deakin, and Duduta 2013). The approach should integrate building codes, land use planning, urban and spatial design, transportation policy to improve environmental conditions of urban areas. Similar concept of 'policy-mix' for achieving energy efficiency via application of multiple policy instruments in a complementary and integrated way, with active participation of stakeholders has been discussed by Mahzouni (Mahzouni 2015). Most powerful and efficient requirements policy tools are regulation provided in local development planning (zoning maps) that nominate location of urban functions in accordance with sustainable urban development guidelines. Spatial, urban planning coordinated with local strategy for sustainable development and sustainable building policy directly affects locational decisions of developers and tenants (Aarhus 2000). This type of regulatory policies – nomination of areas for new developments, requirements referring to 'green features' of buildings are direct and effective tool (Choi 2010b) The focus on local administration level and its role in promoting sustainability has been present in several international initiatives and emphasis on local planning (changes to promote sustainability) is to be found in critical for sustainability development documents, such as Agenda 21 (Bayulken and Huisingsh 2015).

Zablocie case study

The research study consists of two phases: the first stage provides information about the most suitable areas for green office buildings location, considering BREEAM criteria, the second stage includes the analysis of the local development plan in sustainable investment context.

The area of analysis covers the district of Zablocie, located on the outer fringe of the city centre, at the river banks, former industrial base for the city of Cracow, is the area where intensive commercial and residential developments has been taking place for the last 10 years. After 1990 and political and economic transformation of Poland, the industrial activities in the district ceased and an urban fallow remained. Contemporary developments may be ascribed to passage of Local (Zoning) Spatial Development Plan and Local Regeneration Plan in 2006. Although spatial development plan was the most significant, the district wouldn't have transformed so much without the construction of new bridge on the Vistula River and following launching of new tram line, that connects the district and southern parts of Cracow with its centre and eastern-northern part of the city. The second reason for choosing Zablocie for the analysis is that commercial developments (offices) within last 8 years resulted in over 100 000 square meters of modern office space, of which most has been awarded already or is in the process of certification for BREEAM green certificate. Considering that total office stock in Krakow amounts ca. 800 000sqm, this makes the district of Zablocie an important 'office space hub' in the city.

The basis for analysis of best "sustainable locations" for office buildings in the district of Zablocie were BREEAM environmental assessment method for buildings. BREEAM criteria are applied worldwide to certify sustainable buildings. This is also the most commonly used

environmental certification scheme in Poland (Services and Certification 2015)¹. BREEAM (Building Research Establishment's Environmental Assessment Method) is the assessment method used to measure environmental performance of buildings against a set of ten categories and to produce an overall score of a building, awarded with label: Pass, Good, Very Good, Excellent or Outstanding. Evaluation categories include crucial for measurement of buildings environmental performance, thus its sustainability (Breeam 2012):

- 1) **Management:** Commissioning, Construction site impacts, Building User Guide
- 2) **Waste:** Construction waste, Recycled aggregates, Recycling facilities
- 3) **Health and Wellbeing:** Daylight, Occupant thermal comfort, Acoustics, Indoor air and water quality, Lighting
- 4) **Pollution:** Refrigerant use and leakage, Flood risk, NOx emissions, Watercourse pollution, External light and noise pollution
- 5) **Energy:** CO2 emissions, Low or zero carbon technologies, Energy sub metering, Energy efficient building systems
- 6) **Land Use and Ecology:** Site selection, Protection of ecological features, Mitigation/enhancement of ecological value
- 7) **Transport:** Public transport network connectivity, Pedestrian and Cyclist facilities, Access to amenities, Travel plans and information
- 8) **Materials:** Embodied life cycle impact of materials, Materials re-use, Responsible sourcing, Robustness
- 9) **Water:** Water consumption, Leak detection, Water re-use and recycling
- 10) **Innovation:** Exemplary performance levels, Use of BREEAM Accredited Professionals

Majority of categories evaluates the design of a building, one is focused on the wellbeing of users but only two are elaborated to assess spatial aspects of a building – its location and impact on environmental features of an area and connections with wider urban surroundings (features important for urban sustainability) – transportation. For the purpose of analysis we decided to select category that reflects the focus on sustainability features of building's locations, i.e. transport. Land use and Ecology category, which certainly is relevant, cannot be measured due to lack of spatial information.

Locations, which are awarded highest scores in environmental assessments schemes and achieve corresponding recognition in sustainable urban development concept, are locations favoring public transportation and other active and non-car transportation modes (rail, bike, walking). Accessibility to public transportation is appreciated by real estate industry and ranked as an important for users and environment characteristic of green building (R. A. Simons, Robinson, and Lee 2014). Increased use of car transport is the function of accessibility to the main roads system, to free parking; accessibility to public transport, and higher share of employees living walking or bicycling distance to work decreased uses of car transport. Limiting

¹ 81% of 'green certificated' awarded to commercial buildings in 2015 are BREEAM certificates according to Colliers International. Zielone budynki w Polsce 2015 Certyfikacja w liczbach. Building Consultancy Services, Green Building Certification Warszawa 2015

use of car in work travels is one the criteria of sustainable buildings certification. These further justify the selection of criteria for spatial analysis.

To carry out site selection process, four transportation criteria were adopted from BREEAM methodology (Table 1): public transport accessibility, public transport service frequency, access to amenities and car parking capacity. The first step of spatial analysis included geodatabase creation which involves collecting data from different sources and processing them. Local spatial management plan was obtained from Spatial Planning Agency and converted from CAD file to shapefile. Road network, railway network and location of address points came from OpenStreetMap. All of the analyses were performed using ArcGIS Desktop with Network Analyst extension.

Table 1. Transportation criteria adopted in the site selection analysis

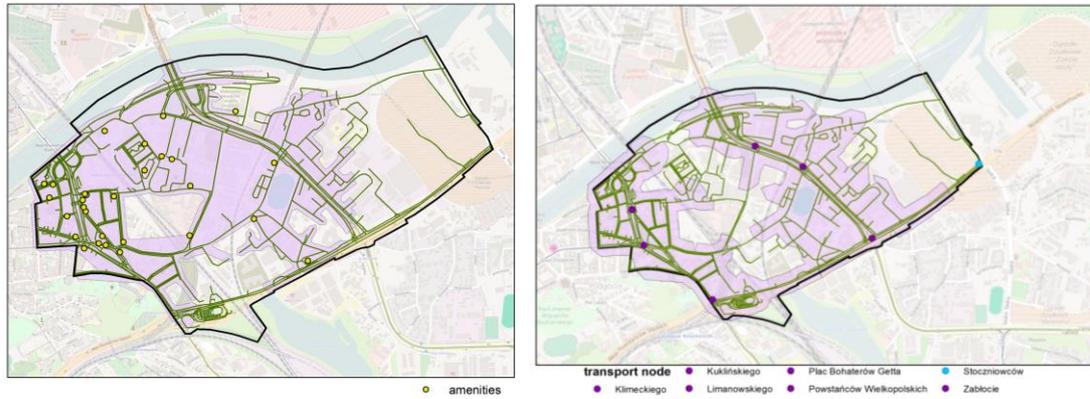
Category	Assessment criteria
Public transport accessibility	Building entrance within maximum 500 meters walking distance from public transport node Road and tram network analysis.
Public transport service frequency	Minimum service from transport node: once in 15 minutes at peak times (7am – 10am; 5pm – 7pm) in direction of local urban center, on working days and once in 30 minutes at peak times (7am – 10am; 5pm – 7pm) in direction of major transport node (local and regional infrastructure systems), on working days. Analysis of bus and tram timetables from all transport nodes in research area.
Access to amenities	Maximum distance from post office and food court/shop – 500 meters. Distance from 2 additional types of following facilities – less than 1000 meters: bank/ATM, hairdresser, medical center, pharmacy, dry cleaners Geolocation of selected facilities and service area analysis, which indicate areas encompassed by specified range (radius).
Car Parking Capacity	Maximum 33 parking space per employee. Analysis of the local spatial management plan regards the service parking rules.

Source: own studies based on "BREEAM Europe Commercial 2009 Assessor Manual," no. 1

The district of Zabłocie is served by seven transport nodes: Kuklińskiego, Plac Bohaterów Getta, Klimeckiego, Limanowskiego, Powstańców Wielkopolskich, Stoczniovców and Zabłocie. In order to evaluate public transport service frequency, timetables from all transport nodes were analyzed. First category requires frequent transport service in direction of local urban center and in direction of major transport node. Six of seven transport hubs fulfilled the requirements. Despite that Zabłocie node is supported by five bus lines (cf. Klimeckiego, Plac Bohaterów Getta has only 3 tram lines) but only one line departs to the city center (once in 20 minutes), thus it was rejected from further analysis. The second stage included public transport

accessibility which involves area delimitation at a distance of 500 meters along communication routes (fig. 1).

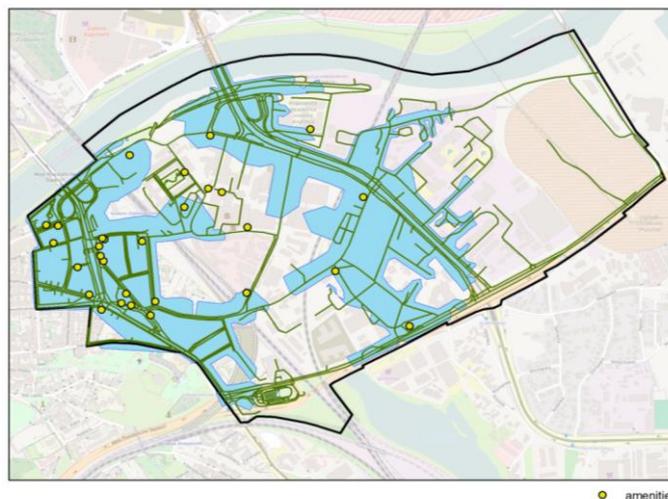
Figure 1. Public transport accessibility, Figure 2. Access to amenities



Source: own studies, data from OSM

Another criterion adopted for the analysis was access to amenities, which requires maximum distance from the post office and food outlets/grocery shop in range of 500 meters and from other facilities – less than 1000 meters. The first step included creating the database of amenities localizations defined in the criterion and the next step of research was conducted using service area analysis (ArcGIS Network Analyst extension). As a result authors obtained map of facilities impact areas depicted in fig. 2.

Figure 3. Suitability map in the study area



Source: own studies, data from OSM

The last step on this stage of analysis was delimitation of the most suitable areas based on one of the Boolean overlay procedure – intersection. Figure 3 shows suitability map of Zablocie district that cover three main criteria: public transport accessibility, public transport service frequency and access to amenities. Authors find it very important to take into consideration more sustainable development factors, suggested in BREEAM methodology, i. e. those concerning bicycle facilities. Unfortunately limited access to the data made it impossible to expand the analysis with alternative modes of transport aspects.

The last criterion was the maximum car parking capacity, which limits are regulated in local development plan and will be discussed in the next section.

Local development plan's "green locations" - summary

Local development plans, created by local governments according to Law on Spatial Planning and Management (*Ustawa O Planowaniu I Zagospodarowaniu Przestrzennym* 2003), are facultative, i.e. there is no obligation to prepare them, the whole urban area does not have to be covered by plan but when enacted they have to be respected by investors and administrative bodies issuing building permits. Local development plan determines the function of the area covered and all new construction must be compliant; it also defines the intensity of new construction, its technical and functional features and requirements (height, built-up area of the site, allowed/minimal or maximal amount of parking space), natural environment protection rules, defines protected areas (natural or cultural), it has to comply with the rules of protection and shaping of spatial order and the latest includes sustainable development concept into spatial order principles. Local development plan must consider local transportation and technical infrastructure conditions. Previous researches indicate that investment activity in major cities areas covered by local plans enhance investment activity (Kania, Telega and Węgrzyn 2014). Thus, local development planning (zoning maps), being the major spatial policy instrument of local government, can be a powerful tool to promote sustainable buildings development in Poland.

The area of Zablocie district, covered by the spatial development plan equals 175 hectares and has been divided into three functionally different parts (fig. 4):

A – the smallest and most developed, with dominating residential function to be preserved and some old housing (also historical); very little undeveloped land.

B – the most important in this analysis and also the most transformed part of the district. The area almost entirely industrial before transformation. As designed in the development plan, the area evolved into housing and commercial – mostly office, with some cultural and educational functions. Still provides some undeveloped sites.

C – the biggest part of the district, least developed before and after transformation. Dominated by warehouses, on the fringe some green areas (family urban gardens). The functions planned in the zoning map include commercial, residential and services.

Office buildings, according to local plan's principles, can be developed on each of twenty six areas (47,6 hectares) depicted on figure 4. The total area of planned land use for commercial

purposes equals over 47 hectares, but conditions of development and spatial management in every part differ from each other (i. e. terms of build-up intensity, height of buildings or other acceptable land-uses).

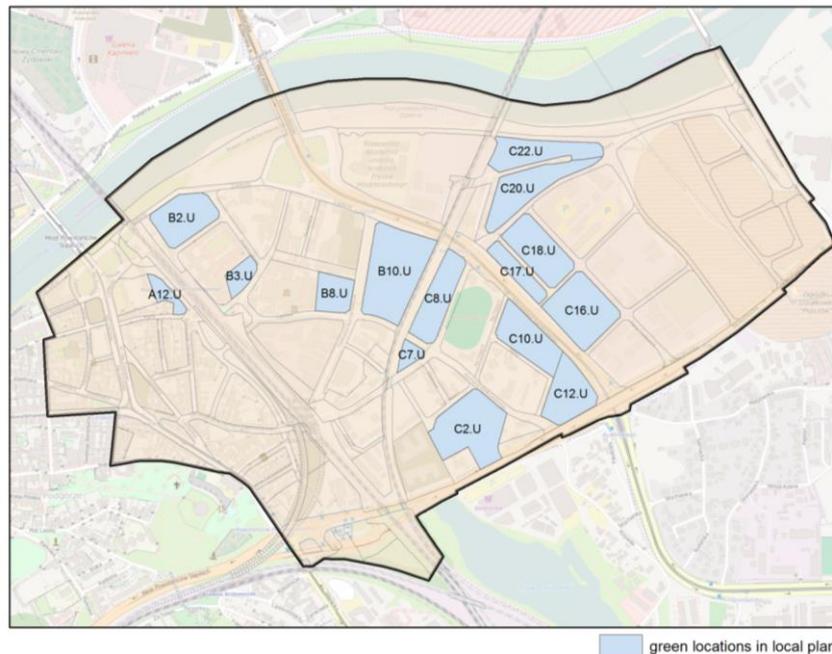
Figure 4. Office locations in local development plan



Source: Spatial Planning Agency

The criterion of the car parking capacity was regulated in local development plan as the rules of parking service. The parking policy was divided into three parts (A, B, C). For retail and service buildings located in Zone A, there should be maximum 15 parking spaces per employee and 8 parking spaces per 1000 square meters of usable floor space. In Zone B there should be no more than 25 parking spaces per employee and 15 parking spaces per 1000 square meters of usable floor space, and adequately in Zone C – 35 parking spaces per employee and 35 parking spaces per 1000 square meters of usable floor space. The adopted maximum parking capacity in local plan represents the upper limit, that cannot be exceeded and eventually the developers during the design process, can significantly reduce it. Concluding, all zones met BREEAM requirements.

Figure 5. “Green locations” in local spatial development plan



Source: Spatial Planning Agency

In order to verify in what extent local development plans (zoning maps) facilitate location of sustainable office buildings on sites that are best-choice using the criteria of green buildings' certification, authors tested which substantial part of suitable areas covers areas for the office buildings in the local plan. The results can be seen on figure 5, where highlighted areas in local development plan conducive green buildings development.

The important obstacle for the creation sustainable spatial policy facilitating and favoring green developments is the public transport infrastructure condition and the quality of transport services. On the research area, despite of the fact that almost one third of development plan was dedicated for commercial purposes, it is hard to find any mention of the public transport accessibility improvement. The similar situation concerns access to different types of amenities. The highest concentration of food courts/shops is in older and most developed part of the district (zone A).

However car parking capacity rules indicated in local development plan are more restrictive than those adopted from BREEAM methodology. Another premise enabling an improvement is future opening of the Zablocie railway station and slow development and broadening access to facilities, which usually occur in newly constructed office buildings.

Authors are aware of the fact that the research study didn't include many important factors (i. e. alternative modes of transport, pedestrian and cyclist safety or reuse of land) that can affect test results. The criteria selection was dictated by limited access to data or difficulties in data processing. However, further studies will be extended by additional LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) green building certification criteria.

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PRESENT-DAY ARCHITECT IS AN URBAN DESIGNER

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Abstract

The range and scope of an architect's tasks has shifted: from that of a designer burdened with responsibility for the shape and effectiveness of architecture, to that of a director (animator) of urban space, responsible for the smooth and undisturbed direction of the spectacle taking place within the urban space, of the incessant, simultaneous and unbroken continuum of the mutually interactive scenes from the life of the City. Architecture, or rather urban space, has become a scenography for the synergistic holistic/multidirectional activities sustaining the life of the residents and making the uses and functions of architecture more effective. Programmers, directors, animators of culture, city mayors, grassroots initiatives of the residents, wealthy investors – all of these organizers of urban space should have equal rights and prerogatives in the process of ARRANGING URBAN SPACE.

Does a present-day city still need architects?

... do cities still need architects?

Cities have ceased being mainstays of civilization as well as stable havens. Mobility and change concern almost equally the permanent tissue of architectural substance as well as its residents. The contemporary man who feels the need to belong to the creative urban community which flows with the current of civilizational change, rarely chooses troublesome life close to the untamed and unbridled nature, and tends to reserve this option rather for moments of relaxation or sporting achievement. The city promises comforts, a sense of fulfillment, success, following progress, a sense of enriching oneself, and finally of attaining better standards of work, and even, if one wishes to avoid any effort – a possibility of an easy existence or even living a life of a social parasite. A city is equipped with dense networks of media supplying individual and communal receivers – for the comfort of everyday life. Thanks to mobility and electronics, every modern man who owns a smartphone (and who does not?) is an invaluable source of information for hundreds of thousands of devices which process his data. Everywhere he goes, makes a telephone call or else decides to make a purchase, he leaves behind him a digital

trace, his own commentary and a documenting image. The smartphone gives him an illusory sense of confidence, domination, a sense of influence on the development of the city or his own existence. But at the same time, he realizes, or rather sometimes suspects that he is being watched; the traces of his movements constitute a complete record of his activities, which in turn may be interpreted depending on the situation and the need of the moment. This data is of use both in the management of all sectors of urban life, beginning with traffic and ending with instant medical assistance in emergencies and the optimization of all kinds of resources and energy. However, on the other hand, the same data may serve all kinds of criminal activity. It may constitute both a proof of innocence as well as an aid in crime. The above data collected over a longer span of time, illustrate a pulsating nature of city life, allowing the urban designers to alter and perfect the individual elements of this life. This process constitutes a smooth, synergic modeling of city movements in real time for the comfort of its mobile and unpredictable users.

The intelligence of the city

Cities are in perpetual movement and are fully prepared to accept unpredictable changes. All predictable changes are defined in programs which regulate city life and adjust it to specific city needs, such as e.g. self-driven cars which are introduced into the regulated city traffic, thanks to which accident free traffic becomes possible. Contemporary cities are „compassionate” in the sense that they respond to all signals sent by their residents.

Even if the recipients of the contemporary city are different than the „flaneurs” from the beginning of the last century – the addresses of the slogans of the Situationist International, it is impossible not to observe a consistent continuation of the concept of this symbolic urbanism. On the one hand, we observe a model medieval city with its transformations and directions of organic development described by Lewis Mumford, and on the other hand, the continually changing contemporary technological development enabling the realization of a romantic-surrealist geographical labyrinth of a city from Guy Debord’s vision. And everything that a city has to offer serves the purpose of “continual drifting” in the city space. The contemporary drifting has taken on the form of a chase after attractions, but the concurrently, more and more often promoted *slow-motion*, offers a slowing down of the race. In the fashionable public spaces, there arise cul de sacs. Similarly as at the beginning of the last century, art, poetry and minor social movements are to shape human needs; in turn, the authorities resort to the achievements of civilization to introduce order and to subjugate the society. The authorities are interested in controlling and regulating, whereas the artists and the social avant-garde are involved in the conflict between the visionary notions and tradition. And indeed, it is a struggle as the social awareness tends to be opposed to building new meanings; it continues to be attached to archetypes. “...abstraction has dominated all kinds of art, particularly architecture. Pure plasticism, free from anecdote, but inanimate... (...) Our goal is to look for new mobile decorations. (...) Darkness gives way to artificial lighting and seasons of the year to air-conditioning: night and summer lose their charm; dawn disappears (...) dreams begin in reality and become real in it. The development of technology has made it possible for the individual to remain continually in touch with the cosmic reality, at the same time, liquidating the discomforts

associated with it. A glass roof makes it possible to observe the stars and the rain. A mobile home turns together with the sun. Its folding walls allow the vegetation to take control of life. The home sits on rails; in the morning it can be moved to the sea shore and in the evening it can be moved back to the edge of the forest.”¹ Seemingly, even if a city home has more limitations and conditionings, it is nevertheless an easily modernizable drawer in the city organism which is subject to reform and manipulation.

Artists

The vision of one's own ideal home is a distinguishing feature of every generation. Generally speaking it is precisely architecture that constitutes the best measure of the level of civilization. The contemporary western world has put the main emphasis on comfort which precedes spiritual, social and global needs. The economics of gambling, gaming techniques and manipulating advertisements ensure development and profitability. Whereas the accumulation of buildings themselves for the organization of the residents' free time, will not suffice. Architecture as inanimate matter will not come to life without inter-human relations, without memory and arrangement, without programming situations and mutual relations. The rationalization and technicization of urban processes is possible exclusively on the basis of traditional principles and humanistic values.

This need for the humanization of buildings is best illustrated, for example by artistic or para-theatrical activities, e.g. the art of Marc Camille Chaimowicz which introduces the element of memory into the used and ruined interiors. Elements of former activities associated with these interiors, or else borrowed from elsewhere, recorded sounds, lighting effects, activities, conversations – all of this gives an instant effect of revitalization or even more, as it raises the recalled phenomenon to the rank of cult of the place – as it happens in the case of a museum. Architecture comes to life, but not thanks to the efforts of an architect – author of the ruined building, but that of an artist-animator who introduces the principles of the ritual. An interior which is subjected to the experiment may be both a newly-built *white cube*, or post-industrial hall, or else a ruined *squat*, a square or courtyard.

Urbanists

In so far as an architect working in accordance with the accepted norms is expected to create innovative spaces, enclosed and shaped with specially designed matter, the impatient and by its very nature extremely creative contemporary world, pushes his activity towards mixing reality with fiction. An architect-engineer is not able to meet this challenge; what is needed is a creator-director or an artist-visionary. Many of the engineering activities concerning aspects such as optimization of the project functional effectiveness, cooperation with the utilities media, local networks – are now taken over by computer programming. All that is needed here is a craftsmanlike ability to select proper parameters, suited to a given case. Proper designing and management of city space is an interdisciplinary activity; it belongs to multi-professionals,

¹ (cit.) Giles Ivain, *An Outline of New Urbanism* in: *Sanative City. Architecture and programming senses*, ed. Joanna Kusiak, Bogna Świątkowska, Fundacja Bęc Zmiana, Warszawa 2015, within the project „Synchronicity. Projects for the Future.”, www.synchronicity.pl, ISBN 978-83-62418-27-5, 368 pages, p. 89.

specialists in new, non-traditional disciplines. What counts here are equally skills, knowledge and imagination within both technical as well as humanistic-artistic activities. Due to man's subjectivity, it is the humanistic ideas that take precedence over technical means of implementation of new solutions. In the ever accelerating reality, in fact all these solutions go „head to head” with each other, to attain the fastest pace of progress. If a single discipline clearly outpaces the remaining ones, particularly within the sphere of purely humanistic branches, e.g. economics, logistics or armaments, it is usually due to a concealed will to dominate the others.

Architect-philosopher and politics

New York may be accepted as a model of a Western mega-city; already towards the end of the last century, Rem Koolhaas compared it to Lagos – the capital of Nigeria. In spite of the disturbing prognoses, the latter one continues to remain among the leading “exploding” cities in respect of its development, although its model of development is totally different from that of the western urbanism. Throughout the whole time, it has preserved an extraordinary flexibility and openness to the local needs. “Today it is in all probability the most radical of cities and on top of that one that operates quite efficiently”.² A demographic explosion, religious fever, construction pressure, immense wealth and simultaneously huge areas of poverty and all kinds of shortages – all of this seems to stand in stark contradiction to the western practice in spatial planning, but at the same time, it constitutes a proof that the city's self-organization as well as the spontaneity of its residents provide a key to maintaining the spatial coherence of Lagos. One may only appreciate it from the perspective of a helicopter flight during which the city creates the impression of being a live art installation or else of being engaged in a continual dance. In reality, the *status quo* is maintained by the tensions of the various political forces and the local power constellations as well as the judiciary which controls the flow of capital. In spite of its dynamism, entrepreneurship and individualism, Lagos does not confirm the models of the „new urbanism”, whereas New York, which is being compared to it, has rather realized the modernist visions of the city. Koolhaas perceives the exceptionality of New York exclusively in its density and diversity. Thanks to an accumulation of a variety of functions in a single place, the skyscrapers declare a programmatic instability of the city. According to the words of geographer Andy Merrifield, it is a “dreadful delight” – an epitome of Dante's inferno, in which one may in spite of everything breathe in freely. Such a refreshing diversity is maintained in New York by the migrants who replicate the models of European historical merchant cities. The outcome of the comparisons points out not so much to the pressure of politics, but to individual entrepreneurship as the most significant city-building factor.

Noise

Like every type of economic stimulus, noise is an instrument of politics and political dictate. It is an instrument or weapon which is invisible, yet extremely effective. If a composed sound or a

² Rem Koolhaas i in., *Mutations*, Actar, 2000, p.718, in: Kacper Pobłocki *HIT!*, Magazyn Miasta # 11, no 3(11)2015, ISSN 2299-6745, p.58

sound that accompanies concrete actions complements urban reality – is a sign of the local *status quo*, then noise is a multiplication of sounds that are commonly experienced as unpleasant and irritating. Ordinary urban buzz, generated by the transport system as well as an accumulation of machinery or people's voices is not generally regarded as stressful. It is even thought of as a sign of attractiveness of the place and is not criticized. Yet the noise which is escalated by the dimensions of the metropolis and crowds of people as well as the sheer number of machines producing irksome sounds, additionally augmented by various alarm signals, is difficult to stand by more sensitive individuals; it is a frequent cause of aggression and may even lead to sickness.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the research conducted by scientists representing various disciplines of knowledge focuses on ways of decreasing and controlling noise in cities. Side by side with the science of acoustics, science fiction is developing vigorously; as an art, the latter one is always one step ahead of scientific discoveries. It has for instance defined a paradigm of sound transformation or created a sonolux – a kind of „vacuum cleaner“ of sounds which gathers unwanted sounds from the audiosphere and others. Architecture in itself is a source of many undesired sounds which are transferred by the energy of the building materials themselves, the shape of the interiors, sound reflections (echo), saturation of memory and permanent buzz which is inaudible for man etc. Philosopher Albert Borgmann created the notion of the „paradigm of order“ which speaks of an absolute dependence of human life on technology which becomes in this way man's "natural" environment. While researching the phenomenon of speech synthesis and artificial intelligence together with its peculiarities, Raymond „Rey“ Kurzweil – IT scientist, author and futurologist formulated a thesis concerning its transhumanism. In turn, James Graham Ballard's dystopic literature creates a world which is subordinated to acoustic ecology, where architecture is a type of organic computer which stores acoustic information, and therefore requires periodic cleaning and removing of unnecessary noises to ensure a harmonious reception of sounds.

An ecological city is a harmonious, aesthetical, beautiful city. Musical harmony permits dissonances, sound clusters, counterpoints, complete silence – as elements making up a composition. Yet it does not allow monotonous noise, permanent jarring or whistling sounds, or else protracted vibrations, particularly in registers which are difficult to bear. Hence Ballard's figure of Mangon (J.G. Ballard *Sound Sweep*) – a dustman and sound engineer who sweeps stray sounds from the city.

The sphere of audibility and acoustic spaces has not yet been fully cognized. Also architects treat it rather intuitively as an effect of information experience. In the year 2006, at a World Forum of Acoustic Ecology, a Tokyo professor of environment information Emi Nishina, came up with the concept of an urban system of sound design. Acoustic city landscape is yet another untapped area of urban activity. For a given community creates a specific acoustic identity, incorporating into it also the sound memory as well as auditory recollections. With a view of improving local soundscape, Nishina comes up with the notion of sensory hi-fi „acoustic pockets“, based on samples of soundscapes, treating the sounds of rain forest as a basic measure of natural human experience.

More and more audio-refuse is gathering in city space; the latter, similarly as other types of waste requires recycling. Hence, there is a need for a cybernetic model of transforming ways of listening, of behavior and of acting in a given area of city audio-sphere.

Health

Yet another field of urbanists' activity is the phenomenon of *healthism*³ which is an expression of an obsessively treated threat to health which is apparently posed by dangers associated with ecological problems occurring in big cities. Similarly as in the case of struggle with the nagging problem of soundsphere in metropolises, we succumb to the processes of medicalization; in other words, we approach all biological phenomena in the categories of health and sickness, rather than treat them as ordinary biological, adjustment or cause-and-effect processes. The condition of model health has become not only desirable but also mandatory as being ideologically correct. The city organism is also treated in similar categories. Urban designers have also taken over certain medical terms, recommending e.g. a regeneration of urban tissue, revitalization or sterilization; architecture is protected by skin, reacts intelligently and even feels. For health reasons, city dwellers are advised to exercise in the fresh air, walk, cycle and use public transport; fresh food is produced on the spot, vertical farms are created and aging in place is facilitated in one's own apartment; finally the city infrastructure is perfected in such a way as to enable it to shape a perfect man. An expression of such an approach is e.g. the New York program *Active Design Guidelines. Promoting Physical Activity and Health in Design* which is being promoted by the long-standing city mayor Michael Bloomberg. Modern architecture is subordinated to health issues associated with the notions of light, air, water and nature. Corridors and stairs are specially designed and lengthened in the name of health, avoidance of stress and struggle with obesity; lifts are moved to concealed niches, therapeutic and training programs are introduced. Finally "healthy" building materials and special ventilation systems are used; simple shapes and colors are to deepen the sense of cleanliness and facilitate the cleaning process itself, while panoramic glass walls are to create a sense of unity with the open space outside. The entirety of architecture is to remind one of an athletically built young human body triggering off healthy reactions among the residents. The design concept is subordinated to the philosophy of health.

Whereas as a biological creature, man himself does not keep up with the progress of civilization and his organism becomes less and less adjusted to adaptation mechanisms, thereby weakening his biological processes and minimalizing his ability to overcome difficulties. What is needed is a rejection of radical technical solutions and a turn towards the micro-scale and individual reform activities, suited to local needs as well as a tactic of nurture, rather than programmatic treatment.

³ Giovanna Borasi, Mirko Zardini *Let's demedicalize Architecture* in: *Sanative City*. p.325

Water

One of the elements of city life which is indispensably present, purifying and absolutely essential for the existence of the city – is water. “That is why, water has become an important element of the latest conceptions of materiality of urban space and is regarded as an evolutionary link between the human organism and the urban utility networks.”⁴ Up until recently, utilities networks were considered to be chiefly the domain of engineers and were rather shamefully concealed, creating entire systems of invisible, underground cities. Architects created a visible urban physicality; urbanists and planners dealt with operations in the city space. Thanks to the contemporary virtual reality and digitalization, the city has become a place of broadly understood communication which is chiefly physical in its character and belongs to the sphere of users. It is precisely water as an element combining technology, community and urban space that has taken over the role of a link and mediator between life-giving nature and rational technology. As a strategic element it is likely to become the trump card in the hands of the authorities. Undoubtedly, it exerts a major influence on management, issues relating to territorial limitations, as well as on ensuring hygiene and planning in all matters relating to urban design, including the production and distribution of energy or else fiscal and property policy. The modern *smart* solutions help develop social self-control and individual innovativeness for the optimization of new concepts. The leading metropolises, such as New York or Stockholm retain full social control over the ownership structure of companies and water systems of their cities. Water constitutes an important element of not only spatial, but also cultural policy giving the designers, as well as the local authorities and planners a chance to influence and shape life in the city. It constitutes an element of tension and dependence which serves as an intermediary between the community of users, the commercialized city space and the utilities networks that cater to their needs.

Air

„City air makes people free” (*Stadtluft macht frei*) – this saying which is often quoted in the context of arguments in favor of city life, which include elements such as: the ease of life, sterility of the urban environment, and the availability of the media, information, commodities, resources and transportation - is often illusory and ambiguous. Originally the above adage goes back to the mediaeval law which freed peasants from serfdom after they had completed a year's work within the castle grounds; once they were set free, they acquired the rights of free citizens. Taking into consideration today's social mobility as well as globalization, the shape of the city depends not only on *citadines* – city dwellers, in the sense which had been given to this term by Henri Lefebvre. In spite of territorial control, the air around the planet allows all kinds of external interferences which change the shape of cities. „A revolution which is to lead to the creation of a happy city may begin right beyond the threshold of our home and (...) each of us, without exception, is capable of changing the city”⁵. In many places where pavements have not

⁴ Matthew Gandy *Rethinking Urban Metabolism: Water, Space and the Modern City* (2004) in: *Sanative City*. s.343

⁵ Charles Montgomery *Miasto szczęśliwe. Jak zmienić nasze życie, zmieniając nasze miasta* (*Happy city. Transforming our lives through urban design*) transl. Tomasz Tesznar, Wyd. Wysoki Zamek, Kraków, 2015, ISBN 978-83-941434-2-8, p. 411

yet been built next to the roads, cycle paths have already been created – following the world health trends, the need for exercise and movement in the fresh air, ecological transportation, accessibility of the vehicle and the desire for adventure. Even the bicycle paths in New York, attributed to Bloomberg, arose in the effect of a grassroots initiative of Aaron Naparstek and his *StreetsBlog*.

The plan of the road system bears testimony to the state credibility the quality of its urban policy. The more regular it is, the stronger the state's legal system and the faster the pace of its development; the more irregular its shape, the slower the pace of life and the lesser the dependence on the pressures of civilization. That is why, the imploding New York Manhattan so easily adapted the street grid and the numbered street system; that is also why the well-developing cities of mediaeval Europe so willingly adapted the regular grid system as an ordering model. A city builds streets which divide its territory into separate lots, whereas quite independently of this order, the residents mark out places which obliterate the boundaries of ownership. In many cases, today's public spaces have arisen as a consequence of their earlier functions as trading places gathering areas and meeting points.

Junkspace⁶

That is how Koolhaas refers to the remains of man's presence; he calls them byproducts of civilization. Every construction, modernization and every example of spatial changes in cities are accompanied by a refuse dump of remains which in many cases becomes a permanent feature of landscape, side by side with the new construction. This "refuse-dump" is nothing else but blocks of flats, favelas, squats, shacks and extensions which arise from refuse in response to individual needs and initiatives. Architecture whose goal is luxury, user's comfort or even the notion of community and egalitarianism – always divides people into those who are privileged and those who are rejected. It is only once buildings become worn that the boundaries of privilege are shifted. Contrary to the principles of the mass reception of architecture, it is the junkspace that constitutes the core of the city – it is a place where life reverberates with the intensity of use, a place where city masses which contribute most to the city revenue and its budget, really reside. The new, large-scale architectural spaces, joined by a system of air-conditioned interiors, are spacious and empty. This state of things continues until as ruined they become ultimately taken over by junkspace. The contemporary architecture tries to obliterate the above divisions and applies "megastructures" and hybrid solutions, in this way creating an opportunity for mutual inter-penetration of different kinds of spaces. In place of classical harmony and permanence of architecture, the present-day architects offer an escalation of function and entropy of the uniqueness of each and every place. Junkspace denotes arbitrariness and anarchy of the multi-directional trajectories of movement. The designed directions of flow do not work out in practice. It is only the ad hoc interventions that solve the accumulation of problems. The emergence of a problem forces the designer to introduce modifications there and then. That is why, classical designing has been substituted by the use

⁶ Rem Koolhaas *Junkspace* (in: „October” no 100/2002, The MIT Press Journals, p. 175-190) in: *Materialność Alternativa*. Antologia 3 pl, ed. Krzysztof Gutfrański i kuratorzy wystawy: Arne Hendriks, Inês Moreira, Aneta Szyłak, Leire Vergara, pub. Instytut Sztuki Wyspa, Gdańsk 2012, ISBN 978-83-935174-0-4, p.341

of diagrams; continual changes have become not only a need, but an everyday reality. At the same time, public spaces which adhere to the notion of absolute universalism and which lure users with utilitarian comfort, become bland and anonymous; they contradict the notions of communal freedoms creating only a statistical impulse for the realization of vested interests. The society seems to be affected by the syndrome of urban loneliness. It is the loneliness of individuals within a crowd who similarly to us have been huddled together by the imposed architectural tissue.

City-state

„If Barber ruled the world...he would do everything to create a world democratic power. He would summon city mayors and hand over the business of governing to them.”⁷ Every city mayor in a western metropolis must be a democrat and a pragmatist and must act in an effective way. In his everyday activity, he must find solutions to local problems which in many cases are identical as the ones that occur on the global scale; he must also cope with all city crises, regardless of the priorities associated with the global policy. An alliance of cities would no doubt be a more numerous and powerful organization than the military alliances based on national states. More importantly, such city alliances already exist and often prove to be more effective and efficient than international agreements, particularly in the cultural and economic sphere. Even the contemporary global problem of terrorism is in fact being solved on the level of cities. Terrorism is targeted on big city communities, and consequently the cities themselves deal with the issue of self-defense, while state governments embroiled in political dependencies, often are not able to liquidate the threat. It is a similar story with the immigrants whom city environments generally accept and assimilate, in spite of the political conflicts. Cities are living organisms – collections of human individualities and totally humanistic melting-pots. The activity of urban communities is not always fully rational. It is often the outcome of motives that are not fully rational (*vide* Warsaw Uprising), but it is precisely this intuitive creativity and flexibility of local authorities that give one hope for faster and more rational changes.

The future and well-being of cities is directly dependent on the creativity of urban activists – people of various professions and occupations as well as amateurs and visionaries. All of them are in fact “urbanists”, that is co-authors of contemporary cities. It is them who are truly familiar with city needs and are able to come up with the best possible solutions and remedies.

And where in this situation is the place for architects?

In my view, the architects are to act as advisors to city activists. For the architects are equipped with the necessary technical knowledge and abilities that enable them to introduce the utopia into reality. And by being at the same time humanists and artists, they help transform all the illusive and intangible ideas into a material shape. Already now, they have become mediators in the entire design and realization process. This may lead to yet another sinusoidal wave which weakens the position of an architect – as his prerogatives widen and become blurred – maybe

⁷ Jacek Żakowski *Zapędziliśmy się w ślepią uliczkę* (interview with Benjamin R. Barber, an American political scientist) in: *Niezbędnik Inteligenta*, special edition 10/2014 „Polityka” ISSN 1730-0525 index 381-055 entitled *Miasta i ludzie*, p. 108

the power of the demiurge is slipping from his hands? But does not cooperation with others in the common task help consolidate the community? Isn't his contribution to the common good a sufficiently ennobling activity?

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THE INCIDENCE OF THE CRIMINAL POLICY IN THE CONFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC SPACE

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Abstract

Mexican Criminal Policy is distinguished by its historical repression, the strategies implemented by the current government affected directly the violence and crime index. These facts beat and modified the conformation of the public space. Recreational places, parks, streets, squares, etc., stopped having the dynamism that used to have. On the other hand, the global postmodern speech changes the conception of the city, nowadays is privileged the consumption, so the city has transform in order to achieve the goals of the capitalism, with resulting of disjointed public spaces, hindering social relations.

Therefore, it is proposed to promote a Criminal Policy with an integral and social well-being approach, these will have an impact on the conformations of public space in the city and also will be understood as policies of development and urban design.

The idyllic application of the Criminal Policy

The Criminal Policy is an activity of the public administration, as they are strategies designed to the crime prevention and repression. How to combat (or to prevent the crime) should be perform under a very careful study of: 1) The current conditions of the approaching issues, this means a critical diagnosis that shows clearly the current context, 2) The plans and programs to follow, 3) The prognosis and assessment of the probability of success, and, 4) Review, as any public policy, there should be a profound knowledge of the reality, the same as the context, secondly is needed to develop particularly actions that allows to execute, in an orderly manner, the indicated policy. With the prognosis of the reality, there will be available a guide and the guidelines about the expected results of the project's evolution, and finally, the review, which is relevant because it shows substantial information in order to decide if the strategies of the project remain the same or will be modified.

Crime is a complex phenomenon. This means that the factors and causes that originate it are multiple, therefore the Criminal Policy, in accordance with the idyllic vision, should intervene in the different phases of the crime: origin, development-evolution and retribution, a Criminal Policy will be effective insofar as it is integral. In other words, it will have the capacity to reach the desired target of prevention and crime control, in the same order that materializes the humanitarian and holistic- integrative vision of the criminal causes.

The Criminal Policy that seeks to be strengthened and diffused is the one that focuses in the preventive work, that is to say, that which prevails the structural-social actions over the punitive-reactive actions:

“A Criminal Policy that heeds the “before” of the criminal phenomenon will be oriented to put into practice social policies, fundamentally of preventive nature, to know: educational programs, job programs, solidarity participation programs, community integration programs, social security programs, among others (Bolaños, 2005, 6)

Unlike a Criminal Policy that traditionally has been absorbed by the Criminal law and that has given preference to actions that are limited themselves to the application of a penalty, the one that is referred by Bolaños, seeks to improve the social conditions: the general well-being of the citizens, such as freedom and integral security, so that the incidence of these politics will be reflected in divers fields (health, education, housing, etc.) but with the criminological finality of decrease and crime control. This approach is understood under a more humanistic point of view, since due to its own interest, it's observed as a social policy of State, which in order to generate the changes and results (crime prevention) expected, need to be supported by a strong empirical arguable work (diagnosis). If on the contrary, the reality is not known and incongruous programs, according to social needs are developed, the speech of the Criminal Policy as a preventive and integrative action, would remain in a political deceit, opportunist and clientelista¹. As a consequence, not only in Mexico, but in different countries, it is degenerated what can be a Criminal Policy into a simple one, or misnamed *política pena*², because by ignoring the real ontological nature of the problem that is pretended to be discussed, to be made support on empirical not verified and lack of the systematisation and coherence of a genuine policy, make that such actions may badly called at least penal policies (Bolaños, 2005).

Mexican Criminal Policy, the repression in a globalized world

The Mexican Criminal Policy, and its public administration in general, have been characterized by a negative history, infected with acts of corruption, impunity and an excessive exercise of power, which have been reflected in the cases of violations to human rights. Without going deeply into de political Mexican history, it is observed that in the different presidential periods, have had this regrettable constant. It is important to emphasize the general panorama of at least the latest administrations.

2000- 2006. Vicente Fox Quesada's administration

¹ There is no translation in English, one word that could be close to the meaning is: “lobbying”

² In Spanish there is a difference between *Política Criminal* and *política pena*. Political penal refers, mainly to the criminal law, and *Política Criminal* pretends to be more comprehensive and integral.

This president represented the alternation of party in the power, but it did not mean a change in actions, nor in the proposals. It was characterized by an assertive exterior politics, but in a contrasting situation, he continued the public security policies of the previous administration (which had relevant cases of violations to human rights), being so that “this model organizes into a hierarchy way, the punitive aspects and its quantitative factors, which remains reflected in the composition of the public exes, which priority destination is the prison infrastructure, the construction of quartels and, in general, the means and materials destined for the police institutions (Moloeznik 2007, p. 18).

2006- 2012. Felipe Calderon Hinojosa’s administration

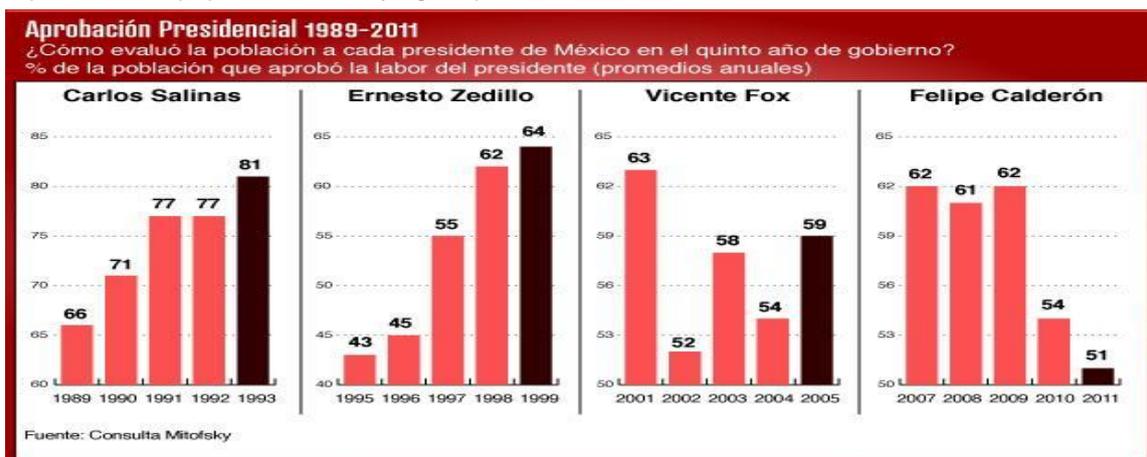
Polemic administration marked by the War against the drug trafficking, action of the federal government in opposition to the organized delinquency, which left a negative balance, as soon as human rights, inside the country. Civil organizations estimate 101 thousands 199 executed, and 344 thousand 230 indirect victims (México Evalúa, 2012).

On the other hand, though in his administration was developed the National Strategy of Crime Prevention and Combat, the actions were directed to the frontal fight of the criminal phenomenon (México Evalúa, 2014).

2012- Nowadays. Enrique Peña Nieto’s administration

He initiates the mandate with the promulgation of the Integral Law in support of the victims, but few advances have been had in cases of enforced disappearances and tortures. His administration has the tragic event of the disappearance of 43 students of Ayotzinapa and the extrajudicial execution in Tlatlaya. Facts that mark the complicity and corruption on behalf of the State.

As it is observed, the trend has been of supporting a repressive policy, where the use (and abuse) of the public force and the violations of human rights, have been the vertebral column of the administrations. In spite of the fact that this has meant aggressions against the population in general, it has had periods with high approval of the president, since such measures represented a populist and lobbying response of the State.



Source: AND político, 2012 ⁽³⁾

³ Presidential approval 1989-2011 ¿How did the population evaluate each president in Mexico in the fifth year of government? % of the population that approved the job of the president (annual average).

These actions are gestated in relation to satisfying the idea promoted for the “risk society”⁴ and the idea of the “enemy out there”, or “the other as a threat to the peace”, which also served as a placebo in the face of the public alarm that demanded more safety and justice.

The upswing of the Criminal Policy of reactionary trend, was translated not only in the increase of the police and military activity in the streets, but it deeply affected the order and social stability, affecting this way, the relationships and the social fabric, therefore, it also modified the public space, in a physical as in a political way.

The change in the public space is not an isolated fact, since it conjugated with the current model of economic development that affects the physical and political conformation of the city:

The new patterns of settling and urban conformation alter the social fabric in the sense that, notions as sense of community, empowerment, social capital or community identity, have relegated the constructed environment occupied by the community, to a role of social relationships container (Berroeta & Rodríguez, 2010, p. 5)

The crime and the trend of public space modification, were conjugated resulting atomized cities, changing the forma of collective participation and the daily interaction. The panorama observed couple of years ago was, that due to the wave of violence, the public spaces were enjoyed in a minor way, instead of being used for activities of leisure and scattering, the “halcones”⁵ had been positioned of parks, streets, avenues (strategic points for their criminal purposes), for what somehow, these areas were abducted from the population.⁶

This way, the presence of the criminal groups was imposing the fear to the population and the places that used to have an important people flow, little by little they were running out of that dynamism. The life in the city, gradually became nullified, the fear grew every moment and the reason had an objective sustentation (the presence of the organize crime), so the defensive strategy and the redefinition of the public space was activated immediately (Aguirre y González, 2010).

As for the civil participation, which prevailed from that moment was the one that was bounded inside the neighbourhoods and suburbs. In an affirmative way, there was a management of the public space as Berroeta and Rodríguez indicates: “The public space is fundamental to place spatially the community practices and to base the processes of transformation than in its environment take place (2010, p. 5), nevertheless the changes that were proposed, were in a local way and represented an isolation and break with the other neighbourhoods, or even with the other streets. De Piero shares the personal view about: “it is not perceived in the region, rather than squares and similar others, which overcome the order of the vehicular traffic, to improve the compilation of the garbage, etc. There has been internalized an excessively local vision of the public space”. (2003, p, 14).

⁴ Concept used by *Ulrich* Beck: “Phase of the development of modern society where social, political, economic and industrial risks tend, increasingly to escape control institutions and the protection of industrial society” (The society of risk, 1992)

⁵ “Falcon”, given name to the person who is in charge of the monitoring and supervisión of a specific place, that is free of cops or another organized crime member.

⁶ Nowadays can not be assert that the public space has been recovered

The conformation of the public space in the age of the globalization

The design and current conformation of the cities is the representation itself of the globalization, it symbolizes de exclusion, the inequality and the disorder that this economic and political movement has unleashed. In the trace of the city it is possible to observe how the social relations of production have been formed, which in turn indicates the contradiction in which the urban-societal relationships are being developed and the importance, -therefore the summit-, given to goods. That is why, the social neoliberal model restored the public space privatization, marking a transition in the leaders and allowing to the multinational companies (or the power groups) to carry out important decisions about public local, national and global space. (De Piero, 2003). As Rogers suggest, the cities should be, over all, places of meeting between persons, nevertheless the space –the streets and squares-, and the current city have been invaded by vehicles (for mentioning one negative element) and therefore are design the spaces to respond to the needs of the traffic and visually full of signpostings (Rogers, 2000)⁷. The English author observes the vehicle highly harmful, in the Mexican case, it was not only that, but also the invasion of the organized crime.

In this order of ideas, the present public space issues the message opposite to the validation of the social practices and breaks with the intention of constructing a collective project. "The ethic consequences of these practices were the indifference and exacerbated individualism, that built a notion of the public thing as the space of the social dispute and of the pre-eminence of the particular interest of the group" (Livingston, 2006, p.7). Therefore, in a previous discussion is told that the practices and the social interaction-participation are still actives, but in a very targeted to the neighbourhood perimeter. Ellen Posner thinks about that:

As members of a nowadays profession devoid of ethics, the architects have not channelled well the problem. This way, many of the turn into accomplices of the urban segregation taking orders where there is explicitly asked them to install barriers and private roads, to separate the undesirable ones; contributing this way, to a privatization of the public space with strictly commerce ends" (quoted in Richards, 2000, p.69).

Posner throws a strong critique to the guild of architects as responsible of the urban design, nevertheless, the capitalist vision has invaded all the professions equally, this way it is possible to give an example of the criminologists who have contributed to the hegemonic speech creating the figure of the delinquent as that one that commits an outrage against the interests of this oligarchy. Therefore to change the reality, it demands a great responsibility and change of vision, of all equally. And as consequence of the economic- political model, and materialized for his workers, the chaotic cities have born⁸.

The chaotic cities demand practices and knowledge for which they are not prepared: " The deny city was born. Because, in the way in which the public spaces crossed themselves with the lack,

⁷ In the same way that the elevator made possible the skyscraper, the car has allowed that the citizens could live far from the center of the cities and has facilitated the division of the daily activities by compartments, separated from the offices of the shops and these from the houses [...] The cities around the world are being transformed to suit the needs of the car, although it is this, more than the industry , main factor of pollution of the planet [...] is also an irresistible culture icon that gives social class and charm. " (Rogers , 2000 , p.35-36)

⁸ The city has finally been understood for being as a temple for the consumism. [...] The result of this stream is the decline in the vitality of the urban spaces (Rogers, 2000, p.9)

and the leader classes sheltered in a fragmented space, the chaos was restored in the urban relations and marked the public thing as the space that did not concern to anybody". (Livingston, 2006, p.8). The denied city, by means of his inaccessible spaces, which it is only for a few, is not a city for all, is not a city that it includes, but rather, it excludes, atomizes and fragments.

In this sense, De Piero (2003) he thinks that the question of the public space links itself directly to the crisis of the State, concludes this due to the fact that, from the Keynesian politics, it increased the public work, which materialized in the design of cities that it annihilated with the colonial order (2003):

Is so that in countries such as Argentina, Brasil or Chile, the public buildings begin to "compete" with the religious temples, in height and design, there are built companies of state property, that form the image of the progress and the construction of the industrialism to the interior of the "national project "; there is regulated of the stock market and the external market, which strengthens the capacity of the State to submit, in the public space, the private interests, etc. The accomplishment of these spheres begins to be, in different parts of the world, synonymous of a State - forceful nation, and even under opposite political rate: liberal capitalism, fascism, populisms or communism, all which display of a State that dominates the public scene across his companies or monuments accompanied in many cases on the worship to the personality, the charismatic leadership, new construction of the political leadership (De Piero, 2003, p.5)

The city has gone from being a public space to be a private one, where certain sectors are favoured and there are criminalized those who have been expelled from the hegemonic project, barriers are constructed instead of bridges. This is what the current intervention has been focused on, in which the physical transformation and the degrees of political participation, they are kept as islands, without interacting with others in similar conditions. Due to the fragmentation, the ability to gauge the neighbourhood, and therefore the city, is impossible, then there is no present the element of which to appropriate and to identify: "The constructive resultant characteristics, the uses and the meanings of the physical spaces of the neighbourhood constitute his urban dimension" (Berroeta y Rodríguez, 2010, p.5)

Situational prevention vs integral prevention. The modification of the immediate environment for the control of crime

The Criminology focuses in the crime prevention, and in this respect, the United Nations it lists four forms:

- Prevention through the social development (social prevention of the crime): it refers to those actions that increase the social well-being, for example, the health, education, employment, among others. It looks for the eradication of the the present vulnerability.
- Prevention in a local level or "community prevention ": It looks for strengthen the social bows and the social capital.
- Situational prevention: The approximation that involves a wide set of not penal measures, tending to prevent the criminal act through the modification of the particular circumstances in which a series of similar crimes are committed or can be committed.

- Prevention of the recidivism: aimed actions in order that, so far the victim or the victimizer do not relapse in the crime. (ONU-Habitat, 2010).

These approaches basically centre on improving the conditions of the daily safety and of the environment where this one claims to be developed, since for example, the neighbourhood, the parks or schools. Also since it is possible to observe, discusses measures that focus in the strengthening and development of the community social capital, which is sustained in the utilization of the qualities and community existing conditions.

The probability of success to the combat of criminality increase, the way these types of prevention combine, as there will be re-dressing the desired well, which they are the safety and the integrity of the citizens, from the major number of possible edges. The macro policies scope (structural changes), they are operations that can be observed in the long term, unlike those that are orientated to the modification of the urban environment, which they represent a rapid change. This due to the fact that, this approach centres on small actions but it sufficiently practical to solve in an immediate way, some criminal problem. For example: increase of surveillance cameras, gates, cards of identity, alarms, fences, meshes, etc., they are answers that do not solve the structural problem of the criminality, but yes they affect that one that occurs day by day. However it seems that, slowly immediate changes are being adopted, instead of that ones that demand profound changes, this because of several reasons, one is the waiting time to observe the results, other reason, because there is needed a huge politic and economical will.

As an example to the exposed, it is the modification to the urban environment what is prevailing nowadays, which means the closing of streets and neighbourhoods. They are actions that are contradictory to the position where the community union is the solution to the criminality. Similarly, it reinforces the idea of that the community prevention is being doing in a very local level, which restricts considerably the possibility of changes to structural level. Therefore, the meaning prevention " in - from-for " the community has been distorted and manipulated in agreement to another type of perverse interests, since the new projects of housings, constructed by private groups, are designed to satisfied the demand of specific consumers, and not to consolidate the existing neighbourhoods. And the solution is in the housing itself since, "the way of answering to the enormous demand and strengthening the existing communities, resides in the remodelling of the degraded and left areas, to produce dense, compact and mixed complexes around knots of public transport (Rogers, 2000).

The response of the society in the face of the alarming situation of insecurity, was through technologies of situational prevention. In a concrete way, it was the implementation of physical barriers (inner doors, surveillance, surveillance cameras, etc.), which have had a great summit and acceptance on behalf of the population itself, of the government (particularly de local administrations), and over all, to the constructions ones: a) For the population, it represents an "effective" and immediate response in the face of the disability of the State to offer safety, b) for the government it represents a minimal or null investment (the expenses are assumed generally by the neighbours) and does not demands a change on its policies of crime prevention and, c) For the construction ones, because it means the increase of his product inside the market (the

development of complexes clusters). In this sense, the Criminal Policy affects in the policies of development and industrial design in a negative way:

The closed spaces satisfy our whim of private consumption and autonomy and are, in this sense, very effective. Otherwise, the opened spaces contribute something in common: they group different parts of the society and feed a sense of tolerance, conscience, identity and mutual respect (...). The selfishness and the segregation are winning the game to the relationships and the community. In the new modalities of urban development, the activities that used to overlapped, now differ with the idea of making profitable to the maximum the interests of promoters and traders (Rogers, 2000, p.10).

The Mexican Crime Policy along with the economic system, they have generated a response through the change of the urban design, which symbolizes the criminalization of "other one" and is far from an of integration project. Inside the stance that are achieved to bring over to an alternative offer it is CPTED (Crime Prevention Trough Environmental Design), It offers very interesting solutions that integrate the modification to the urban space involving to the community, nevertheless, also it remains in a range of local interference, since they do not do a rethinking about the new conception of city, nor there is an offer of criminal policies as politics of development and urban integral design in its approach. As it was exposed before, the different strategies of prevention must be articulated as aggregations of the different scopes of each one, because they are complementary of a phenomenon as complex as it is the criminality.

Final thoughts

The public policies, therefore the criminal, must be integrated by those that they reflect results to short, medium and long term, though sometimes for political reasons, long-term ones are not possible to run. Here it resides part of the difficulty in observing that the humanitarian and integral proposals offer answers of a major positive impact in the society and this is the only way that is possible to speak about a suitable politics of development and urban design of an integral way. For Rogers:

"Thus, the public long-term needs would go ahead of the private interests, without limiting excessively the autonomy of architects and promoters. The creation of a quality of civil long-term life redounds to the public interest and this one is the reason for which a shared responsibility guarantees a coherent planning. The planning for the future London needs a governmental direction, the contribution of the best designers and the active implication of the citizens" (2000, p.116).

He talks about of the experience in London, nevertheless, the rest of the world does not escape from reality that he exposes. Economic and political interests have hindered the development of strategies that protect and promote the best quality of life, major cohesion and civil participation and therefore, the crime prevention. The repression continues to be the very first option of the governors, and where it is lived is in the public space, place where human rights are not respected, no freedom, no tolerance, no nothing. Therefore is that:

"To share the public spaces supposes breaking with the prejudices and force us to recognize the common responsibilities, consolidating this way the communities. The freedom of the public

space must be defended with the same enthusiasm that the freedom of expression". (Rogers, 2000, p. 153).

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FUNCTIONAL URBAN AREAS AS AN ESSENCE OF THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

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Key words: City, Functional urban area, Urban governance, Hybrid partnership

Abstract

The paper outlines challenges in the governance of functional urban areas, treated as a contemporary form/nature of the city. The institutional infrastructure of that governance consists in the co-existence of the formal/legal public authorities and hybrid partnerships, composed of public, private and non-governmental organizations. The spirit of the city is being the place of meeting other people and exchange of goods, assets, ideas and values. The city forms the background for the phenomena of human life and unusual events. The city treated as a functional urban zone is affronted with complex processes resulting from various types of flows in the spatial economy. Such phenomena as metropolization, suburbanization or urban sprawl demand new approaches to the governance and to the territorial management. Metropolitan governance is a result of tensions and fractures between various territorial actors. In the functional urban zone, one can observe many colliding or juxtaposing interventions, supported by different organizations, public or non-public entities, and – finally – by creative or influential individuals. That situation has a significant imprint on the spatial structure of the city and its surroundings. The main challenge is then the creation of arenas of dialogue, which become at least as important as formal, legal regulations. The adaptive governance, depicted by E. Ostrom, then gives the useful tools for hybrid partnerships, responsible for the management and the development of urban functional zones.

Introduction

What is the sense of the city? The answer is not simple, and all the types of influences burden it. The basic sense of the city is being the place of meeting other people and exchange of goods, assets, ideas and values. Thus, the city forms the background of the phenomena of human life, usual and unusual events. The city is affronted with complex processes resulting from various types of flows in the spatial economy of the twenty-first century. Such phenomena as: metropolization, suburbanization or urban sprawl, cause a significant imprint on the essence

or the nature of the city. It becomes a complex, stretched, sometimes amorphous, territorial entity of the functional urban area (FUA). The paper depicts challenges of the management of such a multifaceted body of the city matted with its surroundings.

The emerging significance of functional urban areas in regional development

Such phenomena as the suburbanization, urban sprawl and metropolization were described and conceptualized in many papers and analyses (Jewtuchowicz, 2013; Markowski & Marszał, 2006; Noworól, 2015). One can observe a growing role of functional urban areas in the contemporary world. The World Development Report 2009, published by the World Bank, disclosed and deeply analyzed the conditions of that growth, mostly resulting from the processes of globalization and internalization of flows (Castels, 2011; The World Bank, 2009). In numerous papers, the author described crucial determinants of that situation. Let's review the most important observations (Noworól, 2014b):

Economic development relies on the functioning of territorial and production systems, as well as their competitiveness. Those production systems and service provisions, have a limited relation with administrative boundaries of the territorial units (Markowski, 2011, pp. 75–77). The processes of the globalization of the economy weaken the importance of formal administrative boundaries, and the growing importance of a dynamic, variable relationship in space and time. *In consequence, the boundary of the city becomes less and less important.*

The technological development enhances the efficiency of various types of flows. They take the form of: *transfer*, i.e. the physical movement of people and goods; *conductivity*, meaning, for example, financial and accounting operations; and *radiation*, associated with the flow of information (Domański, 2006, pp. 26–29). Contemporary transportation systems as well as information and communication technologies reduce the speed of all types of mentioned flows. Researchers discovering the essence of the flow economy, such as R. Dawson, raise the importance of the *relationships* between all the actors involved in the processes of exchanging goods and information. Control over relationships allows one to control value. This means that the relations between organizations across all sectors: public, private, and non-governmental, as well as between organizations and individual users of the network are critical to economic and social results. In the flow economy, rooted in the world of new technologies, one must acknowledge the growing importance of the relationship between spatially distant territorial units. The "soft" component of the flow economy - the meaning of relationships - raises the importance of public/social participation as an important element of competitive advantage based on innovation (Dawson, 2008, pp. 123-147). It is worth underlining the fact that the flows of today overcome any boundary, and make important liaisons between global spaces of flows (Castels, 2011, pp. 405–452), which means – the metropolises.

Flows reinforce the process of metropolization, which express themselves in two dimensions:

1. Outer, connected with the relationships of cities with distant areas,

2. Inner, affecting the bond between the metropolitan city (core city) and the surrounding region.

This second aspect of metropolization is linked with the suburbanization and growing processes of the urban sprawl (Paelinck & Klaassen, 1979). Suburbanization is associated with an increase of the wealthy in society, part of who become – through the development of individuals commuting by car – more mobile and ready to raise their standard of living, at the expense of having to travel between the core city and the suburban zone. The core city spreads and “spills” outside of its administrative boundaries, effectively “absorbing” the surrounding urban centers and rural areas (Noworól, 2014b, p. 149).

Taking under consideration the above mentioned aspects: technological, economic and spatial, the phenomenon of FUA becomes more and more important. The main challenge consists in the development of managerial tools allowing the control of suburbanization and understanding of real people’s needs. It is worth remembering that, psychological studies disclose the human need for living in an ecologically friendly environment. The “escape” from the city to its greener surroundings has a deep connection to the positive correlation between an individual’s wellness and living in the vicinity of green areas (White, Alcock, Wheeler, & Depledge, 2013, pp. 920–928).

The concept of functional urban areas permanently entered the Polish development policy mainly through the National Spatial Development Concept 2030 (*Koncepcja Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania Kraju 2030. Uchwała nr 239/2011 Rady Ministrów z dnia 13.12.2011 r.*, 2011).

Functional urban area as a territorial organization

Territories can be treated as organizations. The notion of territorial organization was introduced by the author in 2003 (Noworól, Dąbrowska, & Sobolewski, 2003) and developed in following publications (Noworól, 2007, 2013). Without repeating earlier disquisitions, it is necessary to remember that three features characterize the territorial organization:

- Its area is the same as the spatial and functional area, which can be: an administrative unit, and also – for instance – functional urban area, not formally bound;
- People constituting the territorial organization are the same as the community, understood as an ensemble of persons territorially linked by common social and economic interests; such a group can be the community of the “gmina” (local self-government), but also a composition of people living in a group of “formal” communities;
- The structure of the relationship binding the habitants of the functional area by their will or intention to reach common goals, results, not only from the legally defined tasks, but also – and most of all – from the rules expressing local / regional institutions (Noworól, 2013; Stankiewicz, 2012).

The territorial organization can be characterized by a different level of cohesion. If it is an administrative unit, its form is the strongest entity, as constituting rules results directly from bills (*Ustawa z 5 czerwca 1998 r. o samorządzie powiatowym*, Dz.U. 1998 Nr 91 poz. 578 z późn.

zm.; *Ustawa z 5 czerwca 1998 r. o samorządzie województwa*, Dz.U. 1998 Nr 91 poz. 576 z późn. zm.; *Ustawa z dnia 8 marca 1990 r. o samorządzie gminnym*, Dz. U. z 2013 r., poz. 594 z późn. zm.).

A certain level of cohesion is also typical to organizations invoked to manage the functional areas, recognized by Polish and European law. Some good examples are the managerial bodies of the Integrated Territorial Investments of voivodship cities (*Programowanie perspektywy finansowej na lata 2014-2020 - Umowa Partnerstwa*, 2014). Another example of the territorial organization is a new, specific form of the integration of metropolitan self-governments called the metropolitan union (*Ustawa z 9 października 2015 r. o związkach metropolitalnych*, Dz. U. z 2015., poz. 1890). According to article 12 of that bill, the metropolitan union executes public tasks in the following domains: (1) shaping of spatial order, (2) development of the area of activities of the union; (3) public mass transport; (4) cooperation in the field of setting the route of national and regional roads in the area of activities of the union, and (5) promotion of the metropolitan area. The metropolitan union is an optional solution, but the law strictly regulates it.

The weakest forms of the territorial organization are hybrid structures: public-social-private, invoked to manage certain territorial processes related to the development and the management of selected current activities. Interesting examples of such hybrid organizations are Local Action Groups, created in the process of so called Community Led Local Development (*Programowanie perspektywy finansowej na lata 2014-2020 - Umowa Partnerstwa*, 2014).

Depending on the nature of a territorial organization, its tasks and goals associated with its creation, we can observe different ways of operating in the process of the management of functional areas.

Different approaches to FUA's development management

The modern approach to development policy recognizes the need to manage the dynamic (in time and space) territorial and functional systems (Markowski, op. cit.). Systems of social communication change according to the evolution of behaviors, communities self-organize themselves. Thus, the understanding of public management changes as well. On one side, we observe the activities of public administration arranged according to the "neo-weberian" concept. It means, that the classic approach to public administration, based on such values as: lawfulness, hierarchy, separation of the private from the public, etc., is enriched by elements of more contemporary concepts, like: New Public Management or Public Governance (Kattel, 2015; Pollitt & Bouchaert, 2011). On the opposite pole, there are many parallel concepts, called: governance, partnership, joining up (Pollitt & Bouchaert, 2011, p. 11). We can observe the emerging significance of multilevel governance – MLG (Sroka, 2009). It means that currently, in parallel to formal legal dependencies bonding the legal bodies responsible for territorial development, it heightens the importance of the informal inter-organizational relationships. They create horizontal and vertical connections between cooperating and competing public entities, nongovernmental organizations and corporations. The crucial notion for those connections is the "net". The institutional infrastructure (Kudłacz, 2015; Noworól, 2015) of the territorial

management becomes more and more complex, based on the hybrid (multi-sectoral) organizations.

In consequence, in the contemporary management of territorial development, the crucial issues consist of setting the reciprocal relations between very differentiated organizations, functioning in public, social, and corporate domains. Such an institutional environment weakens the primordial position of public administration, which is characteristic of the traditional model of public management.

Regarding the management of the development of functional urban areas, mentioned attitudes can take the form of two extreme approaches. Acting along the neo-weberian concept, the authorities of the core city try to widen the city boundaries, attaching (swallowing) small neighboring localities, situated in the suburbs. A good example in Poland is the city of Rzeszów, which – between the years 2006-2010 – increased its surface from 53.69 to 116.37 km². It simplifies the management of the suburbs, although the process is not well seen and not easily accepted by the communities of the added territories. Regarding the opposite concept, the metropolises would build their relations with neighbors based on the principle of a partnership. Although such an approach is more difficult, it is better rooted in the contemporary evolution of public management. It means that a lesson in cooperation allows the development of certain skills of the public authorities and public administration that seem to be necessary in the twenty-first century. The city of Krakow is currently building its relationship with neighboring communities through cooperation in the provision of communal services, and participation in the Association “Krakow’s Metropolis”, which was invoked for the realization of Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) within the Krakow Functional Urban Area (*Programowanie perspektywy finansowej na lata 2014-2020 - Umowa Partnerstwa, 2014, Regionalny Program Operacyjny Województwa Małopolskiego na lata 2014-2020, Załącznik nr 1 do Uchwały Nr 240 /15 Zarządu Województwa Małopolskiego z dnia 4 marca 2015 r., 2015*). It is important to note, that the concept of ITI was created by the European Commission in order to encourage the cooperation of core voivodship cities with their suburban communities.

The approach, based on the partnership, is also better adaptable in the case of the process of metropolization embracing areas of small towns with a developed self-awareness and a specific identity. Actually, this is the case of Krakow’s FUA, including the towns of Wieliczka, Skawina and Niepołomice. It is difficult to imagine the complexity of adding those towns, with their rich history and cultural identity, to the commune of Krakow. Another argument for a “soft” bondage of metropolitan communities is the fact that functional urban areas are dynamic in terms of social and economic potential but also in terms of the total area. That area does not remain stable, as certain activities expand, and certain liaisons become stronger (or weaker). Metropolises grow and will grow in the future.

However, we should remember that metropolitan governance, based on the principle of partnership, becomes usually a scene of tensions and fractures between various territorial actors. In the functional urban zone, one can observe many colliding or juxtaposing interventions, supported by different organizations, public or non-public entities, and – finally – by creative or influential individuals. That situation has a significant imprint on the spatial structure of the city and its surroundings. The main challenge then is the creation of arenas of

dialogue, which become at least as important as formal, legal regulations. In earlier papers, for such cases, the author has indicated the relevance of the concept of the Adaptive Governance, depicted by E. Ostrom. That concept then gives useful tools for creating hybrid partnerships, which are responsible for the management and the development of functional urban areas (Noworól, 2014c). Studies of the phenomenon of common pool resources, allowed E. Ostrom to formulate five basic requirements, identified from extensive multidisciplinary research:

- *“Achieving accurate and relevant information;* New challenges arising from the increased speed and spread of human impacts require adaptations using a combination of scientific and local knowledge;
- *Dealing with conflict;* Governance systems that ignore the possibility of conflict over diverse issues may increase the likelihood of these conflicts, which could eventually erupt into major problems;
- *Enhancing rule compliance;* Formal rules may become effective when participants consider them legitimate, fair, enforced, and likely to achieve intended purposes;
- *Providing infrastructure;* Physical, technological, and institutional infrastructure is an essential investment in increasing the effectiveness of internal operations within a commons as well as link any particular resource and its users to larger regimes;
- *Encourage adaptation and change.* Change is omnipresent. Institutional arrangements that are intended to be sustainable cannot be fixed for the “long term,” because they need to change to address past errors and cope with new developments” (Ostrom, 2008, pp. 17–18).

Those requirements should be addressed to all who try to establish the environment of commitment and cooperation between the various actors of territorial change. It refers specifically to the management of functional urban areas, with their variety of land uses and different types of infrastructure connections.

Spatial aspects of metropolitan governance

The conditions depicted above, are confronted with the most difficult of challenges, which is the spatial planning of metropolitan – or functional urban – areas. This reflection was made by the author during the preparation of several surveys attempting to improve the planning system in Poland. Those surveys, commissioned by the Polish Government during 2011-2014, were structured after detailed analyses of obligatory plans and programs, resulting from bills or other regulations (including European Union acts). The author’s surveys were conducted separately for all self-governmental levels in Poland: regional (voivodship), sub-regional (powiat/county, functional areas) and local (gmina/community). The author’s recommendations resulting from those surveys create an integrated system of planning which embraces land use planning and socio-economic programming. In the context of the present paper’s theme, it is worth to underline that – for functional urban areas – author proposes a complex model of such integration. The main recommendations – taking under consideration planning instruments which are incorporated in the Polish law – are following (Noworól, 2014a, pp. 51–130).

There is a necessity to prepare a unique land use study (a study of conditionings and direction of spatial management of the commune / studium uwarunkowań i kierunków zagospodarowania przestrzennego gminy) for a completely functional urban area, which means that the preparation of such studies separately for communes, is simply a half measure. It is especially relevant for the study of the core city or cities in case of an agglomeration. Only a comprehensive look and united concept of land use development can allow for the control of the suburbanization and sustainable development of the metropolitan infrastructure. It refers also to the provision of housing in the study. Some legal changes adopted by Polish Parliament, during the years 2014-2015, enhance the situation. But it is not sufficient, as the bill on the metropolitan unions – mentioned above – has not produced a mandatory solution.

The concept of the creation of the metropolitan unions is a step in the right direction, however the union as another level of the sub-regional self-governance seems to be a kind of withdrawal in comparison to the activities undertaken in the form of Integrated Territorial Investments, under the regime of regulations of the current programming period of the EU. The territorial partnerships, more difficult but more adjusted to the networked environment in which we live, would be better governing bodies for metropolitan management.

Conclusions

Spatial planning of functional urban areas demands new approaches to governance on the sub-regional level and also to territorial management. The challenge consists in balancing the communities' needs and aspirations in confrontation with a provision and an absorptivity of the land.

Concluding the author's disquisitions on management and planning within functional urban areas, it must be stated that "soft" institutional and organizational solutions, based on partnership, coordination and trust should be juxtaposed or confronted with rather strict spatial regulations set for the entire area. After a difficult process of iterations, an equalized plan for sub-regional, sustainable development should emerge as the city of today.

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THE EX HACIENDAS SAN NICOLAS DE ESQUIROS AND SANTA MARIA DEL REFUGIO. THEIR PATRIMONIAL IN A NEOLIBERAL CONTEXT

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Abstract

San Nicolas de Esquiros and Santa Maria del Refugio Haciendas emerge from colonial times in Mexico, instituting their communities based on this and the figure of peasant subsumed to that of the authority. Based on its morpho-spatial characteristics and its festivities, communities form what is meaningful for them: their heritage and their identity. Due to the neoliberal economic system they live in social exclusion and economic poverty, having to sell or divide their patrimonial to slightly solve this situation. This has led to the disarticulation of these heritage spaces, thus affecting their being a community. A growth of its hull destruction can be observed as well as pollution of its springs and the transformation of their celebrations. Economic problems are leading them to live in ways that oppose their constitution of identity and because of this condition of submission and poverty, governance still seems far from being handled.

It will be shown how the current economic system has a negative impact on the patrimonial of its populations, thereby harming the social, spatial and identity tissue. The impossibility to state governance for the preservation of its governance will also be displayed.

The method used was the critical dialectics, performing ethnographic work (semi-structured interviews and participant observation), in site readings and works analysis. All of it taken to a database from the two approaches: first the one for discovery and afterwards that of explanation.

Introduction

Former haciendas of San Nicolas de Esquiros and Santa Maria del Refugio have been formed by the incidence of various historical, political and economic facts. These are the most

important: colonization, independence, agrarian movement and the Agrarian Reform. It is from the first moment when the figure of the peasant subsumed to an authority was built. This fact is essential to his nowadays behavior.

San Nicolas de Esquiros has been listed as an architectural heritage by the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) and Santa Maria del Refugio is known for its springs. In addition, both carry out festivities and religious traditions valued not only by the community but all over the region.

Now the neoliberal economic context has led the communities to forms of defenselessness not seen before. While urban areas are suffering the brunt of this economic system, the field lives it with greater profusion and aggression, since the state has become a competitive and non-protective institution. In addition to this, stigmatization has been installed in the way of living in rural areas, leading to additional effort to appear as 'urban' and therefore as 'modern'. Thus, all that is done or decided in these communities has to do with this new approach to life.

In this sense, and under the aggressive economic system that exists, its patrimonial, that is, all that has been valued for its meaning, is running the same fate as its rural being: the transformation or destruction of its essence. It seems that governance could solve this situation, however, social conditions to assume it on their own, still haven't been observed.

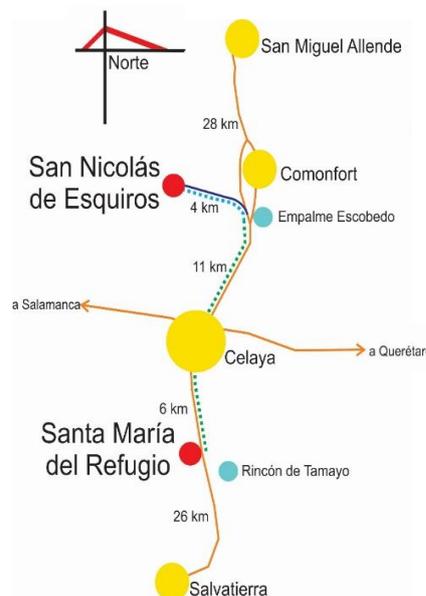
This is the context for the doctoral research project in architecture that was carried out and of which this piece of work is part.

The socio-historical context.

Location

The community of San Nicolas de Esquiros is located 15 kilometers north of the city of Celaya, Guanajuato and Santa Maria del Refugio, 6 kilometers to the south, in the area called Bajío Guanajuato; in central Mexico.

Figure 1. Location of the communities

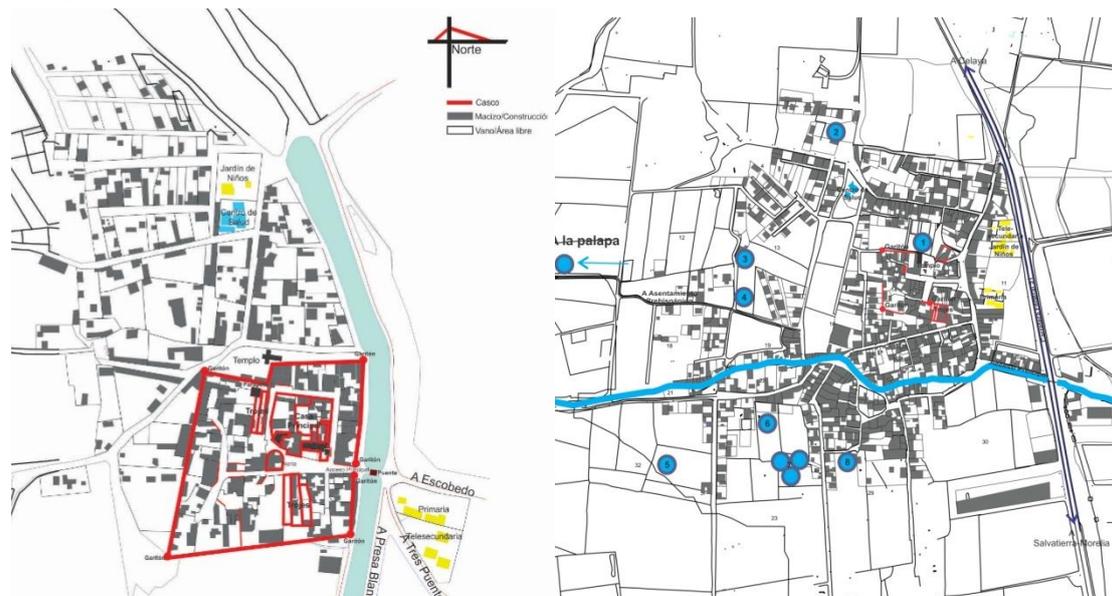


Historical tour

The communities have lived several historical and political events that have labeled them significantly. San Nicolas de Esquiros was born as a prison before the year 1570, to guard the silver for the Spanish people and Santa Maria del Refugio as an hacienda for work in 1609 due to its springs and farmland. The first one building fortifying elements as perimetral hull “garitones”, parapet and housing; and the second, without the parapet but with barns and stables. Even during the Colony, San Nicholas de Esquiros is transformed into a working ranch, adding barns and stables for use and leaving space inside the hull as room for the managers and outside it the very small houses for peasants. It is at this point when it acquires the morpho-spatial structure which was cataloged in 1996, as an architectural heritage by the National Institute of Anthropology and History.

In the early twentieth century, the Mexican Revolution arises leading to the distribution of land. This it was called The Agrarian Movement. Derived from this, in the year of 1940 communities evicted the owners and appropriating both the land and the hull, leading several families of peasants to distribute the space. Right from that moment it becomes communal property under the figure of the “ejido”. Santa Maria del Refugio starts destroying the hull and in San Nicolas de Esquiros to keep it as it was. This was the unique case in the region that this happened: families that used to live outside the town now live inside it. However, in this community as the amount of families living inside increased, the space starts becoming small, so, twelve families decided in 1970 to leave and build outside it. This how the community was composed by those living 'inside' and those living 'outside', leading to different and complex social and architectural responses. Santa Maria del Refugio instead, has grown in a freer way since it didn't leave any physical limitations.

Figure 2. Current state of both communities. The hull and other complete buildings in San Nicolas de Esquiros, the first one and Santa Maria del Refugio and its springs on the second one



With the government of President Salinas de Gortari, neoliberalism comes to the country in the figure of the Agrarian Reform. With it, "ejidos" are likely to be sold losing the community's support. Both communities begin selling and breaking in pieces their plots and San Nicolas de Esquiros also loses its place in the hull. This has led to further reduction of its space and with it, families become cramped. In addition to this, under this economic system, peasants are unprotected by state decisions, leading to more sales of land plots or housing and migration to the United States. They are communities with high percentages of migrants.

The communities and their social social fabric

Society is not a system *built a priori* to any event, not even itself¹. The institution of any society is condensed in specific ways that the community determines, being aware of it or not, in its need to understand that reality specifically lived. Arendt inserts these to conflicts arising from the daily struggle, where even forms of violence for that institution can be seen.¹ The communities are instituted in valuations that the group in the power determines. For that reason and as consequence of colonization that was lived, the figure of authority moved to the group of "ejidatarios", who, from the moment of agrarianism, took the role of authority over the rest of the community. The communities have also built other figures of authority that are related to their historical development. An example of this is the construction of a clear hierarchical figure around "ejidatarios" and institutions. These are shown with the full strength of economic and political power, causing, among other things, problems and frictions between the "ejidatarios" and those who aren't and submission to the decisions of state.

In this patriarchal society, besides, women are completely subsumed to men. These ways of being patriarchal, come from ways of being social.¹ In communities, when married, women become the domain of the husband's family, preserving the patriarchal structure of the peasant family. Also, the figure of authority represented by the landowner, has been moved to other shown in the communities. The vertical structure keeps on being observed.

The system of positions, although shown as the group that organizes its festivities, has also emerged as the most efficient construction material to consolidate an identity that, as Velasco Santos says, "... faces a context of social dispersion result of socio-economic transformations, "¹resisting the thrust of the capitalist system based on individualism. Likewise, the presence of the former hacienda in San Nicolas de Esquiros and the springs of Santa Maria del Refugio more than ways or spaces for social recognition, have turned into symbolic goods. The social social fabric, then, has been reconstructed by that condition of spatiality, as the spatiality has been constituted by the ways that the social social fabric has taken. The architectural fact of the former hacienda in San Nicolas de Esquiros and the springs in Santa Maria del Refugio, particularly that of La Huerta, have marked the communities significantly to communities. The festivities in both communities have also done the same in the construction of the social social fabric.

Capitalism in the communities

The capitalist system

Fields are characterized by two specific features: the peasant mode of production and the peasant as a subject. In capitalism land ownership appears as a new principle of differentiation of land, building with this a new private space for domination, that is, which appears in the same social class, dominance in the relationship of production and distribution, because there is a different volume and capital structure that allows them to practice a certain symbolic power in consumer relations.¹ Capitalism enters every human space, taking to the field an even bigger problem: psychological, social and economic unpreparedness of the subjects that work to face such task. In this system of capitalist production the employee is separated from the means of production then the sole abstract activity that he can make and that is use value for the capital. A permanent struggle is thus instituted by subordinating the worker and appropriate the capital of the capital gain.² Capitalism looks at the field as if it was an industry and if it requires large production, it won't be the peasant who will solve this pace, but the implementation of mechanisms outside him, such as machinery, use of pesticides use, chemical fertilizers and transformations in the fields' same process.

Castoriadis emphasizes: "Capitalism is not simply the endless accumulation for accumulation, but the relentless transformation of the conditions and means of accumulation, the perpetual revolution of production, trade, finance and consumption."² In this regime, nature is conceived as a set of raw materials that are bought and sold, that is, that can be used to produce goods which generate an added value² on those people that live them, and who should be treated under this objectifying logic. In this sense, every human being is reduced to commodity status and thus to its way of monetisation. However, despite that human labor is the creator of value, it does not show itself in the form of money, because it will be on who has the capital to sustain that capitalist production rate, then, the expression of social antagonism is observed. The expansive productive logic of capitalism enhanced with neoliberalism, has needed the fields for its development, discarding most of the time, the traditional agricultural activities because they don't suit those interests. In Mexico, with NAFTA has boosted the dismantling of agricultural production, having a particularly negative impact over small-scale production mode², that is, in the "ejido's" production. Thus, the cultivation of cereals such as corn, sorghum and barley, among others, have ceased to be a source of livelihood for households. Neoliberalism has become a State Project.

Due to the above, the competitive State overlaps the welfare State, since social policies are seen and thus reduced as a technical issue of poverty reduction and not as a political principle of social cohesion². Now communities are required to promote their projects or developments from the figure of governance. But how will they be organized if they live in the immediacy and no class awareness? How will they be organized if they live under the submission to the authorities whose see them as institutional? The concept emerged assuming they were on the way

¹ Ana Núñez, "Apropiación y división social del espacio", en *Scripta Nova*, vol.VI, Universidad de Barcelona, Barcelona, 2002, p. 25.

to be given, the social conditions for communities to take such an undertaking. It is not the case for the vast majority of them in Mexico. They are waiting for the government to solve their problems, without realizing that it is the State, the one that is sinking them more and more. This way of waiting for an answer can be observed from the Colony. The peasant solved the peasants' problems, now they expect the government to do so. In addition to this, formal education in this sense, has not solved or helped to develop critical nor propositive people.

Socio-economic impact

The rural farming community, is formed as a social group that is organized, lives and is determined by the particular historical conditions, showing a group of families attached to the floor, materializing the effective relationship in use. However, changing the way of using, and with the relationship within that family, as well as in their relationship as a community. That relationship of the peasant with his agricultural land, either as part of the estate or as "ejidatario", is broken with the introduction of the capitalist system of owning the land, as it develops as a good for exchange, not for use, neither for identity. This has led to the separation of the individual with the element that had just formed and shaped him: the fields and therefore those spaces that meant to him as community, for example, its patrimonial. This represents a break up with his being peasant and with his being a community.

Agriculture of the paused biological rhythm of the peasant against the agriculture of the big money based on this timeless and spaceless frenzy². The results for the first have been disastrous. This capitalist environment is burdening the rural economy, pushing its disbandment as a resource to ensure the reproduction of the family. The peasant is also being displaced from its status in the social scale. All because of his inability to keep the pace of the changes in productivity. The neoliberal ideology is imposed not only economically, but also in the social sphere. Derived from this, the general population generally faces a huge fragmentation of what is social and a brutal economic globalization². With this, poverty and social exclusion in rural areas shows, bringing communities to various forms of helplessness.

Money is identified as a magic key to the progress and welfare. Therefore, wage labor in the city becomes, in the imaginary plane in a space full of opportunities for personal and family satisfaction². However, job placement, is carried out in the lowest paid and most exploited spaces, not representing a significant economic improvement for the family. In addition to this, now the land, their family farm and community spaces, are also beginning to be seen monetarily. That is, when sold, they will get the possibility of fast money thinking that this will solve their economic situation. Soon they find out that they don't have any more money. Then, people and their communities are faced to the modification of what makes them be human: their spirit.

The patrimonial in the communities

The patrimonial and the architectural heritage

In this established society, subjects by the fact of living and existentially be part of the community, become aesthetic individuals, that is, the source of their own experiences that will

contribute significantly to the existentiality of the society of which are part. This, in its institution, also establishes the space which will therefore, be habitable and intrinsically related to its habits. These forms of space, that is, the place of man, are so important to him, as his own self. himself. The former hacienda and the springs are therefore, more than architectural spaces constructed in other historical times. They are the spaces that the community has taken as its own and as essential in their being a community. That *a priori* spatio-temporality has resulted in the community's here and now, thereby establishing cultural ties, customs and familiar contexts that will define them and at the same time differentiate from the others. This is their patrimonial³. The 'order', is embodied in different ways. One of them is the architecture or places and another one, equally important, is the language built based on the specific way of being community and territoriality. As the hull of the former hacienda, expressions denote the importance of it.

Doña Toribia Landín, inhabitant of San Nicolas de Esquiros says:

Those big buildings, so big that seem very high and strong [...]can be seen from anywhere...²

Mrs. Antonia Rangel inhabitant of Santa María del Refugio

Oh ... so the springs, are the ones that when they come ... they visit us; springs like the ones we have this here at Los Sabinos [The Orchard], there is another one ... well, there are some outside the ranch, there is another one here on this street, but high up there are a precious water [...] gentlemen and ladies come to carry water, they like very it much.²

Communities have built a language to name what is meaningful in their lives, showing the order and hierarchy of the social fabric. The presence of the hull of the former hacienda and springs have significantly marked their conformation. The community as a community, is it because and in the spaces that have transited to places for community encounter and reencounter: its patrimonial. Patrimonial will then be, everything that communities are giving value to and architectural heritage what an institution did. In the case of this community it is matched with the hull of the former hacienda, although for different reasons. In the Santa Maria del Refugio with its springs and both also with its festivities. Patrimonial, even if it is a building or a manifestation of them, will become a "body" for the community; a significant body of both of the community that materialized it, and as of itself that returns to it by its own strength.

Identity and belonging

The territory has several dimensions, such as the pragmatic, the social, the political, the legal and symbolic-identitary through its reference to the links of domain, belonging, ownership and diversity of meanings built there.² Thus, urban or rural areas, will be intimate or public as long as they emerge as ontic aspects of being community. The being-there of communities, is the being-there of the patrimonial, since both are formed and become the matter of it totality dialectically instituted. That communities consider something as a heritage. And will go beyond the practical-utilitarian issues (which also contains them), it will require think of it as of its *dasein*.

In both communities, mindsets were formed from the estate of work, which transited specifically to its patrimonial valorization for allowing feeling itself in the world. Mindsets and images are essential for the culture, not only in the classic sense of the word, but in putting it into

everyday's life for problem solution.² In addition to this, patrimonial has allowed people to feel different to others, to strengthen their identity and sense of belonging.

Figure 3. Elements of the former hacienda of San Nicolas de Esquiros.

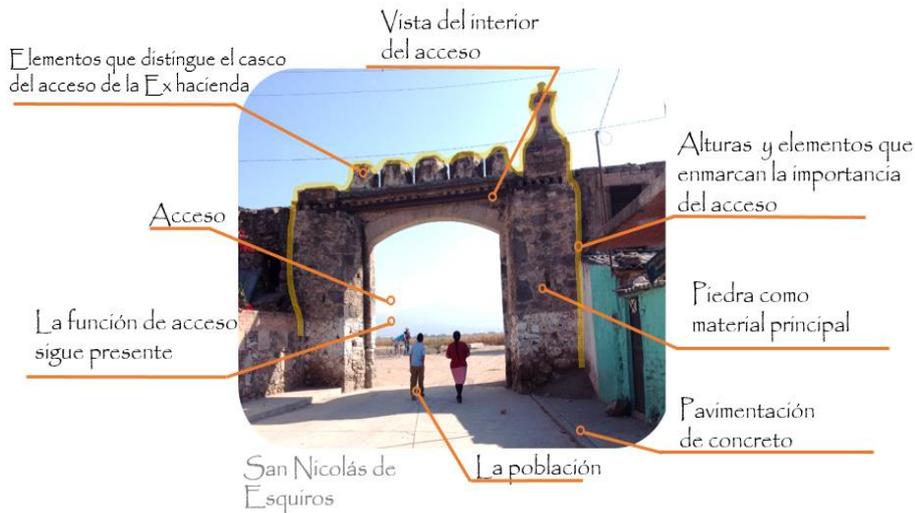


Figure 4. The main spring in Santa Maria del Refugio.



The instrument of domination has become an instrument of identity and belonging. During the interviews to the two communities studied, expressions of belonging to their place of residence were inserted. Patrimonial implies then, the onto-gnoseological and teleological of the community the institutes it. The property in this sense, appropriates its owner.² Architectural

spaces and festivities, in this case, the patrimonials are the what of the who, and²in the social sense, are the elements that allow the community to have cohesion as community.³ In the patrimonial of both communities, a dialectical pledge has been deeply sustained in the sense that there has been an *intentionality as pulsion* to objects, Mandoki would state.⁴ However, it is not unusual that the value of tangible use of a good contradicts in practice, its formal value.² The so aggressive economic conditions of the capitalist system, the paternalistic tradition they have lived and the immediate consciousness, besides their use value, have contributed to the helplessness of its own patrimonial, leading with this to a negative impact on what has allowed the construction of their identity and sense of belonging.

In these new values represented by money and stigmatizing all that is rural, communities begin to sell or to significantly modify their patrimonial. Each time the perimeter wall, the “garitones” and parapet of San Nicolas de Esquiros, they are even selling part of the inside to people whose interests are interests are opposite to the community. In Santa Maria del Refugio, it can be observed that the springs have been neglected and used increasingly more to the extraction of water without any control, just to get money out of it. In both cases, the materials used in the city for housing construction or other spaces, are inserted into them, leading to destruction of the original because of not looking 'modern'. They say that selling their plots or family farms, gives them a little relief from their economic problems, no matter if they are part of the hull of the former hacienda or of a community setting.

Thus, despite this symbolic identity burden on their patrimonial, conditions of poverty, social marginalization and new appreciations of life, sustained in capitalism, are leading the owners to sell without even noticing the loss this will represent in the short-term. Money will solve very little their socio-economic situation and it will cause a big damage on their identity and sense of belonging.

In this context, communities are now been asked to promote the preservation of its heritage with self-management, as signaled by the concept of governance. The peasants were constituted subsumed to the authority figure, no matter if this represents what is meaningful. In the reality this will not be possible if outside groups that carry out activities of social work and awareness of what they value themselves, such as their heritage, aren't gathered. It will not be possible if they are not given real possibilities of economic improvement with activities other than the sale of their land and heritage. The symbolic and identity values of the populations should prevail over the economic and practical-utilitarian ones, because the spirituality of the community goes along with it.

Conclusions

The communities studied do not have the social conditions to install governance. More social and institutional work is needed in order to begin the process. The reality seems to be very complicated, but with possibilities of success if we look at the emergence of their own discursive expressions. A big step has been accomplished by getting, through the research work, that they bring present their heritage, now this must become an institutional project.

The neoliberal economic system is objectifying everything for the sake of its own benefit, thereby bringing communities to sell what it means to them. This is not only about selling plots, family farms or heritage sites, but releasing what made them become a community and gave them a sense of belonging. In the same sense, losing these elements that are cohesive for the community, will have a strong impact on the social fabric, making them therefore, more defenseless against the onslaught of the big capital.

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COASTAL LANDSCAPE MANAGEMENT IN MEXICAN TOURIST REGIONS. PUNTA DE MITA CASE IN BAHÍA DE BANDERAS, NAYARIT

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Abstract

This article analyzes the process of coastal landscape management in the Mexican tourist region from the transformation of the landscape of Punta de Mita. This peninsula is part of the interstate metropolitan zone of Puerto Vallarta - Bahía de Banderas, located between the State of Jalisco and State of Nayarit. It is one of three coastal metropolitan zones of Mexico.

This research has a qualitative approach and adopts the concept of the *landscape* defined by the European Landscape Convention as "any part of the territory, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" (Council of Europe, 2000).

The units of analysis were the peninsular zone of Punta de Mita and the actors who participated in their transformation. The information was collected through *semi-structured interviews* with key informants selected using the snowball technique, *qualitative observation*, *review of official documentary sources (plans, projects, reports)* as well as *historiographical and aerial photographs*.

The identification of the participation of each type of actor is highlighted in the transformation of the landscape: the State provides the land and enables for tourism investment; economic actors take ownership and monetize their aesthetic values; social actors are deprived of the use and enjoyment of the landscape. The symbols printed on the territory are mainly touristic and, in the

second instance, natural whose conservation represents a point of agreement between the state and the residents.

Management of Mexican coastal tourism regions

For the year 2014, Mexico was positioned among the top ten destinations with the largest number of international tourists, 29.3 million, whose average cost was calculated to 488 USD and the destination reflects twenty foreign exchanges being used. In 2014, Puerto Vallarta and Bahía de Banderas received more than 1.6 and 1.1 million tourists respectively, of which, 1 million were international, which reflects the importance of these destinations (Secretaria de Turismo, 2015).

Since 1956, the Mexican state has been directing the management of tourist regions through the *National Trust Fund for Tourism Development* (FONATUR). This parastatal company has had different names and attributes, and currently depends on the *Ministry of Tourism* (SECTUR).

One of the most obvious transformations by that management has been the change in the ownership of land and effectively limiting access to territory that is observed in the Integrally Planned Centers (CIP) Comprehensively Planned Centers proposed since 1969 for the colonization of new coastal areas (eg. Cancun in 1974), and in areas that already showed some development and strong tourist potential such as Acapulco and Puerto Vallarta. In 2008, more than 11,000 km of Mexican coast was privatized (Dachary & Arnaiz , 2008). The construction by the beach of hotels, golf courses and luxury residences for international tourism and the high average economic sector of the Mexican population, which in 2000 represented 10% of total population (Tuirán, 2005), *actually* blocks the access to the resources of this territory for the 90% of the Mexican population.

Figure 1 Punta de Mita territory and Corral del Risco community (red) actual placement



Source: Córdova T. (2014).

The objective of this paper is to analyze the process of transformation of the Mexican coastal landscape from the territory of Punta Mita and the community of Corral del Risco, located in the municipality of Bahías de Banderas, Nayarit. This municipality has had an important tourist development supported by its outstanding esthetic qualities and for its contiguity with Puerto Vallarta. Now it is a part of Interstate Metropolitan zone of Puerto Vallarta - Bahía de Banderas which, along with Acapulco and Cancun, in 2010 integrated the three coastal tourist metropolitan zones officially recognized in Mexico (SEDESOL, CONAPO, INEGI, 2012).

The landscape as a sociocultural construct

The *landscape* has traditionally been understood as a natural and aesthetic component of the territory, however, since the mid-twentieth century, *landscape* studies have been extended to various disciplinary fields and their analysis has had a rapid evolution. In the 90s, it began to be used as a reality transformed by man against the need to build their habitat and, therefore, a sociocultural construct. Since 1992, certain important cultural landscapes were considered heritage sites by UNESCO, for being a result of the evolution in the relationship between man and nature.

This European Landscape Convention (2000), established by the Council of Europe, defined the landscape as "any part of the territory, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" (Parlamento Europeo, 2000, p. Artículo 1).

According to Howard, Thompson & Waterton (2013), this definition is irrelevant, since the *landscape* refers to a part of the territory that has certain forms of organization and administration and is perceived by the population, which highlights the presence of contextual and aesthetic qualities (space). The presence of different landscapes is related to different historical forms of interaction between human activities and natural processes, therefore the history, economy and ecology are essential factors in the structure and landscape analysis.

This new conceptual construction of the *landscape* has been retouched, analyzed and complemented by various authors, mainly European (Berque 2009; Busquets, 2009; Maderuelo, 2010; Martínez de Pisón, 2009; Mata & Alex, 2006; Moya, 2011; Muñoz, 2016; Nogué, 2007 y 2008; Roger, 2007).

Geographer and director of the Landscape Observatory of Catalonia, Joan Nogué, considers the *landscape* as "a social product, as a result of collective transformation of nature and as a cultural projection of a society in a given space." This concept can help us understand the management of the *tourism landscape* as it sets out, manipulates and legitimizes social and power relations in which on it the *symbols* of the prevailing socio-economic model are printed. An essential factor that defines the *landscape* as a social construct is the existence of the observer *perception*, which projects itself on the landscape. Power relationships arise when there are different types of observers and each makes a prospective construction different from the same landscape and exerts its ability to influence its transformation (Nogue, 2007).

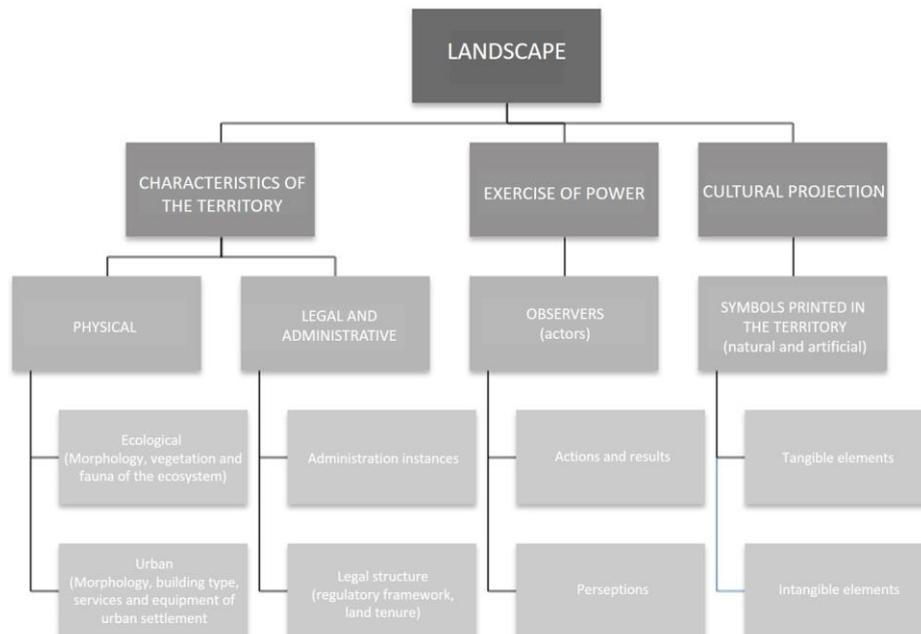
In 2010, on the occasion of the international seminar *Theory and Landscape: Reflections from interdisciplinary looks*, some of the most recognized exponents in the study of landscape in Spain, raised the need to create a critical and rigorous respect of the components and meanings of the prior *landscape* to any material or symbolic intervention reflection, noting that "the landscape is a notion complex [...], whose conceptual delimitation and critical and historical sense must be analyzed. The landscape is, or can be, a physical fact, a cultural representation, an aesthetic construction, a political category... Thus, the landscape becomes addressed as an interdisciplinary concept, as a non-reducible category to a single theoretical and epistemological framework. Its sense does not derive ultimately of a sum of approaches but hybridization of plural discourses of different disciplines and practices" (Univesitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona & Observatorio del Paisaje de Cataluña, 2009).

Methodology for analyzing the transformation of the coastal landscape

To analyze the motivations as well as environmental and social consequences of the landscape transformation, a mixed type approach that integrates quantitative and qualitative aspects was chosen. This approach allows recognizing the objective evidences and the subjectivities of the actors involved in the phenomenon.

To address the analysis of the landscape transformation in the tourism micro-region of Punta de Mita, a mixed-type methodological model was constructed from the conception proposed by the European Landscape Convention and the theoretical proposal by Joan Nogué (2007, 2008). Three-dimensional analysis were selected: 1) *characteristics of the territory*; 2) *exercise of power*; and 3) *cultural projection*.

Figure 2 Methodological framework for the landscape study



Source: By the authors / Prepared by de authors.

The first dimension aims to determine the characteristics of the coastal territory in the two selected periods of analysis, its physical aspects (ecological and urban) and regulatory (legal framework and administrative entities). The second category allows to analyze the management capacity of the actors involved as observers in the territory projecting their aspirations in the landscape. The third category focuses on the power relations between the actors and the economic model, from identifying the *symbols* printed in the landscape. The overall results of the three-dimensional raised to analyze the sustainability of Punta de Mita from the desired perspective.

Study area and periodization

The peninsula of Punta de Mita extends into the Pacific Ocean and delimits the North Bahía de Banderas, located in the municipalities of Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco and Bahía de Banderas, Nayarit. It is accessed by the branch of Punta Mita from the federal highway 200 along the coastline connecting the towns of Sayulita to the north, Higuera Blanca to the northwest, Nuevo Corral del Risco-Emiliano Zapata to the east and Cruz de Huanacastle to the southeast.

We distinguish two periods in which different degrees of human intervention in the territory can be seen: between 1949 and 1991, the landscape has a low degree of intervention and just settlement of Corral del Risco is identified; since 1992, with the beginning of the tourism project *Riviera Nayarit*, important changes in the landscape have been observed. The event that marks both periods is in 1992 with the relocation of the fishing settlement Corral del Risco due to the construction of hotel *Four Seasons Resort* by the company *Dine*, opened in 1994.

Unit of analysis and data collection

The units of analysis were the peninsular zone of Punta de Mita and the actors who participated in their transformation. Land-use transformations are analyzed using aerial photographs and documents generated in the two periods, where their physical characteristics are identified, both ecological and urban. The analysis of actor participation in this transformation took several sources, which were selected according to accessibility to the information during the research process:

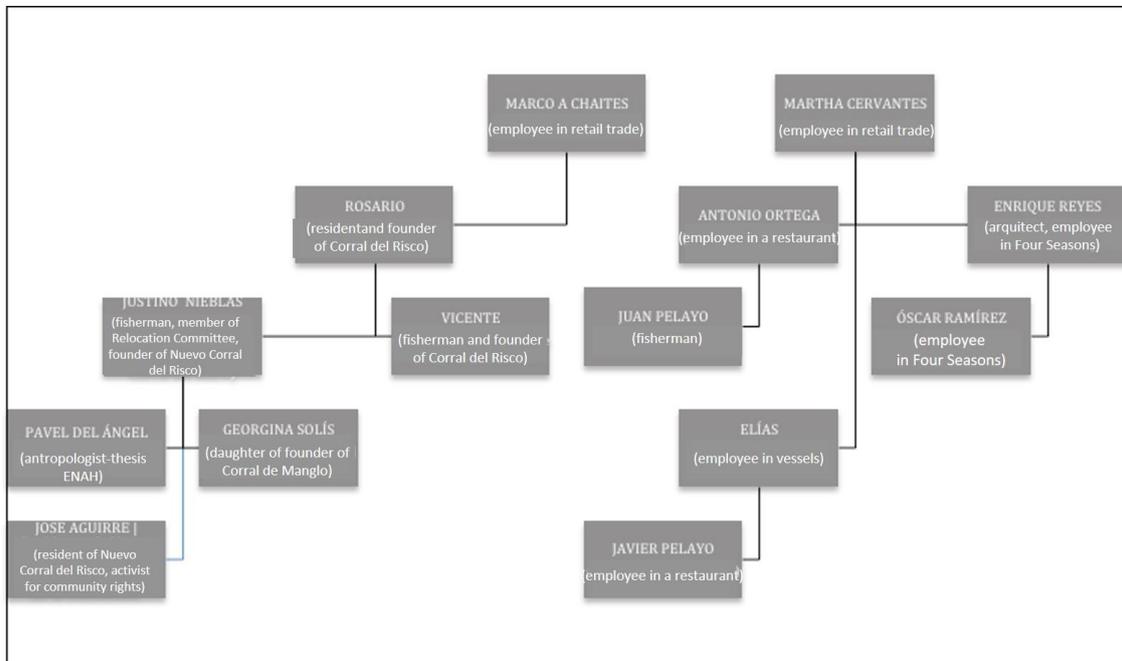
- a) *social actors* represented by residents of the town of Corral del Risco that inhabited the original town and experienced the relocation process (semi-structured interviews);
- b) *economic actors*, represented by the company *Dine* through tourism projects proposed for the peninsula of Punta de Mita and workers of the *Four Seasons* hotel (semi-structured interviews);
- c) *governmental actors* represented by the Government of the State of Nayarit, SECTUR and FONATUR (analysis of plans and projects approved for the mainland).

Sample selection and associated information

The sample of social and economic actors was selected by identifying key informants in the community of Nuevo Corral del Risco who had inhabited the original settlement and experienced the relocation process. This selection was made by the *snowball technique* that

led to the integration of an information flowchart to the saturation of the categories related to the three dimensions of the research (Figure 2).

Figure 3 Network of key Informants to the development of in-depth interviews



Source: Córdova T. (2014).

The semi-structured interview covered the three dimensions of research in both periods of analysis. The presence and the accessibility of documentary and photographic material was important which allowed to contrast the arguments of key actors giving a high degree of certainty to their testimonies.

The encroached landscape

Territory characteristics and the exercise of power

The Punta de Mita is integrated into the Sierra Madre del Sur through an irregular strip that covers the entire municipality of Bahía de Banderas. The foothills of the Sierra de Vallejo stretch to the coastal area of Punta de Mita. The coastal landscape is characterized by alternating low-lying coasts, corresponding to the floodplains and coastal cliffs, where mountainous areas extend to the sea.

The predominant vegetation found is the mangrove, which is perpendicularly distributed to the channels of the Ameca River and the communities of herbaceous and shrubby species adapted to the particular conditions of the coastal sand dunes. One can observe species of spiny forest with low scrub, which functions as a transitional area and protects the coastal forest.

Until 1992, the settlement officially known as *Punta de Mita*, and by the residents as *Corral del Risco*, was located on the east coast in front of the Las Cuevas beach, which in 1980 accounted

for a population of 364 inhabitants. In 1994, one could observe the relocation of this settlement in front of the *Playa del Anclote* and in the peninsula tourist-oriented constructions could be identified: hotels, pools, golf courses, etc. In 2000, Nuevo Corral del Risco was home to 598 inhabitants; in 2010 they increased to 2,304. This significant relative growth was due to its integration with the Emiliano Zapata zoning area for statistical purposes (INEGI, 1980; INEGI, 2010). Despite the population increase, its extension was not significant because it was already surrounded by touristic developments.

The Government as a landscape provider for tourism investment

In Mexico, SECTURE is responsible for creating policies and planning tourism activities through the *General Tourist Land Use Planning Program* (POTT), while FONATUR is responsible for identifying, defining and promoting investment projects (FONATUR, 2012).

Since its formation in 1956, FONATUR had to overcome two major problems in order to manage the touristic territory: the land tenure and the prohibition of foreigners to acquire property on a stretch of 50km of the coast (Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, art. 27). With the objective to circumvent this legislation, in 1970 *the National Program of the Regularization of Communally Owned Zones* (PRONARZUE) was created, now known as *the Commission for the Regularization of Land Tenure* (CORETT, 2012), which aims to regularize the tenure of communally owned territories, as well as communal and private property illegally occupied. Official discourse tried to give legal certainty to the communal owners, entitling them with property deeds, however, the program annexed the rest of the communally owned property not used for homes and constituted a trust: A legal entity for the administration of the territory by the federal government or for assistance of the parastatal entities "... in the powers of the State to promote the priority areas of development" (Cámara de Diputados del H. Congreso de la Unión, 2013).

Supported by the argument to provide legal certainty to localities with potential, FONATUR initiated a process of *expropriation and regularization of land tenure*. In practice, the *appropriation* of territory in favor of the federal court gave way through the use of the *trust*, so that foreigners could manage the Mexican coastal landscape and marked the beginning of foreign investment in the Mexican tourism industry. The process of evasion of the limitations imposed by the Constitution concluded in 2013 with the approval of the amendment of article 27 of the Constitution, promoted by the coordinator of the PRI, Manlio Fabio Beltrones, who reduced ownership restrictions to foreigners, on the grounds "to eradicate the simulation of foreign ownership on the beaches of Mexico and to eliminate the intermediaries through trusts, [...] have profited from the constitutional prohibition" (El Economista, 2013).

In 1970, *the Transferring Trust of Ownership of Banderas Bay* (FIBBA) was created, through which, began the same processes in the coastal region of the state of Nayarit. It expropriated 4,136 hectares of communally owned lands of the current municipality of Bahía de Banderas (FIBBA, 2015; Gómez Encarnacion, 2008).

According to community informants, Corral del Risco was, at this time, a fishing settlement that was located on the property of a cattle ranch. During the process of regularization, land

ownership was transferred by the farm to the inhabitants (Nieblas, J., personal communication, October 30, 2014).

Although we found no evidence of this transfer, in the *Regional Plan for Urban Development of Priority Zone Conurbada of the Ameca River Estuary* of 1979, a reference is made to the settlement of Punta de Mita in the location referred to by the inhabitants of Corral del Risco. Until the 2010 census, this settlement was officially identified as Corral del Risco – Punta de Mita. (INEGI, 2010)

Successively, the sector investment programs (1978-1982), began construction of the La Cruz de Huanacaxtle – Punta de Mita highway, introduced electricity to all villages, provided water services to Punta de Mita, as well as training and diverse equipping for education, health, sports and communication infrastructures such a telephone, telegraph and mail (Secretaria de Asentamientos Huanos y Obras Públicas, 1976). In the late 70's, the Federal 200 Tepic – Puerto Vallarta highway was constructed, which includes the branch that runs along the coastline to the peninsula that allows access to the beaches in the area.

In 2007, SECTUR, FONATUR and the Government of the State of Nayarit launched the *Riviera Nayarit* project, which stretched along 307 kilometers of coastline, from the Tecuala municipality to Puerto Vallarta, and gave a new boost to development of high-level tourism in Punta de Mita.

The economic power of tourism

In the 90s, the *Dine* company acquired almost the entire peninsula (688.5 ha) where the fishing settlement of Punta de Mita – Corral de Risco was originally located. In 1994, the community was relocated in front of the *Playa del Anclote* beach, changing its name to Nuevo Corral del Risco. The proposal of the *Dine* real estate company, which had the support of the Government of the State of Nayarit, consisted of granting the residents of Corral del Risco an urbanized zone with all services and housing property, in exchange for their relocation.

The local population as vulnerable observers

The negotiation process for the transfer of the community of Corral del Risco was not easy. The community had a great attachment to their way of life and depended on the natural resources for their food and income. Additionally, the community learned of the relocation once the management efforts for the construction of the *Punta Mita* resort and *Four Seasons* hotel had already been finished.

In the interviews performed on site, the informants who were residents of the old Corral del Risco shared with us how they perceived this process of transformation of the territory and the relocation. The process began with a meeting with the fisherman and inhabitants where they were informed that the area had been sold and they were going to be relocated. The majority of the community initially stood in the position of defending the land where they lived, refusing to move. (Chaites, M., Comunicación personal, 30 de octubre de 2014) Finally, the government of Nayarit sent police patrols to the residents who forcibly took them to the state headquarters in order to force them to sign documents accepting their relocation (Nieblas, J., Comunicación personal, 30 de octubre de 2014). After this incident, the community organized and created a "Board" whose members acted as negotiators and leaders of the defense movement. The real

estate company sent the plan of the new town to support its promise of the features of the zone and the dwellings they would be providing them. The relocation of the population from the old Corral del Risco was completed in 1993 and is documented in the Public Registry of Property of Bucerias, Nayarit. The last families who refused to be relocated were evacuated with construction machinery that came to destroy the old community.

Even so, the inhabitants state that *Dine* did not meet the original specifications and also that there were families who did not receive housing. (Pelayo, J., Comunicación personal, 30/10/2014) The Nuevo Corral del Risco project which provided a housing development of 20 hectares with lots of 300m² and finished homes was replaced at the last minute by a housing development of 11 hectares with lots of 162m² and houses with different dimensions and features (Nieblas, J., Comunicación personal, 30/10/2014). The homes that were originally promised at 60m² were 42m², with a cement floor and without a kitchen (Rosario, Comunicación personal, 30/10/2014), and did not meet with the minimum conditions of comfort, with a distribution that does not allow air flow so that the community has them kept cool with trees or thatched roofs above the cornet roof to try to mitigate the heat. The perception of the community in respect to the relocation is of abuse by the authorities, they feel that they cannot trust in them as they only take care of those in power; dispossession because they cannot access the beaches and natural areas that they enjoyed before the relocation; anger, helplessness and vulnerability towards this event that overtook their ability to respond (Solís, G., Comunicación personal, 30/10/2014).

Cultural projection: the symbols of the landscape

We have identified four symbolic dimensions printed in the landscape of the Punta de Mita micro-region.

Symbols of transnational power of tourism: Golf courses, residences and resort hotels

The *Punta Mita* development has been listed by the magazine *Expansion* as one of the most luxurious areas with the highest development in the region (Expansion, 2008). Its facilities have profoundly transformed the territory of the peninsula and represents the symbols of economic power in the landscape.

Two *golf courses* with 19 holes, designed by Jack Nicklaus (considered to be the best golfer of all time) are advertised on the official websites for being located in the middle of the jungle with views of the Pacific Ocean: the *Campo de Golf Pacifico* (1999) and the *Campo de Golf Bahía* (2009) which together have an area of 238 hectares.

Two Special Category (5 Diamonds) *resort hotels* were constructed: the *Four Seasons* with 173 rooms, and the *Saint Regis* with 130 rooms, opening in 1999 and 2009 respectively, including swimming pools, restaurants and other luxury facilities.

According to the master plan presented on the official website of *Punta Mita*, 12 *residential development* constructions are currently planned with a cost of over one million dollars and over 300m² of space.

Natural symbols of the territory, the agreement between the government and residents

Four natural symbols have been identified for their ecological significance and aesthetic, which have been protected firstly by civil society and later, by the Mexican state.

The *Marieta Islands* are a recognized symbol by the people who have fought for their sustainability. In 1997 the SEMARNAP classified the islands as a priority area for protection (ECOPLAMB, 2004), in 2005 they were declared a national park, with a total area of 1,383 hectares (SEMARNAT, 2007). In 2008, UNESCO declared them a *Biosphere Reserve* (UNESCO, 2012).

The *humpback whales* are amongst the most impressive marine species in the region and the fishermen in the area, after more than 60 years of experience, have become so knowledgeable of their habits that they are considered field guides and recognized experts in their study with the likes of Jaques-Yves Cousteau or Anelio Aguayo.

In 1998, SEMARNAT published the Official Standard that established guidelines and specifications for the development of whale watching activities concerning their protection and the conservation of their habitat. Despite the attempts to protect marine mammals, the boost in tourism in the region has increased the anthropic pressure on its habitat (Nieblas, J., Comunicación personal, 30/10/2014).

The *marine region of the Bahía de Banderas*, including its beaches and cliffs are active landscapes recognized by residents and tourists. Since 1990 they have been listed as relevant ecosystems (ECOPLAMB, 2004, pág. 148). In 1998, the *National Commission for the Knowledge and Use of Biodiversity* (CONABIO), considered the Bahía de Banderas to be a priority region for marine conservation (ECOPLAMB, 2004). The foothills of the *Sierra Vallejo* form a substantial part of the landscape of Punta de Mita, which is integrated in the Sierra Madre del Sur and from 2004 is considered part of the *Priority Terrestrial Regions for Biodiversity Conservation* (RTP-62) (ECOPLAMB, 2004, págs. 148, 176).

Symbols of local culture

Two types of local culture symbols have been identified: the *remnants of the distant past* as well as the *artefacts and architectures* from which the population has marked the territory.

In the area that is located in the *Archeological site of Punta de Mita* which highlights the ceremonial centers of Tintoque and El Malinal. For the local residents, these archeological remains of pre-Hispanic settlements represented symbolic references, however, after the privatization of the peninsula, they were not aware of its state (Nieblas, J., Comunicación personal, 30/10/2014). In 1994, the *Agreement of Cultural & Financial Cooperation for the Investigation and Archeological Rescue of Punta Mita* with the *National Anthropological and Historical Institute* (INAH), which was ratified in 1997 against the danger represented by the construction of the second stage of the *Punta Mita* resort. The ceremonial centers of Tintoque and El Malinal as well as other archaeological remains such as petroglyphs, ovens, and pots were analyzed and cataloged (ECOPLAMB, 2004, pp. 177, 178). It is currently not possible to access these places located in the *Punta Mita* resort.

Amongst the *artefacts* of the area that the residents recognize as symbols, one finds *El Faro* and *La Glorieta* at the entrance of the old town of Corral del Risco. The first was a reference for

the inhabitants who engaged in fishing, and the second marked the access to the far side of the peninsula and the old Corral del Risco. Other important places – the old school and church of Corral del Risco – were destroyed in the relocation of the community.

Discussion

In the costal landscape of Punta de Mita, the symbols of power of the Mexican State and transnational tourism companies have been established. The first established the normative bases and management tools as well as the infrastructure to provide the coastal territory with tourism potential with the necessary components to attract investment. The second introduced its symbols through the privatization of land and a profound transformation of its ecological and esthetic components.

Together, these two factors caused a cultural breakdown for the former residents of Corral del Risco in order to adapt themselves to the conditions of their new settlement, with conditions that were not only different but also of less comfort and material quality, affecting their quality of life. The privatization of beaches and other natural and man-made symbols that formed part of the culture of the inhabitants of Corral del Risco are motives of arguments that show their helplessness and anger. Repeatedly, they affirm that they do not deny the progress nor the investment of touristic businesses, however they request the respect of agreements and the support of the Mexican state.

The agreement between the State and local communities to conserve and sustain the natural symbols identified in the territory may represent the key to tighten the relationships of power and a “possible aesthetic anticipation of a reconciliation between nature and culture, in other words, of a reconciliation made by society” (Nogué 2008).

Conclusions

The process of coastal territory management we observed in Punta de Mita is not an atypical for Mexico: SECTUR and FONATUR have been managing the development of the tourism sector since the 50s, under a strategy of expropriation and appropriation of the landscapes of major ecological and aesthetic relevance of the national territory. The *trust* was developed as a mechanism for the federal government to acquire land with high touristic potential, with a relatively low cost since communally owned property would be expropriated for public interest or in specific cases, as investment for foreign capital.

According to the Landscape Agreement (2000), the objective of landscape quality is linked to the formulation, by the competent authorities, of the aspirations of the public with regards to the landscape features of their surroundings, however, in the Mexican case the communities are not considered in this management so that in many cases they have organized to autonomously oppose the eviction and transformation of their environment. Such actions have provided mixed results, a progressive empowerment of the community in response to its vulnerability to economic powers and the State has been observed.

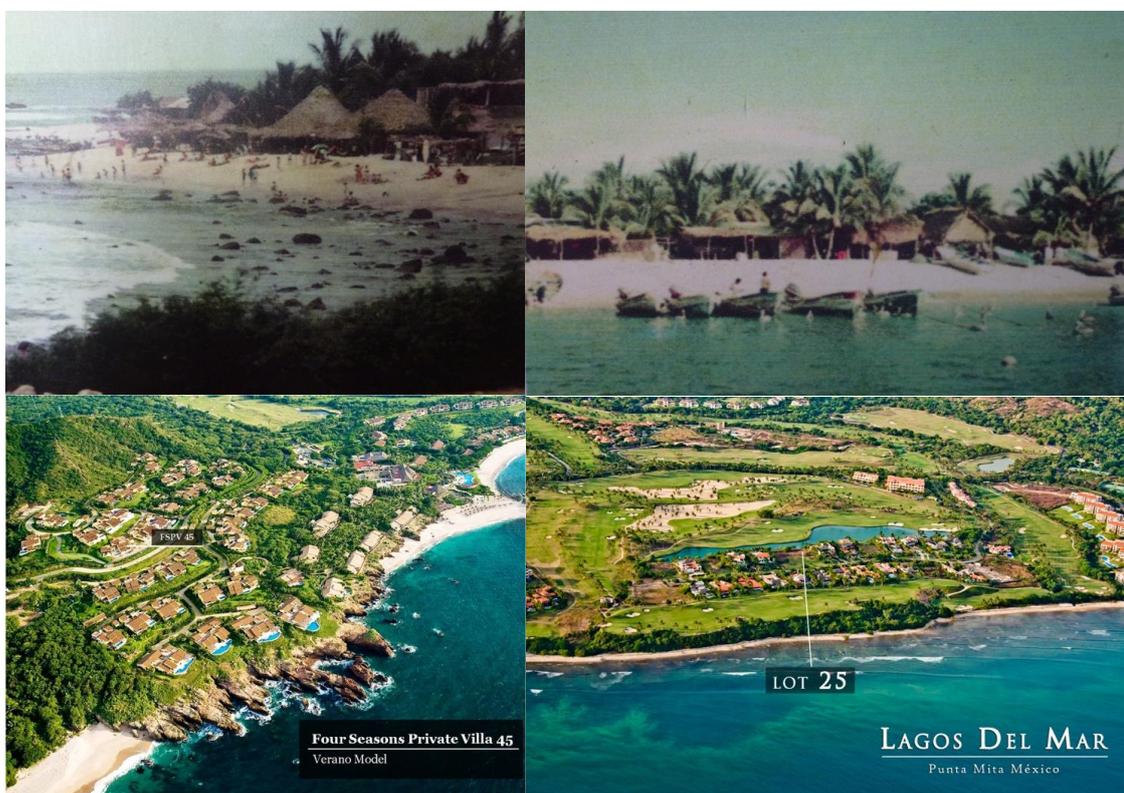
We believe that the whole planning and managing process for coastal touristic projects has to be redesigned in order to include local communities' opinions and the ultimate goal of bringing

economical and social benefits to the local population as well as ecological protection to the landscape.

The government agencies in charge of touristic development should look at other positive experience in areas that have been through the so-called boom in tourism such the Baleares Islands (Spain), where the local authorities established a series of regulations that effectively limited the touristic growth in the coastal area and promoted other forms of tourism such as tourism of quality, tourism of culture or sport tourism. (Bouazza A., 2006)

A change in the paradigm that rules the development of the tourist sector is much needed: local communities should be considered by the federal and local government as fundamental actors in the construction of the coastal landscape as well as an integral part of its cultural richness instead of dispensable accessories or even obstacles to the development like they are now.

Figure 4 Landscape change in coastal areas of Punta de Mita, Bahía de Banderas, Nayarit.



Source: Upper images: ancient fishermen village of Punta de Mita, circa 1980 (Source: Cooperative o fishermen of Nuevo Corral del Risco). Lower images: Punta de Mita Resort, 2016. (Source: Dine Real Estate).

Figure 5 Aerial image of Punta de Mita, Bahía de Banderas, Nayarit.



Source: Dine Real State (2016).

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THE CORRELATION BETWEEN THE IDENTITY OF CITY CENTER STREETS AND URBAN ACTIVATION OF CITIES - ON THE EXAMPLES OF POZNAŃ AND WARSAW

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Abstract

In many Polish cities we see the disappearance of individual features of city center areas which give way to more typified and repeatable. Modern urban complexes - often impersonal spaces with no unique character do not encourage maintaining interpersonal relationships that are key for our society. The humanistic aspects of architecture are becoming more and more blurred – the metropolitan structures developed today say nothing about the identity of particular areas. Visual features of buildings, if carefully selected, may be key in contributing to the urban activation of city centers. It's the esthetics of the lower parts of the buildings that form spatial behavior of residents and shape emotional attitude towards the street. By understanding the pedestrians' preferences in this matter, the overall satisfaction of using the streets may be improved while those factors that discourage the pedestrians from visiting the city center may be eliminated.

Many studies have shown that careful selection of visual features of shop windows is an effective way of creating the "atmosphere" of the street.

In the current plans for urban revitalization of city centers the aspect of visual quality of commercial premises is ignored or brushed aside. The confrontation of good practices employed in many European cities with the lack of effective control of the public areas in Poland indicates the source of the problem. There is an urgent need for developing official guides for

shop window designs. Their aim would be to emphasize the unique identity of particular areas so that people can appreciate them more.

“The correlation between the identity of city center streets and urban activation of cities - on the examples of Poznan and Warsaw”

The rapid advancements in technology and science are key factors determining the modernity and ongoing change in our lives. The times we live in are marked by constant race and rush towards development. Globalization connects and unifies human activity in an irrevocable way. This phenomenon entails dangerous cultural consequences. Individualized behavior used to be a characteristic feature of social groups which came from specific geographic regions. Today, it's not history but access to technology shapes communities. Built through a long-lasting tradition, the habits of inhabitants in various areas are no longer an obstacle in absorbing global trends. An advantage of such social changes is the world-wide dissemination of knowledge that fosters increasingly higher living standards. Through those changes, regardless of natural barriers – climate and geography – the civilization advances, thus facilitating the development of communities.

Unfortunately, this fast spreading process has also negative effects: the world of today is becoming more and more standardized and deindividualized. The lines between cultural regions and regional diversities are blurred. The economic factors adversely affect the character of modern world depriving it of clarity and uniqueness. This ambivalent process concerns all aspects of human life, especially architecture and urbanism of modern cities. These are the domains whose transformations are easy to discern.

Several decades ago the diverse types of urban spaces and landmarks illustrated the lifestyle of city dwellers, reflected local climate and abundance of natural resources but also showed the skills of local designers and constructors. Such preservation of information on particular cultures and communities were clear for us and future generations.

When looking at the modern urbanized areas, it is difficult to see clear differences between the communities living there. The singular features of the urban environment are becoming blurred, giving way to typified and repeatable structures. Uniform design methods do not foster the creation of places “with soul” which we value so much in old cities. The humanistic features of architecture are disappearing. Modern urban complexes are often designed in a way that ignores the basic spiritual needs – empty, impersonal places with no unique character do not encourage maintaining interpersonal relationships that are key for our society. Recently, it is the newly built shopping arcades and courtyards that function as public spaces. Unfortunately, this trend is getting stronger and adversely affects the needs of the city and it does not help in bringing people to places of interests, to the contrary – it leads to isolation of certain groups and emptying of city centers. This, in turn, results in empty, boring and lifeless streets.

Figure 1 Ratajczaka street, Poznań



Source: Photo by Natalia Regimowicz

In urban planning, it was the city center streets that functioned as “the salon of the city”, i.e. a place to socialize, use various necessary services and to satisfy the psychological needs connected with the necessity to “show oneself in society”. As such, the streets may be treated as the basic factor shaping the phenomenon of cityness while the number of people present in the street at the same time as the basic quantifier for urban activation of city centers. The presence of pedestrians is the key element of city life – without it the city would be like a theater without actors.

The extensive knowledge of the relation between humans and architecture helps foresee what surroundings foster urban activation and integration of different social groups. Therakomen (2001) notes that the urban space encompasses not only the physical structures – buildings, street and squares – but also the people in them. The author examines patterns of pedestrian traffic connected with dynamic recognition of the urban surroundings as a combination of visual perception, motivation and social influence. He stresses the fact that in order to understand the behavior of the pedestrians we must look at the street as a place of transfer in terms of complex situational and emotional contexts. The effect of the buildings depends on the awareness and emotions of a pedestrian as well as the urban context. City spaces that serve their functions are those that ensure favorable conditions for movement and participation in social and leisure activities. Conscious urban planning helps to attract people and gather them in city spaces, which in turn leads to different events.

The willingness to participate in the city life largely depends on the ability to see and observe. City dwellers often move around familiar places without giving much attention to their visual quality. This does not show their limited perception but, rather accommodation to the space they

live in everyday. Psychologists and researchers in related domains explain that continuous stay in the same urban surroundings deprives us of the ability to observe them and assess them without emotion. It does not, however, diminishes the subconscious impact the surroundings have on our psyche. Even if we do not realize that, the unesthetic and wrong urban solutions are tiresome and discourage us from staying in such places. We avoid such places on purpose and are gladly go to places that ease out minds.

In terms of the psychological comfort, the most attractive places are varied urban routes, i.e. those where each stage provides different esthetic impressions that guarantee a satisfying spatial adventure – when walking, people focus their senses on the appealing “stops” on the way, which is why they are not bored by the length of their travel but rather feel satisfied with what they had experienced. Lower parts of the buildings draw most of the pedestrians’ attention, their esthetics shapes the spatial behavior of the inhabitants, stimulates identification processes and has impact of the emotional attitude to the street.

In this context, another problem comes to the fore, namely the visual chaos commonly occurring in the Polish city streets. Visual pollution is a term used to describe any anthropogenic elements that contribute to landscape depreciation. Aggressive advertising displays and signs, billboards, information boards, shop windows that compete with the architectural form of the historical townhouses are one of the many problem the city streets face today.

Figure 2. Visual chaos – vitrines and shop signs - general problems



Source: Illustration by Natalia Regimowicz

Figure 3. The Freedom Square (Plac Wolności) in Poznań

- Shop windows completely covered with aggressive posters.



Source: Illustration by Natalia Regimowicz

Figure 4. Wrocławska Street in Poznań

- Signboards are held too low or too high in relation to the architectural structure of the facade.



Source: Illustration by Natalia Regimowicz

Figure 5. Półwiejska Street in Poznań

- Information media (ads and signboards) placed at different levels



Source: Illustration by Natalia Regimowicz

Figure 6. Ratajczaka Street in Poznań

- Adjacent information media (ads and signboards) held at different levels; oversized 3-D advertising elements



Source: Illustration by Natalia Regimowicz

Neglecting the compositional integrity and the architecture-history continuum causes considerable degradation of historical districts. The relation between the newly created urban fabric and the areas with rich historical identity is key in determining the city image. Places of historical interest should be subject to strict preservation maintenance in order to prevent further irreversible action.

When developing urban plans, particular areas should be identified using professional methodical analyses. For the analysis of city centers with high historical value, one can use the DIVE method (Reiner, 2010). It is composed of four methodical stages:

1. *Describe*: historical uniqueness of the street, especially its evolution and features,
2. *Interpret*: historical significance of the street, interpretation of the historical elements in the context of the place's identity and preservation of collective memory,
3. *Value*: cultural value of the street, development potential, susceptibility to change,
4. *Enable*: possible room for intervention, variants of acceptable transformations with the key historical elements retained'

One important objective is to create the feeling of attachment to the street by improving access to sale and service points located in the buildings whose facades should be "open" to the street. From this perspective, the main goal of urban activation is to improve the standard of use of the streets by the pedestrians. A particularly interesting approach is one with focus on using street markets to rebuild local communities (Kent, 2008). The author thinks that such activation is positively influenced by:

- varied selection of goods offered by stores,
- "attention-grabbing" shop windows,
- cafes and restaurants with outdoor seating on the sidewalk,
- scale adjusted to a person's height, especially on the ground floor facades,
- narrow streets designated largely for pedestrian traffic rather than car traffic,
- squares adjacent to shopping streets,
- designated bike routes,
- proximity to public transportation stops.

It follows from the conducted analyses that urban activation of the city centers depends, to a large extent, on a well-developed shopping network accessible to pedestrians. The best way to attract pedestrians is to offer them open, inviting spaces such as patios, sidewalk cafes and restaurants as well as intriguing shop windows. Street-facing windows are an invitation to come inside a building – in stores they draw our attention with an interesting display of goods while in cafes and restaurants they show us how other enjoy their meals inside. Shop windows are important means of displaying specific aspects of business, industry, services and sometimes even political or social activities.

Figure 7. Nowy Świat Street, Warszawa



Source: Photo by Natalia Regimowicz

The link between the visual quality and emotions is well known to set designers, architects and urban planners. It is also reflected in literature with themes of emotional experiencing of city spaces. One theme worth mentioning is that of *flâneur* – “an unhurried stroller considered and observer and researcher of the big-city crowd flowing through the streets” (Żyłko, 2000). From this perspective, a stroller is a “reader of the streets”, an interpreter of street scenes, a judge of style and a pursuer of impressions experienced through admiring shop windows.

The visual quality of shop windows is linked to the passer-by on the functional, conceptual and emotional levels. Visual features of shop windows take on emotional and symbolic meanings in the eyes of the people walking down the streets, and, as a result influence spatial behavior – they can encourage or discourage walking down the street, they can motivate the decision to buy a given product.

In studies on perception and spatial behavior in the urban areas, it is assumed that people evaluate the surroundings with different level of criticism and notice their advantages and drawbacks. Many authors try to quantify the impressions connected with the perception of the surroundings, e.g. Bonenberg (2011) built a coherent system of evaluating emotions connected with the perception of the urban area and based on that he created first emotional maps of Poznań and Poznań’s districts, the first such maps in Poland. This analytical approach is firmly grounded in the research conducted by Bańko (2002), Lewicka (2012) and Merleau-Ponty (2001). Numerous applications implementing the results of the research mentioned above were developed – mainly within the area of emotional ergonomics. One example is a method of

selecting office furniture depending on the emotional preferences of the employees (Bonenberg 2013).

There have been studies which directly point to the fact that well-chosen visual features of shop windows are an easy and effective way of creating the “atmosphere” of a street. (Bonenberg W. *Architecture as a City Brand - an Example of Poznan Metropolitan Area*, Bonenberg W. *The emotional space: a study of spatial development of Poznań metropolitan area*, Regimowicz N. *Shop windows as a factor in street urban activation on the example of Poznań city center*).

The conducted research which included context analysis, in situ studies, internet search query, case studies, cognitive experiment on identification of emotional responses to visual stimulation and research by design indicate a relatively simple method, not requiring large funding, to activate city center streets. This method refers to two aspects of shop window presentation as elements shaping the image of public spaces:

- a) shop window presentation involving the display of goods in the shop window (display arrangement to attract the customers' attention). It basically refers to what is behind the shop window glass and is visible from the street.
- b) shop window as part of the facade of the building which should conform to specific rules of composition, match the facade and be in line with the local urban context.

Properly selected visual features of shop windows may constitute a key element of urban activation of city centers. Obtaining knowledge on the pedestrians' preferences in this matter may improve their satisfaction regarding the use of the streets and eliminate those aspects that discourage people from staying in city center and drive people away to shopping malls on the city outskirts. The appearance of shop windows influences spatial behavior of the inhabitants and tourists – it may draw people to the city center or scare them off, it may be a showcase of the street and “an invitation” to take a stroll along the buildings.

A detailed analysis of the results helps in distinguishing those combinations of visual features which mostly contribute to evoking certain emotional responses, such as:

- feeling impressed is (mostly) conditioned by *the expression of the visual message* (9.4 pts.), in connection with the need of being “*en vogue*” (following trends, 8.1 pts.) and *stylistic originality* (7.56 pts.).
- liking is (mostly) conditioned by *careful workmanship* (9.2 pts.), in connection with *thematic cohesion* (items in shop window form a collection, 6.9 pts.), and *literality* as well as *comprehensibility of the visual message* (6.7 pts., 6.48 pts.),
- surprise is (mostly) conditioned by *the expression of the visual message* (9.4 pts.), *stylistic originality* (8.4 pts.) and *dynamic expression of the display* (7.8 pts.).
- amusement is (mostly) conditioned by *stylistic originality* (6,72 pts.), in connection with *expression of the visual message* (7.52 pts.), *dynamic expression of the display* (7.02 pts.)
- feeling prestigious is (mostly) conditioned by *careful workmanship* (9.2 pts.), in connection with the need of being “*en vogue*” (8.1 pts.), *comprehensibility of the visual message* (7.2 pkt.) and *thematic cohesion* (6.9 pts.).

- curiosity is (mostly) conditioned by need of being “*en vogue*” (8.1 pkt.), in connection with *stylistic originality* (7.56 pts.), *number of display plans* (6.8 pkt.).

Based on these analyses we can diagnose the emotional states of passers-by and shape them accordingly (by changing the visual features of shop windows). For example, shop windows may inspire curiosity the passers-by or delight them, but also be boring, off-putting and irritating. Such emotions are responsible for the way we perceive a given street. Streets may be luxurious and prestigious, liked by the passers-by or attracting with its unusual, funny shop windows. On the other end of the spectrum we have streets that are boring, depressing and irritating. With properly selected visual features of shop windows we can easily and effectively create the “atmosphere” of the street. It is this atmosphere that determines how attractive the street is for the passers-by and customers (in the so-called target groups)

The need for urban activation also refers to other neglected streets in many parts of Poland. In this context, it is important to mention the problem of the visual quality of shop windows as well as signboards and ads. As research shows, in Poland this problem has reached the level of visual pollution.

In the plans for city center revitalization, the visual quality of sale and service points is disregarded or marginalized. Such an approach is adopted in many Polish cities, including the Revitalization Program of the Poznań City Center. A comparison of good practices used in many European cities with lack of an effective control over the public space in many Polish cities shows the core of the problem. There is an urgent need for developing an official guide for shop window designs in city center streets. With such a guide, it would be possible to highlight the identity of particular areas for better reception by the community. The guide would contain patterns dedicated to each district along with some theoretical guidelines, such as:

- the project should respect the architectural stylistics of the existing building and surroundings,
- a shop window should have a clearly delineated character and cannot be a result of ill-advised stylistic combinations,
- appearance of a business establishment should reinforce local visual identity or contribute to generating new appealing urban values,
- finishing materials should be selected to match the character of the façade,
- the type and amount of the materials used should be minimum, durable and easy to maintain,
- interesting architectural details should be used; if possible, any historical details should be preserved and restored if they contribute to the unique character of the street,
- the size, proportions of the frame, windowpane dividers and other elements should correspond to the higher parts of the building and be of similar character as the adjacent buildings
- large plastered areas and oversized signboards should be avoided,

- the location of mechanical devices, alarms systems should be planned so that they are not disruptive but still perform their functions,
- the front of the shop window should include the name of the business or logo, inscriptions should be reasonably arranged and their size should not exceed $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total area,
- the coloring of the inscriptions should correspond to the frame of the shop window and other elements of the window and facade,
- typography should be legible and uncomplicated,
- in the case of historical building or townhouse, displayed, glowing and blinking signs or symbols should not be used (it is recommended to use back lit 3D signs – the so-called signs with a halo)
- if it is necessary to have lighting in the shop window, a subtle outer frames should be installed, large floodlights should not be accepted,
- corporations and franchise points with one uniform pattern for shop windows should be asked to slightly modify their standards in order to match the style of their location.

Figure 8, Figure 9. Different look of the same franchise brand – „Żabka”, Poznań.



Source: Photos by Natalia Regimowicz

Figure 10. An example of patterns of shop windows for a townhouse located at Półwiejska Street in Poznań.



Source: Designed by Natalia Regimowicz

Summing up, it may be stated that urban activation of city centers by making the trading more presentable is a tested method used in many European cities. Actions taken by the city authorities are aimed at changing the image of neglected city center areas by redirecting the focus on business dealings. The idea behind this concept is make city centers more attractive for the highly-skilled, creative people (encouraging them to move to city center and find a job there), thus drawing more investors to city centers (Bonenberg 2008). The key element in such approaches is giving access to a wide selection of business services. By doing so, the city authorities also support the comeback of city dwellers to places once forced to move from the city centers. This process often entails the gentrification of the city center areas. Three aspects of this process may be distinguished: economic activation, social activation and functional-spatial activation. As a result, the rise in real property process in the shopping streets of the city center becomes a quantifiable indicator of the urban activation.

The confrontation of good practices from the European cities with lack of effective control over the public space in Poznań points to the source of the problem. It also gives enough grounds to draw a major conclusion, that is, the city authorities should regain control over the image of the public places.

As the conducted studies show, there is an urgent need to develop an official guide for the shop window design for the city center streets in Poznań. Its purpose would be to highlight the character of particular streets so that people can appreciate them more. Such an approach is already implemented in those European cities that care about their brand, about maintaining the unique atmosphere of the city center.

Another important practical effect concerns the owners of shops located in the city centers. It has been shown that the elements of the arrangement of the visual display of the goods in shop windows may evoke positive emotions in passers-by, boost business in the city center and draw more customers. Various studies have indicated that this aim can be achieved by combining the following visual features of shop windows: the “*en vogue*” attitude, the expression of the visual message, careful workmanship and stylistic originality. Research results provided useful tools

for shaping the emotional conditions of the passers-by and building the “atmosphere” of the street.

Developing positive relations between complex city areas is a daunting task and requires a comprehensive knowledge and design awareness from the designers, local authorities and city dwellers as well. The function of architecture is not just to design space but also to foster the development of new hubs for human activity. The architect of today should be interested in the city from many different vantage points. Planners should strive for a harmonious cooperation of all the elements of the urban surroundings, otherwise the city becomes the source of problems, to the detriment of its inhabitants. People easily adapt to changing conditions and new experiences, both on the physical and psychological level. Deviations from the biological cycle, information chaos, environment pollution are just some of the negative aspects of the contemporary world that city dwellers must face. Overloads adversely affect our psyche and the biological and emotional needs cannot be suppressed in the long run.

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SPATIAL PATTERNS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY PERCEPTION DERIVED FROM ACCESS TO SOCIAL HOUSING IN A MEXICAN BORDER CITY

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Key words: Housing; GIS; Household surveying, Social mobility

Abstract

Homeownership has become a crucial element in constructing and confirming social position in western societies. Housing can be an effective social mobility strategy. In the societies of developing countries, however, the potentially positive effects of homeownership might be hindered by financial conditions and quality of housing to which large population sectors can have access. Taking into account the main implications of housing access for social welfare and the unwanted effects produced by national housing policy in Mexico, due to the distortions of the housing and land markets, is necessary to assess if such a policy has produced the desired positive effects in terms of social mobility and if those are being perceived so by the beneficiary population. Thus, the objective of this study is to assess the perception of social mobility derived from the access to social housing in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua from 2002 to 2010. For this purpose, we derive and represent spatially three indices of households social mobility perception related to dwelling quality, complex location and urban environment, and housing ownership advantages of their current housing in comparison with their previous or parents' homes. In general, we found that households have a perception of social descent derived from the quality of their new dwelling units; an even more pronounced perception of social descent with respect to the complex location and urban environment conditions; and a regular perception of social ascent with regards to the housing ownership advantages. These results indicate that the supposedly positive social effects of the national housing policy in Ciudad

Juárez have not been fully deployed or at least perceived by the intended beneficiaries. This requires a review of the basic definitions of the policy and to emphasize the social character of housing provision in order to promote the conditions for ascending social mobility.

Introduction

In most western cultures, homeownership contributes strongly to affirm household position in local society (Bertaux-Wiame and Thompson 2006). Homeownership has become a critical step in attaining membership to an expanding middle class for whom housing value is a key for accessing a 'broader lifestyle of credit based and housing equity fuelled consumption' (Forrest, Kennett, and Leather, 1999). Thus, some researchers have pointed out the growth of homeownership as one of the most significant changes in twentieth century societies (Stephens et al., 2008). Concurrently, at the macro level, contextual factors including globalization and the associate rise of neoliberalism have underlain the tendency for states to favor private forms of housing provision, especially homeownership (Doling, 2010).

In this context, a house may be seen as a marketable asset with a central role in the social advance strategy of many families. Homeownership, therefore, is considered a crucial element in constructing, confirming, and communicating social position and movement. Housing, itself, can be an effective social mobility strategy since it has become a main symbol of social class (Bertaux-Wiame and Thompson, 2006). In societies from developing countries, however, the potentially positive effects of homeownership might be hindered by financial conditions and quality of the housing to which large sectors of the population have access.

In advanced economies, social housing ___along with emergency shelters, transitional housing, formal and informal rental, and indigenous housing___ is considered one of the many forms of affordable housing. In this case, social housing, mostly promoted by government and not-for-profit organizations, is aimed at providing low rent housing to people struggling with their housing costs.

Current housing scenario in Mexico

For the purpose of this study in the Mexican scenario, we frame our understating of accessibility to social housing through the political mechanisms that define the eligibility of working population for housing as a primary resource. This access to social housing in Mexico was first established in the political constitution of 1917, where patrons were required to provide clean and comfortable dwellings to their employees. Thereafter, several governmental funds and institutions have been constituted to subsidized and supervised access to housing, through the incorporation of workers to the social security system. Nonetheless the right to housing as an individual guarantee was just recently elevated to constitutional rank in 1983. Thus, we consider social housing as a form of affordable homeownership subsidized and promoted by the government through social credits, for the mid-low and low income sectors of society. This type of housing, as established in the Ley de Vivienda 2006, is aimed at providing working families with decent habitable dwellings that meet applicable legal provisions on human settlements,

construction, basic services and ownership security, through the establishment and regulation of the national housing policy (Congreso de la Unión, 2006).

In housing and basic social infrastructure, Mexico has seen significant progress over the past 20 years. Between 1990 and 2010, the proportion of the population lacking basic housing services decreased from 44 to 19%. Advances in this area, however, have not been uniform in all regions and localities. In 2010, the lack of basic dwelling services affected 9.4% of urban population and 50.4% in rural areas. Similarly, the need for housing replacement or improvement is concentrated in 73% of the population not affiliated to the social security system, who only receives 30% of the total financing for housing (Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, 2013).

Despite advances in housing coverage, still was estimated that 10.8 more million housing units were going to be needed to meet population growth demands in the following 20 years in Mexico. This supposed demand for housing was one of the main factors behind the boost of a restructuring process of the housing sector, aimed at raising massive production of social housing and accelerating the pace of financing between 2000 and 2007 (CIDOC and SHF, 2011). In the current federal administration, the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2013-2018, has established among its main strategies: 1. Reducing the backlog of housing; 2. Improving and expanding existing dwellings; 3. Fostering the purchase of new housing by strengthening the role of private and development banks, public mortgage and micro financing institutions; 4. Developing a new model of housing provision for population segments not covered by social security; and 5. Securing housing quality and community social infrastructure in priority areas with high levels of marginalization.

The implementation of the national housing policy has been transforming the national housing scenario, now for more than a decade. Some unwanted effects, however, have appeared in the process, among other reasons, because initial response to housing demand focused mainly on building dwelling as a product, without taking into account that housing by itself was not necessarily creating cities and livable communities. The financing programs centered the attention on solutions that distorted the housing market, stimulating more credit for purchase of new single-family dwellings, and creating a greater demand for land, basic services and transportation infrastructure, which required increasingly larger investments by local governments, and triggered urban sprawl in many of the country's major cities due to the high cost of land in consolidated urban areas (CIDOC and SHF, 2011).

This model of extensive urban growth with housing complexes located in peri-urban areas far from workplaces, schools, hospitals, supplies, and efficient transportation alternatives, generated scattered and vulnerable communities (Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, 2013). In a short period of time, this resulted in a significant number of uninhabited or abandoned dwellings and housing complexes that were being built at a faster pace than demanded. According to the General Population and Housing Census 2010, there were almost 5 million unoccupied dwellings that year in Mexico. Among the municipalities with the highest rates, many located in the northern Border States, 11 had at least 40% of unoccupied private dwellings. This scenario

indicates a wide gap between the desired effects of the housing policy and the intended social mobility opportunities that housing should provide to population.

Social mobility and housing

Social mobility can occur in a variety of ways along two main dimensions: horizontal mobility and vertical mobility. Horizontal mobility is commonly referred as the movement within the same status group and it often involves the physical move of an individual from one area to another (Miller, 1960). Regular movements that occur on a daily basis and involve the change in location, as well as sporadic movements that involve the permanent or temporal change of residence or job, might be considered within this category, as long as they do not imply a change in social status. This type of mobility, also known as spatial mobility, is an important aspect of daily life, since it becomes essential in the context of the spatial dispersion of spheres of activities, and is considered the fundamental dynamic of change in urban spaces (Dieleman, 2001; Kaufman and Widmer, 2005; Faist 2013).

Even though the idea of mobility is not new, the emerging paradigm shift in the social sciences known as the 'mobility turn', seeks to set the basis for understanding the trend towards the consideration of spatial mobility, its patterns and manifestations as a useful frame to analyze phenomena like residential mobility (Faist 2013). In this context, the socioeconomic characteristics of a household, along with the dwelling's location and attributes produce population shifts, shape housing markets and configure urban spaces. Mobility turn, thus provides a means of analyzing the interplay of different dimensions that go beyond the corporeal relation to housing (Dufty-Jones, 2012).

Within this frame, housing should be seen as a key object to understand mobile practices and the politics of mobility, since it is not only the source from which both every day and long term movements are launched, maintained and concluded; but is also the physical object from which the relationship between citizenship and its associated rights and responsibilities are made meaningful and real. Thus, housing is a necessary object from which a right to place and the potential for mobility are established and performed. This approach, that considers the governmental dimension of mobility, raises the need to not only recognize housing as rationalized through government discourse, but as a government instrument used to direct the way individuals practice their freedom to be mobile, acting in response to a coercive situation rooted in the lack of choice (Dufty-Jones, 2012).

On the other side, the second dimension of social mobility, the vertical or better conceived as social mobility, refers to the movement that occurs between one functionally significant social role and another that is evaluated as either higher or lower, in terms, for example, of social class or income level (Saunders 2012). According to Giddens and Sutton (2009), this type of social mobility fits better with sociological considerations. In this context, earlier definitions by Sorokin (1959) and Barber cited by Miller (1960) refer to social mobility as the movement or transition of an individual, social object or value, either upward or downward, between higher and lower social or socioeconomic positions. Upward mobility or social climbing occurs when an individual achieves a better position in the social pyramid, while downward mobility or social

sinking occurs when an individual lowers his status by moving down in the social ladder (Giddens and Sutton, 2009).

Besides the apparent high positive correlation between social and spatial mobility (Williams, 2009); social mobility processes are essential for the metabolism and core regulation of societies, and help to determine both their continuity and change over time (Bertaux and Thompson, 2006). Social mobility is a central dimension of social inclusion in advanced modern societies. At the theoretical level, approaches linking mobility and inequality focus on two main perspectives: A resource perspective indicates that high inequality will result in decreased mobility because the uneven distribution of resources benefits those most advantaged in the competition for success, maintaining the status quo. In contrast, an incentive perspective argues that inequality will raise competition, inducing higher mobility (Torche, 2005). Some empirical evidence suggest that social mobility is indeed positively related to inequality (Breen, 2004 cited in Yaish and Andersen, 2012), since it links to access, skills and appropriation that allow individuals the assessment of possibilities for new social status (Kaufman and Widmer, 2005).

Despite the supposed dependence on inequality, causes of social mobility seem to have multiple origins. Industrialization level, emphasizing the role of economic development, is among the many contextual factors that could possibly influence social mobility. Individuals' attributes, such as equality of condition, immigration, political regime, and especially education, are other often mentioned contextual factors explaining a substantial amount of variability in mobility rates (Yaish and Andersen, 2012). Muster, Ostendorf, and De Vos, (2003) identified a close relationship between social mobility and household economic position. They found that the composition of residential environment has only a modest influence on the social mobility of households with a weak economic position, while has a higher influence on those with stronger economic position. Hedman, Manley, van Ham, and Östh (2013) explain that there is an intergenerational transmission of adverse long-lasting effects, when exposure to impoverished environments occur later in life, thus emphasizing the importance of access to suitable neighborhood and housing conditions, for improving socio-spatial mobility opportunities that reduce inequality effects.

Taking into account the main implications of housing access for social welfare and mobility, and the unwanted effects produced by the Mexican housing policy due to the distortions of the housing and land markets in the national scenario, it is necessary to assess if such a policy has produced the desired positive effects in terms of social mobility and if those are being perceived so by the beneficiary population sector. For this reason, the objective of this study is to assess the perception of social mobility derived from the access to social housing in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. This work is part of the larger project "Determination of indicators and methodology design to characterize the social mobility of residents/owners of housing produced under the 2002-2010 government housing programs", which aims to understand better the social mobility effects of the national housing policy implementation in Ciudad Juarez, and seeks to

characterize the improvement in the wellbeing conditions provided by the social housing and urban environment produced during that period.

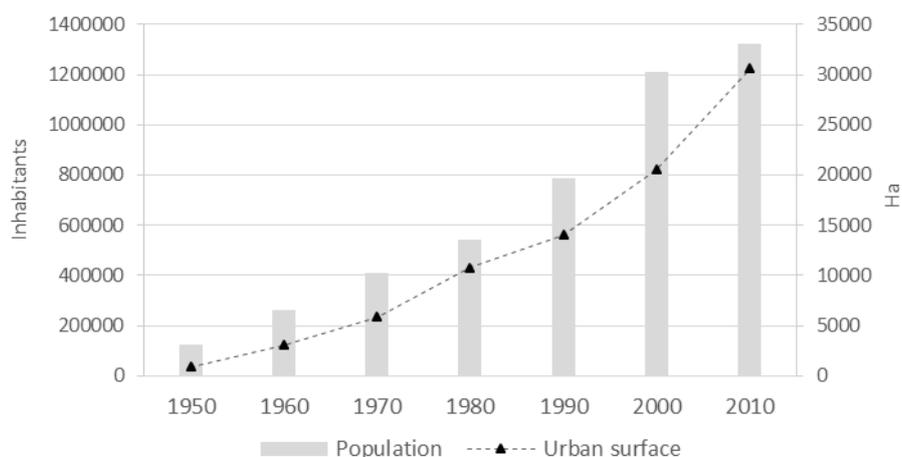
Given the subjective nature implied in understating the perception of social mobility from the assessment of living conditions in social housing, we based our notion of perception in the principles of perception theory, which rooted in modern psychology, seek to frame the knowledge of the processes used by people to gain understanding of the world in which they live (Allport, 1955). Beyond the perceptual capacities and the associated theories used to explain formally the perception of the physical world, it is important recognize that perception is, at the end, an inferential process, generally biased and deductively invalid (Bruce et al., 1989). Nonetheless, the mechanisms used to apprehend and interpret the environmental stimulus are the most common ways to approach to a feasible material construction of such a reality.

In this context, we assume that the whole idea of social mobility can be attributed at some extent to the perception of the environment associated to dwelling conditions, since the symbolic content of that environment can set the basis for self-perception and actions of groups and individuals (Bem, 1972; Appleyard, 1979). Perception is then for this research, the set of physical and cultural mechanisms used by individuals to construct a self-conception of their own social status in relation to their living conditions.

Data and Methods

The study was carried out in the metropolitan area of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, contained mostly in the municipality of Juárez with conurbations in the municipalities of Praxedis G. Guerrero and Guadalupe, which in 2010 registered 61.3% and 43.2% unoccupied private dwellings respectively (CIDOC and SHF, 2011). This industrial metropolitan area, across the border from El Paso, TX in the United States, has an approximate extension of 30,605.49 ha (Instituto Municipal de Investigación y Planeación, 2010), a population of 1,321,004 inhabitants and a total of 479,624 dwelling units, according to the General Population and Housing Census 2010 (INEGI, 2010).

Decadal urban surface growth rates in Ciudad Juárez have decreased from 0.93 in 1970 with ~5900 ha. to 0.49 in 2010 with ~30,600 ha, while population growth rates have gone down from 0.55 in 1970 to 0.09 in 2010 with an increase of 913, 634 inhabitants (Figure 1). This is related to a decrease in population density from 85 to 43 inhabitants per hectare in the same 40 year period, which reflects the effects of the extensive application of the housing policy and its associated urban expansion. Due to the territorial configuration of this border city, most the urban growth in the form of new social housing complexes has occurred in its southeastern portion, in areas poorly equipped with services and urban infrastructure (Sánchez, et al., 2009).

Figure 1. Population and urban surface growth from 1950 to 2010

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, 2010; Instituto Municipal de Investigación y Planeación 2010

Data collection and processing

In order to ascertain social mobility perception of households in social housing complexes promoted as part of the national housing policy in Ciudad Juárez during the 2002-2010 period, we designed and applied a survey to address specific aspects of dwelling quality, complex location and urban environment conditions, as well as housing ownership advantages of households with regard to their previous or parents' homes. A total of 382 questionnaires were applied to households in 84 housing complexes, built during the analysis period and located mostly in the southeastern part of the city. The sample was distributed using a stratified random approach according to the number of dwellings per housing complex based on the census variable Total of inhabited dwellings (TVIVHAB) at the block level, which represents a total of 77,347 individual occupied private homes for the selected complexes, according to the General Population and Housing Census 2010 (INEGI, 2010).

The questionnaires were coded according to the type of questions to obtain a representative record for each of the selected complexes, standardizing answers and eliminating null and incomplete records. Non-representative complexes with only one survey were eliminated from the sample, with 69 of the original complexes remaining. We then calculated the statistical mean for quantitative answers, and the statistical mode for categorical answers to obtain a representative record for each one of the complexes.

Social mobility perception indices

A condition of social mobility perception was estimated for each record taking into account the answers regarding previous and parent home conditions. From this information, an ascending, equal or descending social mobility perception condition was established for each complex. These categories were coded with 3, 0, and -3 respectively to assign a ranking value to the social mobility perception condition. The average of these values was calculated to obtain composite measures, which aggregate different aspects of the following housing derived conditions into three indices: Social Mobility Perception Index derived from Dwelling Quality

(SMIDQ); Social Mobility Perception Index derived from Location and Urban Environment (SMILUE); and Social Mobility Perception Index derived from Housing Ownership Advantages (SMIHO). In Table 1 we listed the 62 variables derived from each questions that served to integrate the three social mobility perception indices.

Table 1. Housing derived conditions used to integrate each of the social mobility perception indices

Index	Variable
SMIDQ	Lot size, Dwellings in lot, Garden, Patio, Independent kitchen, Kitchen size, Garage size, Number of vehicles, Living room, TV room, Number of bathrooms, Number of rooms, Room size, Other spaces used as bedrooms, Privacy in rooms, Wall material, Roof material, Floor material, Electricity, Water, Sewage, Air conditioning, Gas, Telephone, Paved road
	Dwelling additions
	Closeness to:
SMILUE	Extended family, Friends, Job, Partner job, Childcare, Pre-school, Elementary school, Middle School, High School, Hospital, Government office, Community centers, Park, Public transportation, Firefighter station, Police station, Corner store, Convenience store, Supermarket, Mall
	Accessibility to:
SMIHO	Family living, Friends' relations, Neighbors' relations, Neighborhood participation, Likeminded people, Children playing space, Financing and credit, Employment opportunities, Recreational opportunities, Educational opportunities, Security,
	Relation between:
	Dwelling value-cost, Lot surface-cost, Dwelling construction-cost, Housing location-cost

Perception of ascending or descending social mobility condition was established on the basis of larger sizes, better equipment and better building material, in the case of dwelling quality for the SMIDQ index. For the location and urban environment attributes used to construct the SMILUE index, the social mobility condition was determined by better accessibility to urban facilities and services such as transportation and utility networks. Finally, better access to development opportunities related to social networks, employment, or education set the basis for ascending or descending condition in the case of ownership advantages used for the SMIHO index.

An overall Social Mobility Perception Index derived from access to Social Housing (SMISH) was calculated as the average of the partial indices, according to equation 1. This index, with values ranging from -3 to 3, was proposed as a general measurement of social mobility perception for each of the complex surveyed in the study.

$$SMISH = \sum_{i=1}^n (SMIDQ, SMILUE, SMIHO) / 3 \quad (1)$$

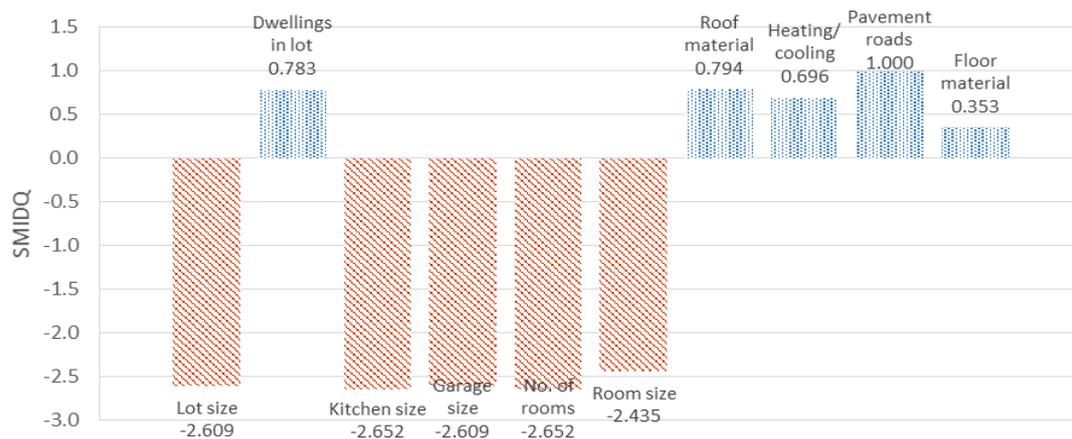
For geocoding the survey results, each individual record was joined to a georeferenced spatial database of the housing complexes in shape format. These data were classified into five categories using Jenk's intervals and represented in maps to analyze the spatial patterns of the social mobility perception in Ciudad Juárez.

Results and discussion

Social mobility perception index derived from dwelling quality

The SMIDQ shows a general value of -0.640, which indicates that dwelling's physical characteristics are strongly perceived as a weak factor of improvement or ascending social mobility. Amongst the dwelling physical characteristics with the lowest rank evaluation, very close to -3.0 are: lot, kitchen, room, and garage sizes; and number of rooms. Conversely, the characteristics best positively evaluated by households: number of dwellings per lot; availability of heating and cooling systems; paved roads; and quality of roof and floor materials, did not exceed the 1.0 value (Figure 2). This indicates that, in general, dwelling physical characteristics are mostly perceived as factors of descending social mobility, with respect to those in their previous or parents' homes; being the size of the dwelling components one the most cited adverse factors. For many of the surveyed complexes, lot surfaces starting at 34.0 sq. meters are common (Argomedo, et al., 2008).

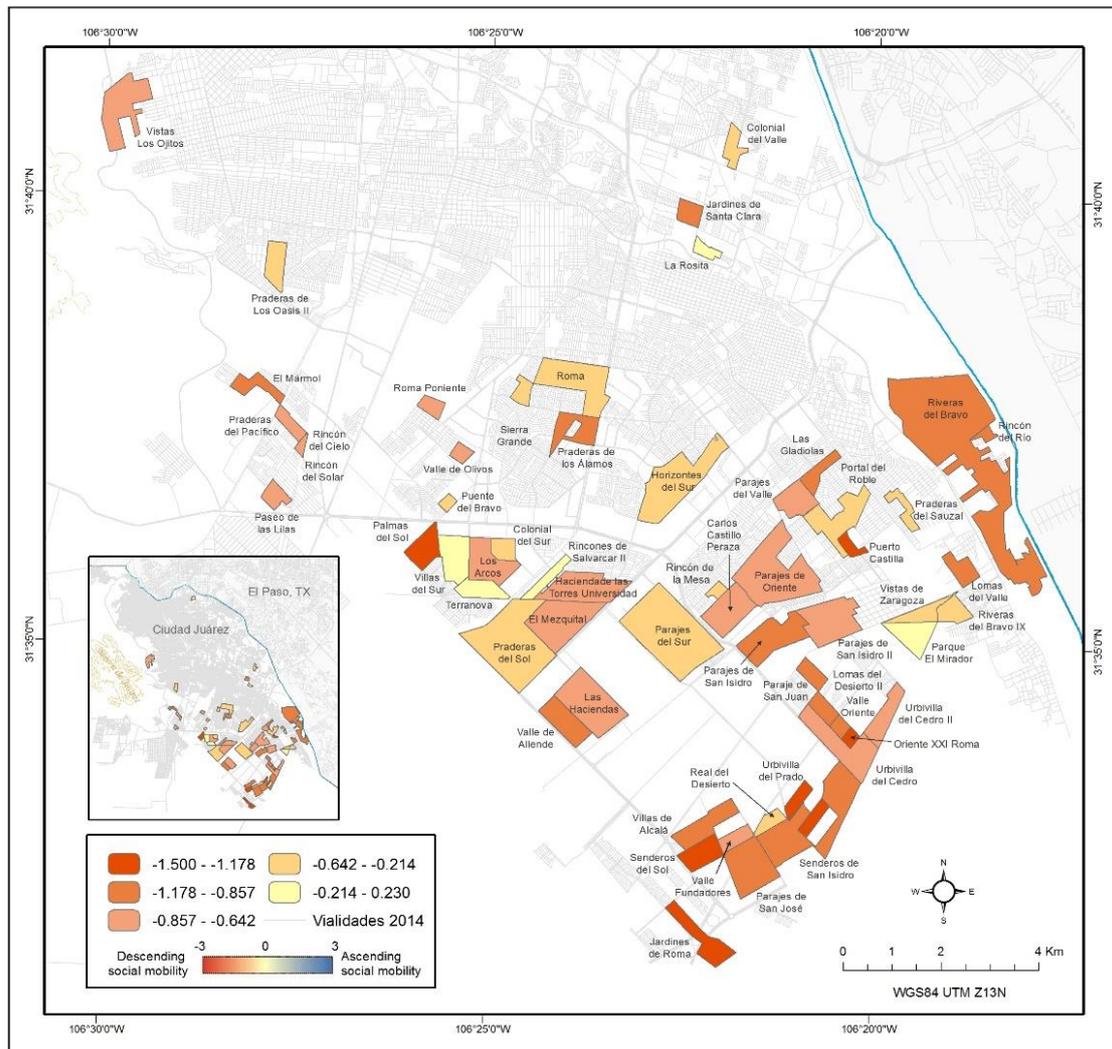
Figure 2. Highest and lowest ranked dwelling physical characteristics



On the other hand, the characteristics perceived as positive were related mostly to the materials and equipment of dwellings and complexes, as well as to a greater privacy facilitated by individual units per lot, but showed only modest positive values. The fact, for example, that paved roads showed the highest positive value is explicable since much of the people recently moving to this part of the city came from rural communities in southern states or from the western part of the city where paving coverage is extremely low.

Average values of SMIDQ per housing complex range from -1.5 to 0.23 and show in general a heterogeneous distribution, with some of the lowest values observed in some of the most recent complexes built in the extreme southeastern part of the city (Figure 3). As established by the housing policy, developers who created these complexes were supposed to play an important role in providing quality housing that meets the applicable regulations to guarantee proper living conditions. Nonetheless, developers like IVIECH, dependent of the state government, were responsible of 4 out of 7 of the complexes evaluated with lowest perception about dwelling quality, which might reflect important fails in the application of the housing policy in the region.

Figure 3. Social mobility perception index derived from dwelling quality

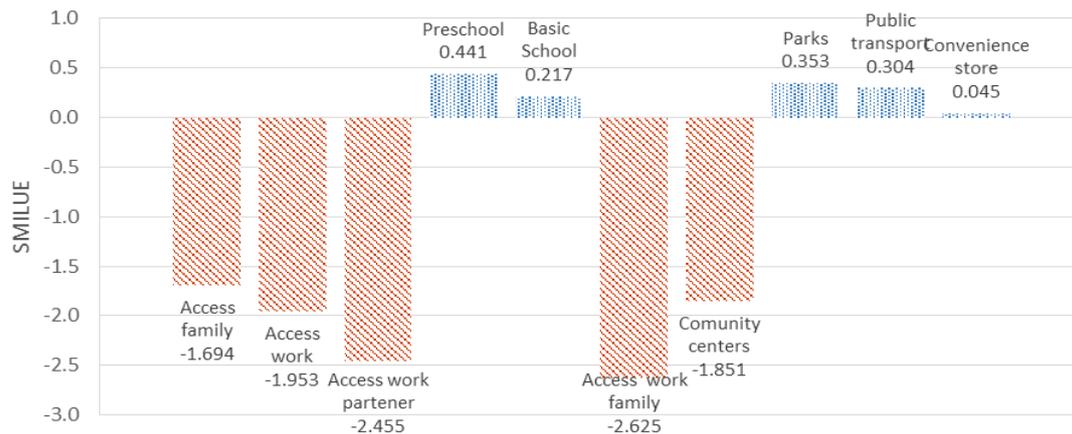


Social mobility perception index derived from location and urban environment

The SMILUE shows a general average value of -0.734, which indicates that location and urban infrastructure conditions are a big concern for households. Amongst the conditions with the lowest rank evaluation are: access to family (-1.694) and work (-2.625), either for households or their family members. This is clearly explained if we observe the long distances of many of the complexes with respect to any of the city’s functional centers and to the consolidated part of the city, where many of the households still maintain strong social and family networks. As Chang, Chen, and Somerville (2003) state, individuals living in a place develop a complex network of friends, social organizations and casual economic relationships. If distance attenuate these connections, the cost of horizontal mobility increases, which affects the perception of social or vertical mobility for working families, who have to invest an important part of their income in overcoming those distances on a daily basis.

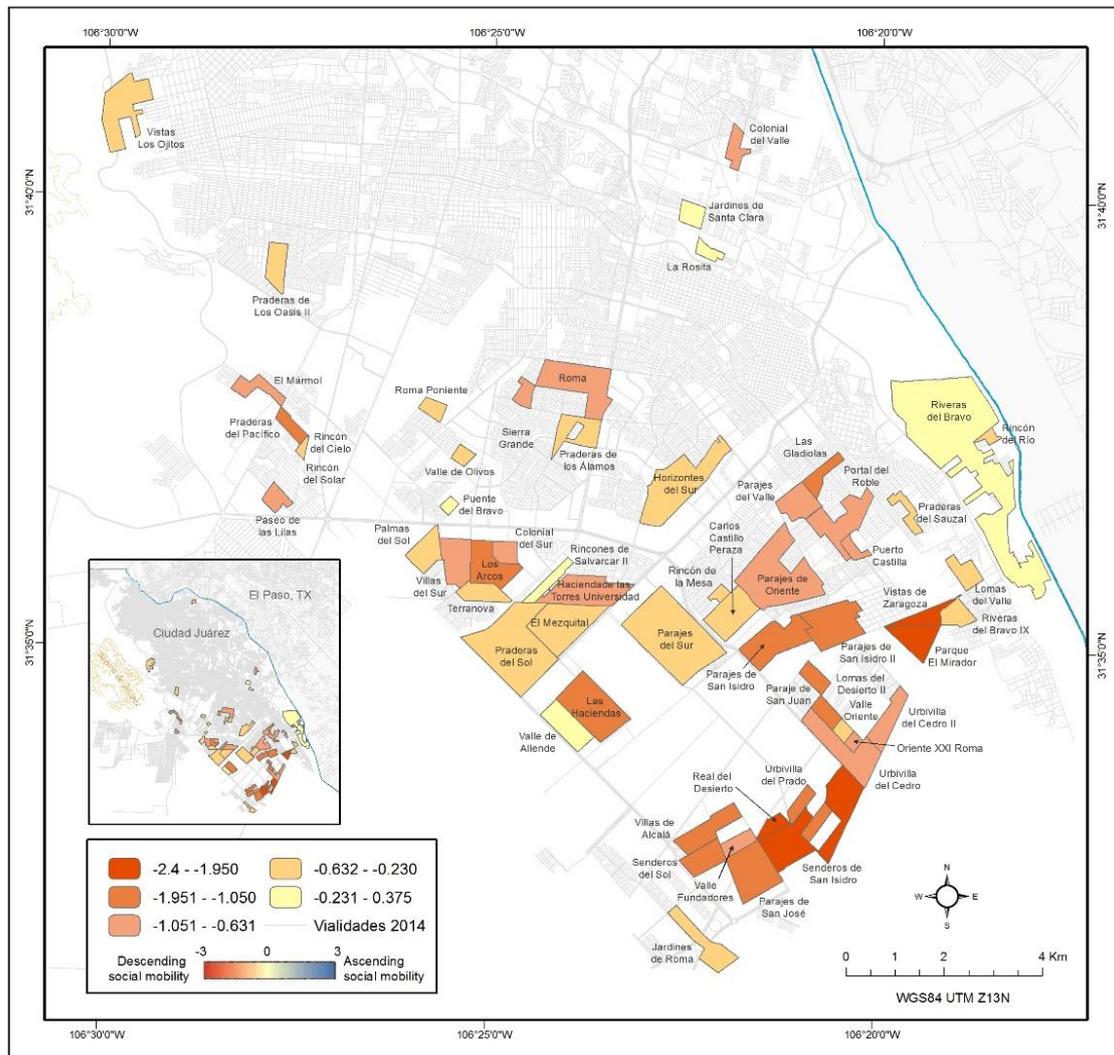
The conditions evaluated positively include: ease access to preschool and basic educational facilities, parks, public transportation and convenience stores (Figure 4). This seems to contradict the findings of previous research (Sánchez et al., 2009), which indicates that equipment and urban infrastructure are weakly developed in this area. However, positive SMILUE values rank very low from 0.045 to 0.441, and may be due to the fact that new facilities have been developed in the last 5 years, which ultimately is perceived by households as a positive factor for social mobility. Preschool and basic school services are considered more accessible in general, since facilities of this level tend to cover smaller areas. Higher level education facilities, however, are considered less accessible. In the case of access to parks, is important to mention that household perception might be influenced by the availability of areas that developers are obligated to assign as parks to each complex, according to urban regulations. Nevertheless, just in rare cases, those are fully vegetated or equipped, which agree with the observations of Romo and Córdova (2009) about the per capita urban parks deficit in Ciudad Juárez.

Figure 4. Highest and lowest ranked location and urban environment conditions



Spatial distribution of SMILUE values shows that households in complexes located in the extreme southeastern portion of the city, farther from the consolidated urban area, tend to perceive their location and urban environment condition as adverse factors for social mobility (Figure 5). Average SMILUE values rank from -2.4 to 0.375, with at least five complexes in the lowest category. These are mostly located in the urban fringe, where horizontal mobility costs increase by distance. Recent studies show that working families in the industrial sector spend a large share of their monthly wages in public transportation (Fuentes Flores, 2012). Conversely, one of the largest and best represented complex in the survey, Riveras del Bravo, showed the best positive score, which contrasts with the community perception about its poorly developed urban infrastructure. However, this might indicate that, in fact, size of the complexes has attracted the location of enough urban facilities that improve social mobility perception of the population.

Figure 5. Social mobility perception index derived from complex location and urban environment



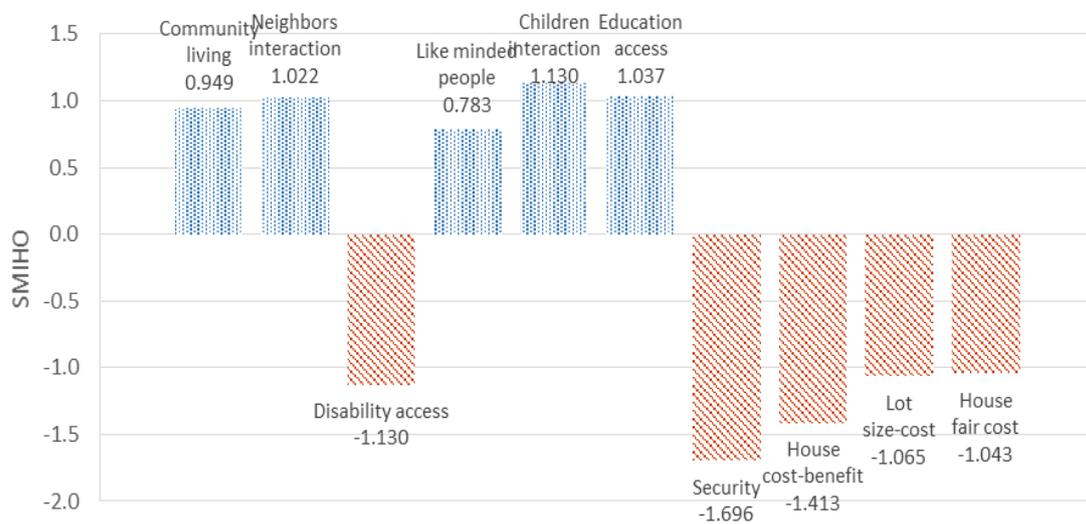
Social mobility perception index derived from housing ownership advantages

SMIHO was the only index with an average positive value. In spite of being modestly low (0.035), its score represents an important difference with respect to the other two indices. SMIHO values mean that, regardless the poorly evaluated physical and locational characteristics of their dwellings, households appreciate, at least partially, the advantages that come with housing acquisition as a factor for social mobility. Community living, interaction with neighbors, feasibility of getting along with like-minded people, neighborhood children interaction, and accessibility to education opportunities, are amongst the best evaluated aspects, all with scores very close to 1.0. These relatively high positive SMIHO values seem to reveal a contradictory perception in many of the complexes that supposedly suffered some level exclusion and social violence during the period of study. However, as has been illustrated by

other studies (Loera, 2013), income segregation provoked by differential access to social housing at urban level also propitiated processes of community integration at complex level. This might explain why households seem to appreciate living around people with their same interests and economic status, which facilitates community integration and children interaction with neighbors. Positive values regarding education access are mostly explained by the greater access to basic education facilities.

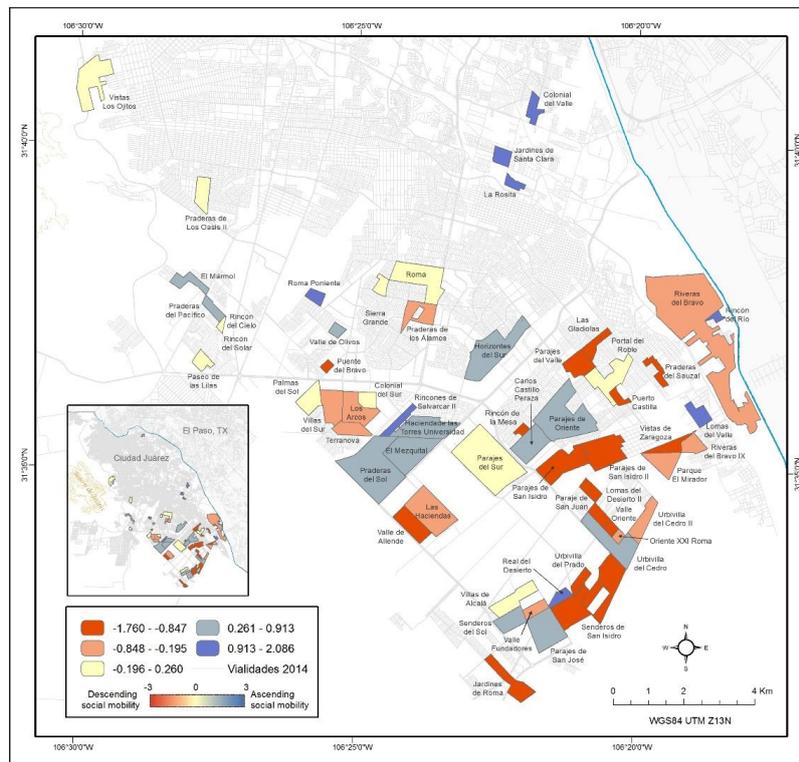
Conversely, the characteristics with the worst evaluation by households, all with values below -1.0, include disability access, three variables related to the house cost-benefit relationship, and security, which still remains as factor of main concern with -1.696 (Figure 6). This agrees with the areas that concentrate medium and high level threats to urban security related to crime and violence in the study of Morales, et al., (2013).

Figure 6 Highest and lowest ranked housing ownership advantages.



SMIHO values show a very heterogeneous spatial distribution ranking from -1.760 to 2.086. In the map appear represented clearly the lowest and highest intervals, with 15 complexes, mostly located in the southern portion, with the lowest values, and 8 complexes in the highest category, towards the northern portion (Figure 7). This spatial distribution seems to indicate that perception of the advantages derived from housing ownership is also related to location.

Figure 7 Social mobility perception index derived from housing ownership advantages



From the collected dataset, we found no significant correlation ___ values ranging from 0.0081 to 0.2123__ between any of the social mobility perception indices and the average values of variables like household age, years inhabiting the house, years living in the city, and daily hours remaining in the house. This indicates that households perception about their social mobility derived from housing condition seems constant along time and age group. Other explanatory variables, however, should be explored to find meaningful relationships that serve to address improvements in housing policy. We observe, in general, no other significant spatial patterns in the mobility perception, except for complexes such as Senderos de San Isidro, which systematically appeared in the lowest classification interval of the three indices.

Overall social mobility perception index derived from access to social housing

The integration of the three indices into the composite overall Social Mobility Perception Index derived from access to Social Housing (SMISH) with an average value of -0.446, showed a general distribution accentuating the same low mobility perception in the most southern located complexes; and a higher mobility perception in the northern complexes, more integrated to urban area (Figure 8). Values range from -1.457 to 0.772 with only three complexes in the highest (0.130 - 0.772); 20 in the middle (-0.643 - -0.312), and 10 in the lowest (-1.457 - -1.027) interval. This reveals a general trend towards a moderately negative perception of social

mobility derived from the access to social housing promoted through the national housing policy in Ciudad Juárez.

According to the National Residential Satisfaction Survey (NRSS) (SHF, 2010), which assesses the degree of satisfaction of households acquiring new dwellings through mortgages funded by financing intermediaries like INFONAVIT, the Housing Satisfaction Index evaluating the construction, spatial, functional, adaptations, and environmental characteristics of the housing showed opportunity areas for a better residential satisfaction. For instance, at least 20% of new dwellings had spoilage in roofs, walls or floors. Additionally, overcrowding is observed due to the small size of the dwellings or to the lack of space. In this survey the housing complex characteristics (spaces, dwelling size and number of residents) are still badly perceived, and systematically show the lowest scores. Conversely, complex location is the attribute that improved the most compared to previous assessments; however, it still remained below other attributes assessed in the survey (CIDOC and SHF, 2011).

Despite incorporating a much more ample set of questions to characterize household's satisfaction, the NRSS and the survey used in this study, found similar results. The main difference, however, is that the NRSS is intended to provide a yearly scenario at the national level, by randomly selecting complexes in around 4% of the municipalities of the country, considering both social and medium level housing. The survey in this study, however, was focused on a single border municipality considering only social housing complexes, which concurrently were among the worst evaluated in the national level survey.

When comparing SMISH (X-axis) with partial indices values (Y-axis) in the Figure 9, we observe more than 70% of the complexes register SMISH values below 0. As showed by the steeper slope in the trend line of SMIHO values, 50% of the complexes were evaluated either positive or negatively. Conversely, only 10% of the complexes were evaluated above 0 in both the SMILUE and SMIDQ indices. In these cases, the households' perception describes a more gradual slope in the trend lines, with most of the complexes evaluated between 0 and -1.

Figure 8 Overall social mobility perception index derived from access to social housing

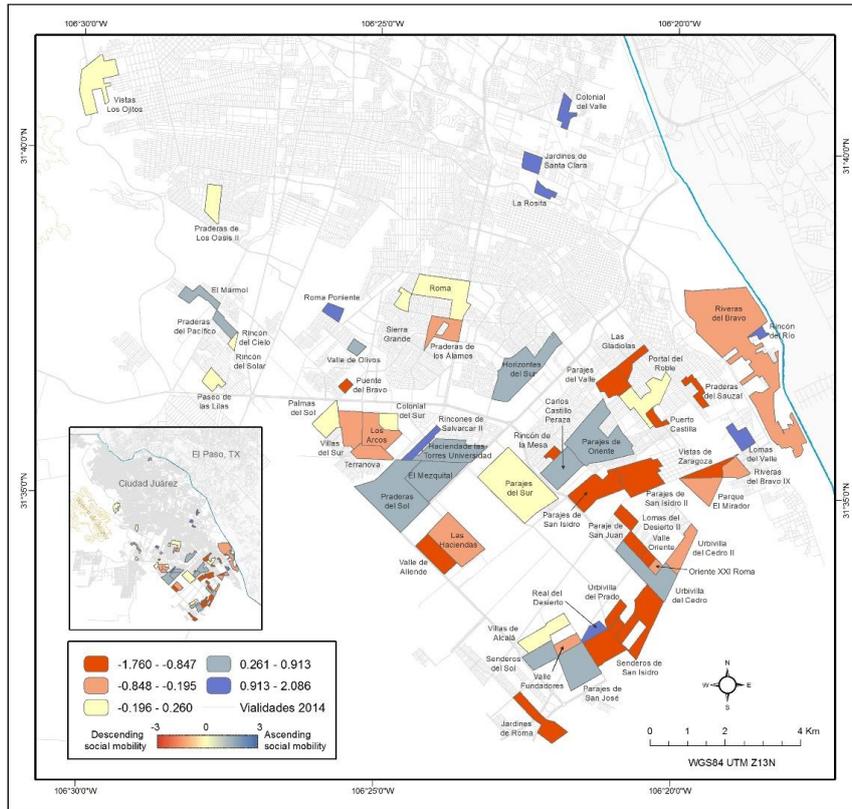
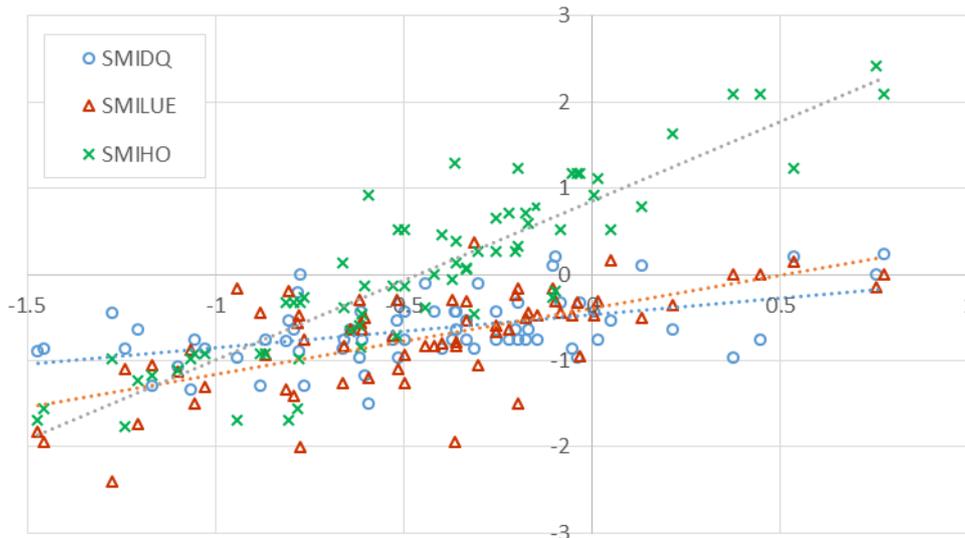


Figure 9 Partial social mobility perception indices SMIDQ, SMILUE and SMIHO vs. composite SMISH.



Implications for housing policy

Despite the fact that, according to Miller (1960), perception of mobility cannot be accepted as an accurate statement of what actually occurs, and that many other factors must be taken into account for a comprehensive scenario of the effects of policy housing in social mobility; this set of indicators could be a useful to guide the design of the improvements to the policy, which in line with these results should focus mainly in the physical characteristics of the dwellings and the characteristics associated to their location.

1. Physical characteristics of the dwelling: In this aspect, policy improvements should consider reinforcing the rational relationship that should exist between the cost of developing and building, and the profit margins for developers. This would impact in the size of lots and dwellings, in benefit of quality life and a stronger sense of social mobility when accessing social housing. Policy improvements should also include the promotion of others socially responsible forms of financing, so lower income population sectors are able to access more finance for larger dwelling units. This would eliminate the excuse of developers for building just 'what workers are able to pay'.
2. Complex location and urban environment: Derived from this other set of indicators, housing policy should establish tighter regulations, linked to the observance of the local and regional planning instruments, to avoid that social housing is relegated to marginal land in the urban fringes, creating urban sprawl, environmental impacts and social segregation. Availability of affordable land, protected from speculation, should be one of the priorities attended in the housing policy, since accessible land constitute the territorial requirement for a socially based policy that promotes effective social mobility.

Conclusions

In seeking to assess the effects of the housing policy in terms of social mobility perception derived from the access to social housing in Ciudad Juárez, we found that households have a perception of social descent derived from the quality of their new dwelling units; an even more pronounced perception of social descent with respect the complex location and urban environment conditions; and a moderate perception of social ascent with regards to the housing ownership advantages. These results indicate that the supposedly positive social effects of the national housing policy in Ciudad Juárez have not been fully deployed, or at least perceived, by the intended beneficiaries. This requires to review the basic definitions of the policy and to emphasize the social character of housing provision to promote the conditions for ascending social mobility.

We also found that no defined spatial pattern, other than related to the distance to consolidated urban areas, could be observed when mapping the indices at complex level. Another important element derived from this analysis that would require additional inquiry, is that despite the incipient social ascent perception, households seem satisfied by the sole fact of owning their own house. This indicates that perception of social mobility can be influenced by different conditions and affected by the social circumstances of household. As observed by Zamorano (2007), while access to housing is supposed allowing families to improve their social status and

living conditions, the final effect varies whether if housing is used as strategy for social mobility or as a mechanism to meet the symbolic and physical needs of accessing to a new social class. General outcome of this exercise reveals the need for strengthening the theoretical and methodological bodies for a better understanding of the social effects of housing policy. In this respect, in the literature is evident the space for formal analyses that provide the basis to develop new approaches that allow elucidating this relationship and suggesting improvements to this kind of policies. From a practical perspective, we suggest that the use of a spatial analysis approach, could reveal specific territorial expressions of the housing policy that can be linked to regional particularities associated to the operation of the land and housing markets. This would allow the design of better adapted policy instruments for a greater impact in beneficiary population sectors.

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PROPERTY TAX AS URBAN PLANNING INSTRUMENT IN LARGE CITIES: THE BRAZILIAN EXPERIENCE

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Abstract

There is an ongoing process of increasing urbanization of the world population with socio-spatial polarization in large cities. Such population density increases the competition for urban land, arousing crescent ground rent generation from the central areas, where there is greater availability of urban infrastructure. The outcome of this process has been an extensive growth of these cities, generating costs for the low-income population, forced to take longer trips to get to work centers. It also represents a cost increment for public administration, responsible for the expansion of urban infrastructure networks. One among the various instruments to face these costs is the urban real estate taxation, which can also fulfill an extra fiscal function, when used to regulate land use.

In this article, we aim to analyze urban policy in Brazil regarding the use of the property taxation instrument, arguing its effectiveness in controlling land use. This was an important innovation introduced by the 1988 Federal Constitution and it is associated with private property defense as long as it fulfills its social function. Under these conditions, the main tax levied on real estate assets in Brazil, the Urban Building and Land Tax (IPTU), would be used as an urban policy instrument by foreseeing the possibility of using different rates according to the land's condition (built or not), its destination (residential or commercial), and also predicting progressive rates for

properties that do not comply with the social function. Our study takes as reference municipalities with population over 200,000 inhabitants.

Introduction

Urbanization process has accelerated throughout the twentieth century with socio-spatial polarization in large cities. This population concentration has as one of its consequences the increment in competition for urban land which, in turn, generates increasing land rent from central areas, where there is greater availability of urban infrastructure. In Brazil this process is accentuated from the 1960s, when the population became mostly urban and concentrated in major cities, resulting in the creation of metropolitan areas. Since then, the increasing urbanization is generating more conurbation, which represents a huge challenge for the local urban policy, whose jurisdiction is municipal, as stated in the Federal Constitution of 1988. One among the various instruments to face these costs is the urban real estate taxation, which can also fulfill an extra-fiscal function, when used to regulate land use.

In this sense, this paper aims to analyze urban policy in Brazil regarding the use of the property taxation instrument, arguing its effectiveness in controlling land use. Although real estate taxes in Brazil have eminently fiscal nature, the Federal Constitution of 1988 introduced the possibility of its application guided fundamentally by the fulfillment of the property's social function. From this new perspective, the Urban Building and Land Tax (in Portuguese, IPTU) would also be applied by an extra-fiscal perspective as urban policy instrument.

This article is divided in four sections, the first being this introduction. In the second, is presented an overview of real estate taxation in Brazil. The third part analyzes data produced by the Brazilian National Treasury regarding the management experience of real estate taxation in municipalities with a population over 200,000 inhabitants. The last section presents conclusive reflections on the discussed topics.

The real estate taxation in Brazil: an overview of the municipal performance

Despite the complex situation experienced in Brazilian territory, the Federal Constitution of 1988 defined symmetrical federalism as the model for the political organization of the territory, i.e., in which federative entities are autonomous and there is no hierarchy between them. Additionally, the constituent transferred to the municipal level of government more responsibilities, like the implementation of social policies. Thus, municipalities that were already responsible for urban policies began to implement health policies, education and welfare, impacting their budget.

On the other hand, the Federal Constitution proclaims that the property should be given a social ethos and repeatedly introduces its social function in several articles (Article 5, XXII, Article 170, Article 182 Paragraph 2, Article 186). In addition, Article 1228 of the Civil Code has added a paragraph that expresses the nature of the social function of property¹. In this way, the social function principle legitimates property rights.

¹ Article 1228 Paragraph 1, The right of ownership must be exercised in a manner consistent with its economic and social ends that, in conformity with the provisions of special legislation, so as to preserve the flora, fauna, natural

Considering the above mentioned, another principle of urban law, which has an intensified importance when city problems become more evident, is the one present in Article 2, items IX and X of the City Statute (Law No 10,257/2001), which establishes the guidelines of urban policy as the "fair distribution of benefits and burdens resulting from the urbanization process" complemented by the "recovery of government investments that have resulted in the increased value of urban real estate."

Such guidelines for urban policy should be mainly followed by medium and large cities. It is worth mentioning that under the current economic dynamics, following reduction of industry's share in the GDP generation, cities have become service economies (Santos, 2012). The result is the intensification of socio-spatial polarization, making them hubs that attract capital and population. Under these conditions the urban land has become a highly profitable frontier for real estate capital. On the other side, housing production is no longer considered a vital need and is treated as an asset to be managed (Rolnik, 2015).

When the appreciation of real estate stems from public intervention, it is necessary to assess winners and losers to then impose up compensation mechanisms of the created benefits and burdens. From the distributive logic that emanates from those urban regulations, it is sought to bring within the reach of the community, not just of individual owners, the effects of urban development and to discourage actions contrary to efficient use of spaces with adequate urban infrastructure and public services.

It is in this context that the taxation of real estate should be used not only as fiscal instrument, but also to encourage the use of urban land in accordance with the principles of urban law.

According to the Brazilian Federal Constitution, only municipalities may create taxes on: (i) the urban land (in Portuguese, IPTU); (ii) the transmission of real estate between the living (in Portuguese, ITBI); and (iii) services of any nature (in Portuguese, ISS). This paper concentrates its analysis only on the first two taxes, since they are the ones that focus on urban property and can directly impact on land management.

In the case of IPTU, it is collected annually and, according to the juridical doctrine (Machado, 2008; Rose Jr., 2005) its function would typically be fiscal, fulfilling the role of obtaining financial resources to municipalities. However, the Federal Constitution of 1988 authorized the municipal government to require that the owner of underused property must provide an adequate use of the land (i.e., according to the land use and occupation act) under penalty of a progressive tax rate on the property's IPTU. This new charging possibility confers extra-fiscal purpose to IPTU, which shall function as a government intervention tool, oriented to ensure compliance with the social function of property.

On the other hand, the ITBI is a tax on real estate transfers, including real rights to property. It has essentially tax purposes, as it seeks funds to the municipal coffers. It does not take into account the contributive capacity, and also cannot be applied progressively.

Unlike the IPTU, which has its periodic incidence (once a year), the ITBI is collected only when the occurrence of a specific legal act, namely the transmission of real estate. Its payment by the taxpayer is a necessary condition for the property transfer. Therefore, even municipalities that

beauty, ecological equilibrium and artistic and historical patrimony, avoiding pollution of the air and water. (free translation of the original text in Portuguese)

do not have robust administrative structures for IPTU management can get a more expressive ITBI collection rate. This is because it is not necessary to conduct inspection activities, since the taxpayer himself seeks the local government to regularize the real estate transfer.

Although ITBI does not have a potential extra-fiscal purpose as IPTU, its analysis can help us to understand the behavior and the institutional limits of the municipality in the management of municipal taxes. That is why we conduct a joint analysis of the two taxes from selected data.

Application of the IPTU and ITBI in the Brazilian scenario: municipalities with over 200,000 inhabitants

In this section the article analyzes data produced by the National Treasury, in a research named Finance of Brazil (FINBRA)². This information on municipal budgets allows the development of a Brazilian scenario for analyzing the case of municipalities with over 200,000 inhabitants. Additionally, we also used data produced under 2010 Population Census prepared by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE).

The hypothesis that we work advocates that the municipalities that have the best technical and economic conditions to collect taxes are those where there is a greater economic activity. And this activity is concentrated in larger cities, those who feel more need for urban planning tools because they experience most demographic pressure by the employment opportunities they offer (Santos, 2012; 2014).

Such conditions are present in the states of the Southeast and South regions, being that São Paulo state remains as the "Brazilian locomotive", as it was called in the 1970s. Although its weight in the Brazilian GDP has declined since then, still it is the primary productive force in Brazil, almost three times more important than Rio de Janeiro state, the second largest economy in the country.

Table 1 presents a brief profile of the municipalities with more than 200,000 inhabitants organized from a regional division of Brazil.

Table 1: Profile of Brazilian municipalities with more than 200,000 inhabitants (by region) in 2010

Regions	GDP per capita 2010 (R\$)	Budget revenue (in thousands of R\$) 2010	IPTU collection (in thousands of R\$) 2010	ITBI collection (in thousands of R\$) 2010
North	17,295.87	7,444,455.89	148,019.34	68,134.98
Midwest	18,472.56	5,982,139.30	482,424.23	170,608.91
Northeast	14,497.82	21,852,795.48	919,982.09	449,506.71
Southeast	30,864.04	101,686,070.64	9,495,705.31	2,558,485.03

² http://www.tesouro.fazenda.gov.br/pt_PT/contas-anuais (Accessed November 21th, 2015).

South	27,424.82	18,231,451.51	1,197,816.58	567,976.62
Brazil	25,574.89	155,196,912.83	12,243,947.55	3,814,712.25

Source: Elaborated based on a National Treasury research name FINBRA, 2010 and the IBGE population census, 2010

As the data indicate, Southeast and South regions have a GDP per capita much higher than the other regions, above the national average. This situation confirms the previous statement that this portion of the territory concentrates significant amount of the country's productive force. Southeast not only leads the GDP per capita, but also has the largest budget revenues among all regions, representing two-thirds of the total collected (among cities with over 200,000 inhabitants). This result is largely a reflection of the collection capacity that these territories have. So is also concentrated in Southeast the highest amount actually collected from IPTU and ITBI. Those discrepant results indicate not only a high level of inequality in the distribution of economic activities, but also the limits and possibilities of the territory management throughout the country.

Table 2 shows the distribution (by region) of Brazilian municipalities with more than 200,000 inhabitants, and their percentage share in the collection of IPTU and ITBI in 2013, considered only this group of municipalities.

Table 2: Municipalities with more than 200,000 inhabitants (by region) and their percentage share in the collection of IPTU and IPTU in 2013

Regions	Total Municipalities	Municipalities over 200,000 inhabitants	IPTU 2013 (>200,00 hab.) % over total collected	ITBI 2013 (>200,000 hab.) % over total collected
North	450	10	1.50	2.43
Midwest	467	7	4.84	7.20
Northeast	1.794	26	7.25	12.12
Southeast	1.668	69	73.24	58.82
South	1.191	21	13.16	19.43
Brazil	5.570	133	100.00	100.00

Source: Elaborated based on a National Treasury research name FINBRA, 2010 and the population census made by IBGE, 2010

The largest number of municipalities with a population over 200,000 inhabitants is in the Southeast where the municipal network is large, but smaller than the Northeast region which,

with its 1,794 municipalities, has only 26 cities with more than 200,000 inhabitants. The diversified distribution of these large municipalities can be considered an indicator of greater regional dynamism of the Southeast in relation to the Northeast.

Where there is greater share in the Brazilian GDP is also where there are the highest real estate assets, such as in the Southeast. Those Southeastern states collected 73.24% of the total. It is instigating to note that the participation of the Southeast in ITBI collection is also higher than in other regions (58.82%), but less concentrated than in the case of IPTU. Besides the Southeast, in all other regions the ITBI collection percentage was higher than the IPTU. This result should be associated with difficulties that municipalities face to improve its IPTU collection. In the case of ITBI, paid only after real estate transactions, it allows better political conditions so that local governments to impose a higher tax basis.

The significant participation of Southeast municipalities in IPTU collection suggests that its administration is best observed where economic activity is greater. It is also where there are a greater number of large municipalities with more than 200,000 inhabitants. It is precisely the most populous municipalities who need urban policy instruments that have the capacity to order city growing.

The following table shows the evolution, divided by regions, of the percentage share of IPTU and ITBI in GDP in 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2013.

Table 3: Evolution (by region) of the percentage share of IPTU and ITBI in GDP in 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2013

Regions	IPTU				ITBI			
	2000	2005	2010	2013	2000	2005	2010	2013
North	0.004	0.004	0.01	0.01	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.004
Midwest	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Northeast	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02
Southeast	0.35	0.34	0.30	0.31	0.06	0.06	0.08	0.10
South	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03
Brazil	0.45	0.46	0.42	0.43	0.09	0.09	0.14	0.17
Municipalities over 200,000 inhabitants	0.33	0.34	0.32	0.33	0.06	0.06	0.10	0.12

Source: Elaborated based on a National Treasury research name FINBRA, 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2013.

The performance of the two real estate taxes as a proportion of GDP in the selected years suggests that there is room for improving IPTU administration, especially among municipalities with a population over 200,000 inhabitants. After all, there was significant improvement in ITBI

collection, which nearly doubled its percentage over the period, while the IPTU collection decreased.

Table 4 shows per capita collection of IPTU and ITBI allowing a comparison of their performance at the beginning and end of the decade, when there was census information that allowed this per capita calculation. Once again the data on the municipalities are divided into regions in order to provide a holistic view of the results.

Table 4: IPTU and ITBI per capita in municipalities with a population over 200,000 inhabitants (by region) in 2000 and 2010

Region	IPTU, 2000 (R\$)	IPTU, 2010 (R\$)	ITBI, 2000 (R\$)	ITBI, 2010 (R\$)
North	9.27	25.20	2.30	11.60
Midwest	38.46	131.00	9.12	46.32
Northeast	21.74	54.56	5.52	26.65
Southeast	82.76	205.25	14.32	55.30
South	43.92	131.51	15.68	62.30
Brazil	59.14	149.70	11.67	46.64

Source: Elaborated based on a National Treasury research name FINBRA, 2000 and 2010

In Table 4, Southeast remains ahead of other regions concentrating the highest IPTU values over the decade. However, the same cannot be affirmed when the data on ITBI are observed. With regard to this tax, Southern region leads per capita revenue throughout analyzed period.

It is also observed that although the collection rate of Midwest region is below the Northeast (see Table 3), when the analysis is conducted from per capita perspective, the mentioned region has almost the same performance of the South (IPTU) and Southeast (ITBI).

In 2000, Southeast region was the only one that reached a per capita value above the average of other regions in the IPTU collection. It stands out the Northern region whose collection was more than six times lower than the recorded average (R\$ 59.14). Regarding ITBI, the South also presented per capita value higher than the national average (R\$ 15.68).

The North again stands out for a very low value (R\$ 2.30). This result may be related to greater availability of land, reduced volume of legally registered real estate transfers, and a low land value. This result is based on the fact that the tax payment is a condition for the legal registration of the real estate transfer. Therefore there are fewer management problems as in the IPTU case, which – in addition to the legislative dynamics – depends on a more robust structure and human resources.

Observed values in 2010 suggest that, despite the increased tax collection, the situation among the regions in 2000 changed little except for the distance reduction of what was collected (IPTU and ITBI) in the Midwest and South in relation the Southeast.

In the case of the Midwest, the result must be associated with the expansion of agribusiness frontiers that despite mobilizing intensive activities in the field also produces direct impact in the nearby cities.

The same observation, in theory, could be made also to the revenue growth in the North. Since states such as Pará has been the subject of significant infrastructure investment to export grains and minerals produced in the North and Midwest. However, it is possible that a significant part of the tax collection in the North and Northeast has not been levied since the registry management of real estate located in those areas is very complicated – i.e., many land titles were falsified along the time, numerous records overlap, there is no efficient management of public lands, many occupations in irregular tenure regime.

The following tables (7-9) analyze the IPTU management from its relation to the GDP considering only a selection of municipalities.

Table 5: The 10 municipalities (with over 200,000 inhabitants) with the highest GDPs per capita in 2010 and its corresponding IPTU per capita

Municipality (State) – Region	Population	GDP per capita (R\$)	IPTU per capita (R\$)
Barueri (São Paulo) – SE	240.749	115,275.36	55.69
Vitória (Espírito Santo) – SE	327.801	76,172.11	49.84
Betim (Minas Gerais) – SE	378.089	74,843.12	52.40
Santos (São Paulo) – SE	419.400	65,846.53	415.71
Camaçari (Bahia) – NE	242.970	55,066.69	115.48
Campos dos Goytacazes (Rio de Janeiro) – SE	463.731	54,585.91	39.11
Osasco (São Paulo) – SE	666.740	54,577.62	183.60
Macaé (São Paulo) – SE	206.728	54,506.29	53.31
Jundiaí (São Paulo) – SE	370.126	54,372.29	184.96
São José dos Pinhais (Paraná) – S	264.210	51,818.21	55.42

Source: Elaborated based on a National Treasury research name FINBRA, 2010.

Municipalities listed above have a population ranging from 200,000 to 600,000 inhabitants and the GDP per capita observes an approximate interval that can reach up to R\$ 60,000.00 difference. Meantime, only two municipalities have higher numbers than the average recorded for their respective region (Santos, in Southeast and Camaçari, in Northeast). This result is probably related to petroleum activities, since there is a petrochemical complex in Camaçari and further south there is the Santos Basin.

Except for Santos it is possible to sustain that despite the high economic performance observed in these municipalities, administrative structures for IPTU management in these regions are less developed. This is because high GDP per capita observed allows affirming that in such areas taxpayers probably have a high contributive capacity due to the presence of mining and oil activities. Whereas such potential does not find support in what has been observed in IPTU collection, it is possible to argue that the result is directly related to institutional limitations in the tribute administration.

The absence of necessary administrative structures for IPTU administration provides strong evidence that its application with extra fiscal purposes is even further detached from reality. Beyond the political challenges of implementing measures such as progressive tax rate it is necessary to constitute an administrative bureaucracy well equipped and trained to manage the tax collection process. As can be inferred from Tables 3 and 4, the ITBI growth is not associated with the development of municipal institutions, since the tax payment is a necessary condition for the taxpayer to legalize real estate transfers and does not require robust management structures.

Table 6: The 10 municipalities (with over 200,000 inhabitants) with the lowest GDPs per capita in 2010 and its corresponding IPTU per capita

Municipality (State)	Population	GDP per capita (R\$)	IPTU per capita (R\$)
Paulista (Pernambuco) – NE	300.466	7,087.90	16.81
Ananindeua (Pará) – N	471.980	7,775.21	17.76
Juazeiro do Norte (Ceará) – NE	249.939	7,841.79	7.67
Caucaia (Ceará) – NE	325.441	7,981.54	11.71
Olinda (Ceará) – NE	377.779	8,227.06	40.01
Imperatriz (Maranhão) – NE	247.505	8,563.94	15.06
Arapiraca (Alagoas) – NE	214.006	8,791.17	5.41
Magé (Rio de Janeiro) – SE	227.322	9,086.39	24.49

Carapicuíba (São Paulo) – SE	369.584	9,279.11	51.30
Viamão (Rio Grande do Sul) – S	239.384	9,292.77	12.50

Source: Elaborated based on a National Treasury research name FINBRA, 2010

In Table 6, seven of the ten municipalities with the lowest GDP per capita are located in North and Northeast. The reflection of regional inequality in economic performance stated above is reaffirmed. While population and GDP per capita for this group have smaller variations between those found in the previous one (Table 5), IPTU per capita comes to have a range of up to seven times from the lowest value identified. Beyond this initial analysis, the observed data reinforce the hypothesis that there are better technical and economic conditions to collect taxes where there is a greater economic activity. Although in the previous group (Table 5) almost all municipalities have collected below the average of their respective regions, in Table 6, none of the municipalities collected more than average and the absolute values (except for Olinda) are significantly low.

So, in addition to the lack of robust administrative structures capable of managing property taxes effectively, low economic activity also reduces the contribution capacity of taxpayers. As an immediate consequence, the revenue generation for those municipalities through real estate tax is compromised, and extra fiscal applications of the property tax become only a theoretical tool to be applied in exceptional cases, not as urban public policy.

Table 7: The 10 municipalities (with over 200,000 inhabitants) with the highest IPTU per capita in 2010 and its corresponding GDP per capita

Municipality (State) – Region	Population	GDP per capita (R\$)	IPTU per capita (R\$)
Guarujá (São Paulo) – SE	290,752	14,275.87	638.28
Praia Grande (São Paulo) – SE	262,051	12,099.33	536.48
Santos (São Paulo) – SE	419,400	65,846.53	415.71
Niterói (Rio de Janeiro) – SE	487,562	23,000.36	371.46
São Paulo (São Paulo) – SE	11,253,503	39,418.85	359.81
Florianópolis (Santa Catarina) – S	421,240	23,280.16	302.41
Campinas (São Paulo) – SE	1,080,113	33,967.40	270.60
São Bernardo do Campo (São Paulo) – SE	765,463	46,479.82	252.70

Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro) – SE	6,320,446	30,100.57	226.54
Santo André (São Paulo) – SE	676,407	25,514.92	222.28

Source: Elaborated based on a National Treasury research name FINBRA, 2010

Finally, as a last measure of comparative analysis, the municipalities with more than 200,000 inhabitants who had the highest IPTU per capita result in 2010 were selected. Unlike the two previous groups, this set presents a greater diversity with regard its population, ranging from approximately 260,000 to 11,200,000 inhabitants. The difference between the GDPs per capita is also expressive reaching a variation of more than five times the lowest observed value.

Among the municipalities listed in Table 7 only one appears in the previous sets, namely Santos (Table 5). Already appointed as exceptionality, that municipality seems to fit in a third group of municipalities, that is, those where there is a sufficiently developed economic activity and there is a organized administrative bureaucracy, able to conduct effective efforts in the IPTU collection. In this sense, this set (Table 7) shows that economic activity is an important variable and has a direct impact on the tax collection, although there is a clear limit to its interference. This statement is based on the fact that nine of the ten municipalities listed in Table 7 are not among those with the highest GDP per capita (Table 5). However, they collect more than those who observe the highest rates of economic activity.

Important to note that seven of the ten municipalities analyzed are in the state of São Paulo, within municipalities where high economic activity prevails coupled with improved administrative efficiency, or in cities that concentrate the presence of vacation homes (e.g., Guarujá, Praia Grande), which supposes a population with a high contributive capacity. Given this scenario, it is possible to question why Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais municipalities do not have a similar performance. A preliminary hypothesis could argue that, in addition to the wealth of São Paulo municipalities, this result may be essentially associated with the existence - in São Paulo state - of a larger urban network, composed of a much more significant number of cities with over 200,000 inhabitants while Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro urban network would be polarized around their respective capitals.

For this third group, in which there is considerable economic activity and high IPTU collection rates, its extra-fiscal application seems to be closer to reality. This is because, having a population with high contributive capacity, as well as consolidated administrative structures able to manage the tax from a minimum level of efficiency, it is possible to see a favorable scenario for the use of tax measures from an extra fiscal perspective, as an urban policy.

Conclusions

The results of this research point to the same direction of other studies conducted in the same area by Cesare (2010), Carvalho Junior (2011) and Santos & Luft (2012). That is, municipalities do not explore efficiently the revenue collection potential of the property, but there are other essential factors that limit local government possible activities, such as the regional economic

inequality and the lack of qualified administrative structures. This situation has as one of its consequences the emptying of urban policy content of the IPTU.

In the scenario examined in this work it is possible to sustain that municipalities are far from applying the IPTU from an extra fiscal bias. Nevertheless, promoting its discussion in various arenas is critical. This happens mainly due to the slow pace observed between the release of an urban policy agenda and its dissemination by society, also due to the role that the State is playing with regard to the promotion of social welfare.

This is justified in so far as, among the family needs, housing is crucial. Apart from its existence, its location can determine access to basic services such as, public health, education, mobility etc. Thus, increase the supply of social housing is a goal that should guide government actions and the property taxation can be an important ally in conducting this task.

No resource may be dispensed in the challenging task of ensuring decent and fair living conditions in a situation where the housing commodification has deepened the vulnerability of a growing portion of the population across the planet.

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IMMIGRATION SOCIAL CHALLENGES IN PUBLIC SPACES IN JEDDAH, SAUDI ARABIA

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Abstract

After the economic rise in Saudi Arabia in 1938, workers migrated from across Saudi Arabia seeking better work opportunities. Statistics from the General Census of Population and Housing in 2010 reveal that the total number of international immigrants increased from 0.7 to 1.73 million between 2002 and 2010 (from 29.4% to 50% of the Population), coming from different countries, cultural, social and religious backgrounds.

Over recent years, a perception has developed by some citizens that there are too many Immigrants, which has exposed increased feelings of insecurity. Anti-immigrant attitudes and social exclusion have become more prominent, Saudi nationals have become concerned about diminishing national identity, in addition to believe that expatriates take available work and economic opportunities away from nationals, main cause of crime, and moral corruption.

Immigrants have brought with them new ideas, skills and practices from their home cultures, which add to the new urban cultures in Jeddah. This has helped to create a culturally vibrant urban environment.

The study will discuss the challenges faced by immigrants in Jeddah, in terms of interaction and social harmony with Saudi citizens in public spaces, and the underlying causes of those challenges. Qualitative method is used in this study, through discuss and analyse general literature review about the objective of the research (Public space and Immigration social challenges in Jeddah), then propose general recommendations that contribute to the improvement of the immigrants social life in the public space.

Introduction

In 1938, when oil was discovered, workers migrated moved to Saudi Arabia, and this phenomenon of workers seeking better work opportunities continued (Mandeli, 2011). Immigrants in Saudi Arabia have been uprooted from their origins and create new social lives, practicing some actions of their original. However, these immigrants cannot be described as integrating within the community, due to different ethno-national origins, clans and languages. Huo states that immigrants play a critical role in shaping the city's planning and landscape as they create new cultures within neighbourhoods and within the city urban context (Huo, 2013).

Society has been seen to change in response to foreign migrant workers who have made their homes in various residential areas of Jeddah. However, these immigrant workers have brought with them new ideas, skills and practices from their home cultures, which add to the new urban cultures in Jeddah. This has helped to create a culturally vibrant and cosmopolitan urban environment (Mandeli, 2011).

The social relation has changed between citizens and immigrants, because of the social and economic changes in last two recent decades in Jeddah. Saudi nationals have become concerned about diminishing national and regional identities, as well as an increased awareness of the potential threats caused by too many international immigrants. Residents are often concerned about their personal safety from migrant workers that have lost their jobs or who have entered the country illegally, and often turn to crime to meet their basic needs of food and accommodation. Although there has been a traditional acceptance and tolerance of foreigners living and working in the city, over recent years, a perception has developed by some residents that there are too many foreign migrant workers, which has exposed increased feelings of uncertainty, anxiety and insecurity (Mandeli, 2011).

Cities in Saudi Arabia have had design practices, has contributed to problems with the built environment. This has interfered with the social harmony found traditionally in these cities, and has had a negative influence on social status, children's activities, women's activities, social interaction. Nagy (2006) suggests that patterns of use of public open spaces are influenced by the large numbers of migrant workers in this region that often produces social distinctions for specific open spaces based on feelings of affiliation, strategies and behaviours of individuals and attitudes towards social diversity that are complex, so that official policies and discourse tend to overlap and interact (Nagy, 2006).

Because of this apparent deterioration in social relations (especially for immigrants) in public spaces in the city of Jeddah, emerged the idea of the study of Immigration social challenges in public spaces in Jeddah.

The reason for choosing the city of Jeddah

Jeddah city is selected as the geographical setting for this paper for a number of reasons. Significant developments have taken place in the city over many decades, due to the impact of expanding commercial activities, and the improved economy in Saudi Arabia. Jeddah presents a typical example of a city in the Middle East region, but is also unusual as many migrant workers are based there, and its position as a seaport means that many pilgrims from other

countries pass through the city. There is also urgency in providing such research, because of the rapid development of social isolation, especially for immigrants in Jeddah.

Saudi Arabia

Within the region of the Middle East, Saudi Arabia is the largest country, and when compared to Arab countries it is the third largest in terms of land area (2,149,690 square kilometres). The Red Sea lies to the West and the Arabian Gulf lies to the North east, and according to 2010 statistics (Central Department of Statistics and Information, 2010), the population is estimated to be 29,994,272, and the number of non-Saudi residents are estimated to be 9,723,214.

Saudi Arabia mostly has a desert climate, apart from the south west of the country, so that day temperatures are high (around 36°C) during the spring, summer and autumn, and moderately high (around 17°C) during the winter. Temperatures at night are low across the country.

Jeddah

The Municipality of Jeddah is located within the Makkah (Mecca) region, which is on the central western coast of Saudi Arabia (Figure1). This is an area of 5,460 sq. km and situated on the Red Sea coast, which stretches from the settlement of Thuwal in the North, to near Mastabah in the South and covers a distance of approximately 160 km Jeddah City is the main settlement of the Governorate, and this is situated 65 km west of Makkah, with which it has been historically linked as the gateway to the Two Holy Mosques for over 1300 years (Adas, 2015).

Figure 1 Map of a Saudi Arabia.



Source: (Addas, 2015)

Demographics and social life in Jeddah

The population of Saudi Arabia has a high percentage (39.92%) of people aged 15 years and younger, and this significant youth population is also reflected in Jeddah, but with a slightly smaller percentage (32.2%) (CDS 1992; 2004; 2007).

Jeddah Municipality in 2002 reported that Jeddah had an older population when compared to other Saudi Arabian cities due to the large number of mainly middle-aged foreign immigrants, in addition to Jeddah's lower birth when compared with other Saudi cities. Therefore, the male population of Jeddah has historically risen faster than for females (Mandeli, 2011); however, these population differences have never been substantial, because the families of immigrant workers tend to join them at a later time.

The population of Jeddah has grown more than 115 times between the unification of the country in 1932 and 2014. Jeddah's concentration of power, together with an accumulation of wealth has attracted many newcomers to the city, and increased its population. The national census has revealed that Jeddah's population has risen from 2.8 million in 2004 to 3.98 million in 2014 (CDS 2004; 2010).

The Central Department of Statistics and Information reports that the current level of unemployment across the country is about 5.50%, but the IMF reports that over the previous four years non-Saudis were employed in 1.5 million new jobs, compared to 500,000 Saudis gaining new jobs. Therefore, the unemployment rate for Saudis is 12%, but the unemployment levels for specific groups of Saudis is much higher, such as those under the age of 50 (30%) and females (35%) (IMF, 2013).

The family, as a social institution, remains the main meeting place for family members. Even in cities, such as Jeddah, where there are plentiful options for recreation, sport and religious support, the ties with family members remain of high importance (Adas, 2015).

Immigration in Jeddah

According to a report by Jeddah Municipality (2004), between 1971 and 1974, foreign workers increased to become around 37% of the population of the city. This percentage of migrant workers remained broadly similar and in 2002 this had decreased slightly to around 30%. The number of Saudi citizens in the total Jeddah population increased rapidly from 47.7% in 1978 to 70.6% in 2002 (Jeddah-Municipality 2004). However, the percentage of internal immigration declined and the numbers of foreign workers increased over the period from 1978-2002 (Mandeli, 2011), most of them are Arab and Middle East countries, as well as those from the Philippines, India, Pakistan and Indonesia

Saudi nationals were unable to provide the skills and expertise that expatriate workers were able to offer since the economic boom of the 1970s, so their numbers continued to grow due mostly to a heavy reliance upon the work of expatriates that was essential for Saudi economic development (Mandeli, 2011). Statistics from the General Census of Population and Housing for the year 2010 reveal that the total number of international immigrants increased from 0.7 to 1.73 million between 2002 and 2010, with a 11.9% annual rate of growth. During the same period, their proportion to the total population also increased from 29.4% to 50% (CDS 2004; 2010).

Migrant workers in Saudi Arabia come from Egypt, Lebanon, Philippines, Indonesia and other developing countries, and Western countries, such as the USA and the UK.

The national background often plays a significant role in the distribution of immigrants, and especially low-skilled workers. Immigrants representing different nationalities may be found living together in a particular area, which is similar for highly skilled professionals from western countries that are often isolated within gated communities (Mandeli, 2011).

The relationship between the Saudis and immigrants

Negative attitudes towards foreign migrant workers and the consequent racial discrimination reflect citizens' desires to remove the source of threat and competition (Yamni 2000). Berry (2008) suggests that attitudes towards foreigners can differ, according to the status of the incomers, such as whether they are asylum seekers or refugees, as well as others who are foreign migrant workers in Jeddah. Attitudes towards immigrants differ according to the status of citizens, as well as their social and religious inclinations.

Citizens who have foreign-born parents or grandparents and have been assimilated into Jeddah society tend to have neutral attitudes towards immigrants. Mutual acceptance and harmony between ethno-cultural groups has been encouraged by these people who have possessed citizenship for many years. Although immigration has contributed to the development of the city of Jeddah, attitudes of these citizens towards migrant workers can vary according to the status of ethnic group members, their professional skills, or if the foreigners are required for work (Yamni, 2000, 2009).

Traditionalist groups, who originally moved from the surrounding rural areas to settle in the city and became a majority group, tend to have more negative attitudes towards immigrants. This is unlike most of Jeddah's native residents, whose ancestors came from outside the Arabian Peninsula. Traditionalist groups consider themselves to be superior citizens due to their tribal origins and nativist sentiments. They support the concept of hierarchies among Saudi nationals and often express prejudice against others in order to maintain their social dominance, Guimond, Oliveira et al. (2010) and Esses and Wagner et al. (2006) comment that traditionalists create damage to existing group-based social hierarchy, because as they view those native residents who have historical origins outside the Kingdom as second class citizens.

Most citizens who have negative attitudes towards immigrants believe that expatriates take available work and economic opportunities away from nationals, who are unable to find work. Saudi nationals, such as the traditionalists, consider the presence of low-skilled foreign workers, especially from Africa, Pakistan and India, to be the main cause of Saudi unemployment, as well as the main cause of crime, moral corruption and serious social divisions. Concerns about anti-social behaviour and changing social norms have contributed to more negative attitudes towards expatriates, which are often xenophobic (Yamni, 2000; Fakeeh, 2009).

Recreation and leisure in Jeddah

According to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, citizens have "the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holiday with pay, and

the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits” (United Nations, 1985, p97). Al-Hijji (1989) explains that in 1984 the Saudi Government adopted this UN Declaration and passed legislation relating to hours of work, time for leisure, holidays and relating to leisure activities themselves, which has increased growth in leisure time.

According to Pigram (1983), more flexible work patterns with staggered leisure times require effective management of recreation resources. Traditionally in Saudi Arabia, the growth in leisure time was the privilege of the elite, which is now enjoyed by everyone. The advent of modern lighting has led to a shift in most social and some work activities to the hours of late evening, which has helped to avoid unsuitable climatic conditions, and also allows more people to visit outdoor recreational areas, and particularly women who might have safety concerns in dark areas.

The statutory regulation of time in Saudi Arabia is partly overshadowed by the impact of environmental and religious factors upon leisure patterns and the planning of time. The working day for the government sector runs from 7.30 am to 2:30 pm, and until 5:00 to 6:00 pm in the private sector. Leisure time usually after 6 pm, to spend with the family or as a social time for people to gather (Hammadi, 1993). The pattern of leisure activities is very different to European and North American leisure activity norms.

The Saudi Government has recognised the importance of providing opportunities for outdoor recreation, and most Saudi residents are able to spend some of their money, time and effort on outdoor recreation. However, currently, the demand for recreation in Saudi Arabia is greater than the supply of facilities (Figure2).

According to Pigram (1983), increased demand for recreational activities has been accompanied by the increased availability of disposable time, the choice of leisure activities, and the demand for outdoor recreational space. Such choices are influenced by users' expectation, and linked to age, family status, social group, personal taste and education.

Figure 2 the demand for recreation in Saudi Arabia is greater than the supply of facilities



Source: (Riyadh newspaper, 2015)

Open spaces in Jeddah

The last four decades have seen rapid growth in both natural and migratory populations, which has coincided with the Kingdom's rapid increase in wealth. As a result, Jeddah City has grown physically and at a very rapid rate, which was partly because of the limited success of regulatory frameworks and spatial planning that tried to restrict development to certain parts of the city. Consequently, the urban areas of Jeddah grew beyond the capacity of its infrastructure (Khalil, 1994; Eben-Saleh, 1997).

The current practice and organisation for the planning, design and management of public open spaces in Jeddah involves public departments of the municipality of Jeddah and private contractors, which has contributed to poor standards of maintenance. Mandeli noted that the clearance of traditional neighbourhoods and the destruction of traditional urban spaces by public sector agencies and private investors were encouraged, which led to the emergence of a series of dispersed exclusive and depersonalised residential areas and segmented urban spaces that limit public access, which has undermined community cohesiveness (Mandeli, 2011). Therefore, projects led to social heterogeneity and polarisation, and also caused the displacement of people from their traditional communities. Al-Madhadji (2010) recognises that implementing environmental legislation exposes problems, as citizens are often insufficiently aware of how these factors could be applied in their day-to-day lives.

Al-Fahad (2008) finds that few people use local gardens and parks in Saudi Arabia due to their poor design and management, and that the softscape and hardscape features of these public open spaces were described as poor quality, because they often fail to meet the needs of individuals and families.

Research findings reveal various factors influencing heterogeneity and urban fabric, such as increased distances between buildings as a result of building wider streets, creation of barely accessible and widely dispersed outdoor spaces, failure to provide protection from very hot weather and a lack of public services facilities and services. Other factors include the lack of a sense of community, security, privacy and responsibility that are responsible for the reduction of social interaction between residents, and undermine a sense of identity and collective activities such as the maintenance of community public open spaces. These have prevented people from participating in social experiences and physical activities in outdoor spaces, and enjoying urban spaces (Al-Hathloul and Mughal, 1999; Eben-Saleh, 2002; Mandeli, 2011).

Discussion

Ulrich et al. (1991) report that natural settings restore positive effects and reduce fear, anger and aggression based on attention restoration theory and stress reduction theory. From that, the lack of open spaces of high quality in the communities that would increase stress in the community. Grahn & Stigsdotter identify a connection between stress and visiting open spaces, as when people spend more time in open spaces, this contributes to reduced levels of stress they experience in their daily life (Grahn & Stigsdotter, 2003).

A diverse society can enhance social capital by having open spaces, such as parks, for common use. Social well-being, including social inclusion and integration are facilitated by

public open spaces, as they provide settings to promote 'social capital' and good health (Amin, 2002; Valentine, 2008).

In modern societies, people are heading to public spaces, to ignore the pressures of life, and recreation, so they are the best platform to form social relationships, and the melt of Ethnic differences. According to Morris (2003), social interaction, as well as improvements in the quality of life, may be enhanced by outdoor recreational activities. Outdoor activities can also help people to meet new people and make friendships. Kathiravelu (2013) suggests that social interaction and friendships in outdoor spaces can be seen as a ritualised forum. The urban context is structured in ways that promote residents' friendships and socialising, especially for immigrants and cities with diverse communities (Kathiravelu, 2013).

Societal benefits from using the public spaces may not promote positive interaction, but may prevent negative social interactions. Kuo and Sullivan (2001) suggest that the greater use of public spaces increases surveillance, as well reducing factors that lead to aggression.

Especially for immigrants, important role of public space, to integrate into their new communities, because of the lost of their families and friends, making them to use the public space often, to form social relationships. Immigrants often use public open spaces to become more familiar with everyday activities, rather than specifically to build social networks; however, these spaces offer forms of contact that could be culturally specific (Rishbeth and Finney, 2006).

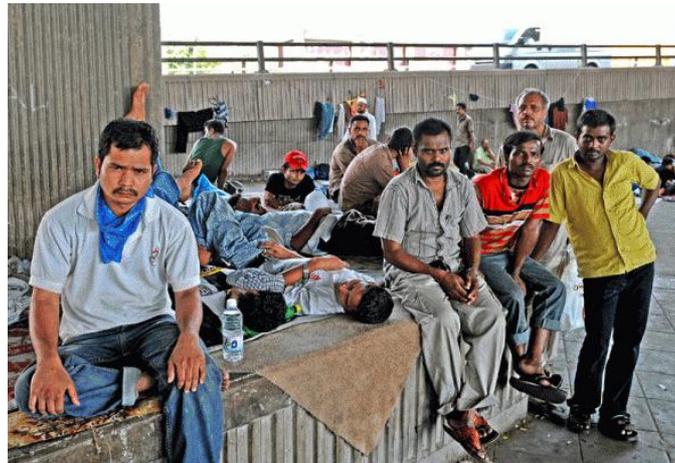
Immigrants behaviour in public space does not depend on the quality of public space, and social interaction with the natives only, but also depends on their ethnic origins, and original cultures. Those from different ethnic origins using parks were researched by Payne et al. (2002) in the USA, where the views of different ethnic users often differed from Caucasian respondents, such as showing a greater preference for activities that were organised, and were usually more interested in recreational activities than conservation. Another study by Tinsley et al. (2002) suggest that there are differences in the frequency of visits to parks and preferences for specific activities that cannot not be explained by proximity. Caucasian and African American respondents tended to identify natural features, such as trees and flowers, which they enjoyed more than Asian or Hispanic respondents. African American respondents were more likely to visit the park with friends, whilst Caucasian respondents usually visited the park alone or with close family members.

Sullivan et al. (2004) suggest that people are more attracted and engaged socially in the areas between buildings in comparison to barren spaces. Distribution and design of public spaces in Jeddah, in addition to the lack of activities and elements that promote social interaction, leading to increased immigrants social challenges in Jeddah. Users of open spaces in Jeddah also have concerns about safety, particularly for areas with poor lighting at night, so that women seldom use some open spaces during night periods. In addition, many areas of open spaces in Jeddah have poor maintenance, which reduces their restorative effects (Adas, 2015).

The people in Jeddah using public spaces at leisure, despite the poor quality, and lack of diversity of activities. The social and cultural traditions of Jeddah also mean that Saudi citizens often use public open spaces as centres for recreation and social interaction between families and within groups of friends (Adas, 2015).

Responding to social exclusion imposed by the Saudi society towards immigrants, immigrants resorted to the formation of their own communities in the public spaces. Addas says: Jeddah has a high percentage of migrant workers that also use public open spaces, where migrants also demonstrate similar patterns of use to meet with others of the same ethnic background and same language (Figure3), as well as forming attachment to specific open spaces or softscape features within these areas (Addas, 2015). Over recent years, a perception has developed by some residents that there are too many foreign migrant workers, which has exposed increased feelings of uncertainty, anxiety and insecurity (Mandeli, 2011).

Figure 3 Immigrant workers in public space in Jeddah.



Source: (Middle east confidential magazine, 2013)

Conclusion

The promotion of social interaction between citizens and foreigners in the public space is linked to improve the environment of public space, because it is the platform where social interaction happens, thereby forming the right conditions to attract users to the public space, in addition to find activities that increase the chances of interaction between users (such as playground), thus removing immigrants' social challenges.

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