

## ***DISCUSSION PAPER FOR THE ROUND TABLE***

### **FROM GENTRIFICATION TO FORCED EVICTION: HOW SHOULD ECONOMIC COMPETITION BE RECONCILED WITH SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY IN HISTORICAL DISTRICTS?**

*Draft based on extracts from a text by Professor Neil Smith, Director, Graduate Center, City University of New York and from research coordinated by Cesare Ottolini, European representative of the Habitat International Coalition, "Popular Strategies in the Historic Urban Centres," as well as concepts on the globalisation of urbanisation by the development planning unit of the University College of London.*

*The round table results should give rise to the launching of a network of comparative international research by the Sector of Social and Human Sciences of UNESCO within the framework of its draft strategy on "Urban Public Policies Towards the Right to the City."*

The impact of globalisation on cities has been as vast it has been varied. The liberation of trade and freer flows of capital have, in global terms, put cities, rather than nations, at the forefront of economic competition. Some cities with comparative advantages such as highly educated workforces, strategically located ports, airports and other transportation and communications infrastructure and facilities, have been able to capitalize on rapidly expanding global trade and commerce. Yet many others have exploited unique physical assets or cultural heritage to attract rapidly expanding tourism.

Most cities and countries, however, are struggling with both the challenges of economic and financial globalisation and with the neo-liberal policies that are prescribed for integrating them with the global economy and for making them more competitive. The combined impact of lack of opportunity and widening inequity becomes both visible and tangible in terms of territorial segregation, economic polarisation and exclusion, rather than poverty. These are the major contributing factors to urban crime and violence, which in turn threaten the long term social and economic sustainability of the city.

More sustainable forms of urbanisation require more than just environmentally sound approaches to urban planning and development, and more than simple reforms to current approaches to the promotion and distribution of economic growth. They require a concerted set of policies, strategies and processes that are socially inclusive and capable of ensuring that the benefits of urbanisation today will not be unsustainable in the near and long future. In an increasingly urbanised world, the promotion of sustainable urbanisation, encompassing issues of economic growth, social equity, cultural and ethnic cohesion and environmental protection, require, now more than ever, strategic, forward-looking planning, consensus building and conflict resolution.

As a matter of fact, gentrification processes are now increasingly threatening the social cohesion and inclusiveness of historical districts, leading in some cases to brutal social transformations and eventually to forced evictions.

**Gentrification**, as a specific concept describing and analysing a process marking out the urban space of post-industrial countries, first appeared in American and British writing. Ruth Glass was the first to use the term "gentrification" in the early 1960s to describe the process through which middle class households had moved into former working class districts in the centre of London which had depreciated in value, rather than moving out to the residential suburbs as had been the usual rule until then for that section of society. Through this idea, the author saw both a transformation of the social composition of some central districts and a process of rehabilitation of dilapidated buildings. Some writers, like Neil Smith, believe that this phenomenon has gradually appeared the world over, first of all in the capitals of countries long-since industrialised. Now, however, the phenomenon is reaching some cities in developing countries.

Initially, the phenomenon came about with sections of society who had little capital but were rich in the cultural sphere (professions relating to teaching, the arts, culture, etc.). The very term "gentrification" in the minds of those who used it had a premonitory feeling to it – the opening up of social paths that the phenomenon would help put in place. **Gentrification – a socio-spatial process – can be of two different kinds: one proceeds through exclusion of working-class categories in districts that are already very bourgeois; the other works through more wealthy strata of society arriving in an area which until then has been sociologically mixed or more working-class.**

The generalisation of gentrification goes along with democratisation. Gentrification now provides urban structures that can "consume" the middle and upper classes – the homeless are swiftly removed – and it adds to the idea of class identity, through a spectrum of significant classes, although in very different ways: in this apparently democratised structure, the extraordinary inequality of consumerism expresses the increased power of the classes that have pushed "gentrification" into prime position.

To the extent that it is an expression of broader social, economic and political relations, gentrification in any one city shows the particularities of the structure of its urban space. Much has been said about New York because in almost four decades the city has seen its gentrification develop from being a local anomaly to a concerted urban strategy. In Seoul or Sao Paulo, the process is spatially isolated and only just beginning. In the Caribbean, the increasingly close links between gentrification and the global economy usually go through the tourist industry, giving it its own particular stamp. The development of gentrification seen through the example of New York still needs further study. It may turn out to be more acceptable: to different degrees, gentrification around the 1990s developed, in many cases, in the direction of a crucial urban strategy for municipalities, in conjunction with the private sector. Gentrification, as a systematic alliance of public urbanism and public and private economy, filled the void left by the withdrawal of progressive urban policies. Elsewhere, where cities had not undergone such progressive policies virtually throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the path of change was very different; however, if we consider gentrification in the broadest sense of old city centres as a competitive urban strategy in the global market, it is heading the same way.

The generalisation of gentrification presents different dimensions that can be understood in terms of five interlinked characteristics: the new role of the State, the insertion of capital, changes in the level of political opposition, geographical dispersal and the generalisation of gentrification by sector.

A new combination of powers and practices came into being with the far more obvious aim of **gentrifying** the city. This complex gentrification links the global economy to property developers, local businesses, estate agents, designer shops – all encouraged by the local authorities for whom the social consequences are nowadays more assured by the economy than by their own rules: it is the logic of the economy, and not of financing the social services any more, that is the new *modus*

*operandi* of public policies. Building projects become the centrepiece of the city's economy, justified by job creation, taxes, tourism and the construction of large cultural complexes. The crisis in city centres is, in fact, rooted in the public authorities' lack of policy for structural action: there are no plans for restoring housing and town planning than can be sustained from a social point of view. The changes in the use of property lead to a social thinning of town centres before these are transformed into offices, shops and luxury dwellings; laws on rent favour controlled increases in rents and eviction for expiry of tenancy. There is also a noteworthy deficit in social housing, made worse by the lack of maintenance caused by the privatisation policies in the sector.

The social dimension of the changes which are taking place in transforming towns is an aspect that can no longer be ignored. World-wide economical interests and the growing discrepancy between social needs and economics are affecting all levels of society, but particularly the local level, where it is possible to verify a new exclusion form: urban displacement.

Historical towns, and more precisely the historical urban centres, are emptied of their inhabitants. The sudden rise of rents and building/estates speculation forces tenants to surrender their houses, their neighbourhoods and their usual environment. It seems that town centres where the social-economical pressure is high become a real centrifugal force, making victims of those residents and citizens belonging to popular working classes.

The social conflict concerning the rights of use of city centres plays an important part in the fight between cities' demands for integration/evolution and rejection of social and cultural blending. All real estate operations must consider the untouchable principle of the inhabitants' right to live in the town.

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, countries in the old First World are the main locations of gentrification. How is the process developing in South-East Asia, Eastern Europe, Arab States or Spain in comparison with North America? What are the physical consequences on building, and the socio-economic and cultural consequences on the inhabitants of historical districts, in cities like Beijing, Seoul, Lahore, Karachi, Moscow, Marrakech, Quito or Barcelona and Málaga? How can the effects of this phenomenon be foreseen and the socio-economic and cultural challenges be approached? By giving sites the "World Heritage" label? By grand events like the Olympic Games? Or would that also lead to gentrification of historical districts?

All these questions should be tackled by the experts, researchers, mayors and municipal representatives, and NGO representatives invited to this Round Table. The scope of their reflections should enable UNESCO's Social and Human Sciences Sector to identify some of the main indicators and parametres of social sustainability in historical districts faced with urban renovation projects. The results of the discussions will serve as the basis for launching a network of comparative international research on these phenomena from 2005 to 2007. This UNESCO research should be finalised by the end of 2007, with the publication of a guide to best municipal practices on social sustainability in historical districts.

**BY BRIGITTE COLIN**

## ARANJUEZ RENEWAL PLAN

DR. ALFONSO VEGARA

### KEY CONCEPTS

In this presentation the transformation experienced by the City of Aranjuez will be illustrated. The city is currently implementing a plan for redevelopment created out of the *Proyecto CITIES* methodology developed by *Fundación Metrópoli* with the following characteristics:

- The development area is located in a designated UNESCO World Heritage site due to its unique and balanced interrelation between its urban structure and the surrounding landscapes. In particular, the Tajo River, which is a significant natural element that meanders through the area, boasting an interesting ecosystem.
- The municipality is part of the Madrid 2012 Olympic Bid, which if successful, will accommodate all rowing events for which a 160m by 2200m canal will be constructed. This canal will have a determined and lasting influence on the urban structure of Aranjuez, and as such, the plan proposes the development of functional city spaces along the canal that will form part of a new district for the city in dialogue with the community and historic centre.
- The substantial improvement of rail and highway infrastructure in the Madrid area is creating housing demand for families wanting to live in Aranjuez.
- The challenge is to design a strategy of sustainable development with a high level of participation to mitigate the processes of "gentrification" of the historical centre. What is required is a development process led by political leadership for the public good rather than only private real estate interests.
- Perhaps the most difficult aspect of the development project to deal with is the interaction of new growth pressures with the protection of its wealth of cultural heritage. Aranjuez has the capacity and determination to grow in the context of the Metropolitan Area of Madrid, which is one of most dynamic capital regions of Europe. The integration of the historical heritage of the city with new urban development is the key issue of success for the project.

### *PROYECTO CITIES* CLUSTERS OF EXCELLENCE METHODOLOGY

The methodology of work used in The *Aranjuez Proyecto Ciudad* has been prepared by the *Fundación Metrópoli* and comes from the *Proyecto CITIES* model, which is a global investigation of 20 cities on five continents. The objective of this initiative was to identify the singularities and competitive advantages of each one of the participant cities and to discover each "Cluster of Excellence". Using this model in the case of Aranjuez an analysis

of the components of excellence of the city and its urban structure has been developed. Furthermore, a collective vision of the city has been espoused with the participation of local citizens and institutions. The *Aranjuez Proyecto Ciudad* began by using a participatory questionnaire in which 100 local institutions took part. The results of the survey identified the components of excellence, key priority areas, and shortfalls for improvement, perceived by the local institutions involved in the future growth of the city.

#### MAIN COMPONENTS USED FOR THE DESIGN OF THE *ARANJUEZ PROYECTO CIUDAD*

- Emphasis on the social, cultural, economic, and environmental sustainability of Aranjuez and the integration of the new uses and activities in the landscapes that are considered part of world heritage.
- Utilisation of its ecological corridors as the basic elements for guiding the future urban structure of the city and its relationship to the region.
- To design a coherent public transportation system which effectively integrates the municipality internally, while integrating Aranjuez with the metropolitan area of Madrid.
- To create a variety of high quality public spaces for improving social interaction through the creation of urban boulevards, urban street furniture, plazas, biking and running lanes, urban parks, and other designed urban spaces.
- To develop areas with a variety residential housing types with the objective to integrate different social, income, and family types. In particular, to establish a plan that promotes the renovation of historic buildings and the construction of lofts, condominiums, apartments, and other housing types.
- To encourage a fusion of uses both in the historic district and in the newly created urban areas, through the development of multiuse neighbourhoods, with residential, work, education, and entertainment uses.
- To emphasise development which is committed to energy efficient design of buildings and the use of renewable energy, in particular, wind, solar, photovoltaic, hydraulic, geothermal, and other renewable energies.
- The promotion and use of bioclimatic architectural and urban design principals both in the historic district and new developed neighbourhoods.
- To build the development around the theme of an eco-city and eco-community with a focus on sporting activities.
- Finding a collective commitment towards environmental excellence.

## **ARANJUEZ PROYECTO CIUDAD**

**DR. ALFONSO VEGARA**

### **CUESTIONES DE ENFOQUE**

En esta presentación se recoge la experiencia de transformación de la Ciudad de Aranjuez. Se trata de un proyecto en marcha desarrollado con la metodología del Proyecto Cities y tiene las siguientes singularidades:

- Se trata de un municipio declarado Patrimonio de la Humanidad por la equilibrada y única interrelación entre su estructura urbana y el paisaje del entorno formado por sotos y meandros del río Tajo.
- El municipio forma parte de la Candidatura Olímpica Madrid 2012 debiendo acoger las instalaciones de Remo y para ello prevé construir un canal de 160 metros de ancho y 2200 mts de largo que tendrá una influencia determinante en la estructura urbana.
- La mejora sustancial de las infraestructuras ferroviarias y autopistas de conexión con Madrid están propiciando una importantísima demanda de vivienda por parte de familias que quieren vivir en Aranjuez.
- El reto es plantear de forma participativa un modelo de desarrollo sostenible mitigando los procesos de "gentrificación" del centro histórico. Es esencial definir un proceso de planeamiento liderado por las autoridades públicas y no dejando el futuro del municipio a la simple presión del mercado inmobiliario.
- Quizá el punto más difícil de abordar es el de los nuevos crecimientos en un territorio con tanta personalidad y con un patrimonio tan valioso. Aranjuez tiene voluntad de crecer en el contexto del Area Metropolitana de Madrid que es una de las más dinámicas de Europa. La integración de la herencia histórica con las nuevas morfologías urbanas es uno de los aspectos tratados con más atención es este proyecto.

### **LA METODOLOGÍA DE LOS CLUSTER DE EXCELENCIA DEL PROYECTO CITIES**

La metodología de trabajo utilizada en Aranjuez Proyecto Ciudad ha sido preparada por la Fundación Metrópoli y proviene de una investigación global sobre 20 ciudades de cinco continentes denominada Proyecto CITIES. El objetivo de esta iniciativa fue identificar las singularidades y las ventajas competitivas de cada una de las ciudades participantes y descubrir el "Cluster de Excelencia" de cada una de ellas. Sobre esta base, en el caso de Aranjuez se ha desarrollado un análisis de los componentes de excelencia de la ciudad, de

su estructura urbana, y especialmente, de la visión de la ciudad que tienen los ciudadanos y las instituciones locales. Este apartado es importante y se ha desarrollado a través de un Cuestionario de Participación en el que han colaborado unas 100 instituciones locales. Los resultados han permitido percibir los principales componentes de excelencia, las prioridades básicas y los déficits críticos.

#### **PRINCIPALES REFERENCIAS UTILIZADAS PARA EL DISEÑO DE ARANJUEZ PROYECTO CIUDAD**

- Énfasis en la sostenibilidad social, cultural, económica y ambiental de Aranjuez e integración de los nuevos usos y actividades en unos paisajes que son Patrimonio de la Humanidad.
- Utilización de los corredores ecológicos como elementos básicos de la futura estructura urbana y territorial del municipio.
- Diseñar un sistema coherente de transporte colectivo para el interior del municipio y garantizar las conexiones con el conjunto del Área Metropolitana de Madrid.
- Calidad y variedad del espacio público como lugar clave de la interacción social. Concretamente se proponen bulevares, calles, plazas, salones urbanos, recorridos peatonales y de bicicletas, parques urbanos, etc.
- Diversidad de tipologías residenciales con objeto de propiciar la integración de familias de distinto tamaño, renta y situación social. Concretamente se proponen renovación de viviendas del centro histórico, Lofts, condominios, viviendas en manzana hueca, viviendas-puerta, y otros tipos específicos diseñados para Aranjuez.
- Búsqueda de un espacio de fusión. Un lugar para vivir, trabajar, divertirse y formarse. Se trata de crear espacios integrados en los que puedan desarrollarse con plenitud un amplio conjunto de funciones urbanas.
- Compromiso con la eficiencia energética y uso de energías renovables, concretamente eólica, solar, fotovoltaica, hidráulica y geotérmica.
- Arquitectura y urbanismo concebidos desde una perspectiva bioclimática.
- Creación progresiva de una eco-comunidad en torno al mundo del deporte.
- Búsqueda de la excelencia ambiental.

## SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES IN HISTORIC CENTRES

YVES CABANNES

### SOME PRELIMINARY ISSUES

The social groups referred to in this presentation are current residents of Historic Centres, occasional or permanent users such as commuters or street sellers; or potential groups that are not "using" the Historic Centres because of real or perceived concerns regarding crime, air pollution or the lack of cultural activities.

In order to give coherence to the presentation and avoid generalisations, the cases will draw primarily from Latin American experiences. The legal context and practices in relation to land, properties and heritage rights, are key elements that strongly influence what can be done in a particular city. The guidelines outlined in this presentation might provide insights for practices in other context.

The first key issue relates to how to maintain a "social perspective" in revitalisation projects that actively take into account the assets and potential of residents living as well as those working in Historic Centres. A related issue is to how to avoid situations where revitalisation is synonymous with gentrification and the eviction of poor renters and owners primarily those living in overcrowded and dilapidated housing. Ironically, gentrification can be a socially sustainable model based on different premises.

A second key issue is finding a satisfactory balance, based on benefits and tradeoffs, between three logics that conflict most of the time:

- The need to preserve historic sites and buildings, including those that are overcrowded and of great historic value, but often are not *physically sustainable*, because of the level of overcrowding and the lack of proper maintenance. How to enhance the *universal value of Historic Centres* so that they may be appreciated and used by different cultures while at the same time, responding to the particular interests of residents and current users is a related question.
- Economic interests and the need to generate economic activities and wealth.
- Accounting for the people presently living or working in Historic Centres and the need to find a satisfactory solution for each of the parties (for example, in the relocation of street traders). Social consideration also relates to "*opening*" Historic Centres and their assets to a wider range of social groups such as tourists and residents from other neighbourhoods of the city that currently either ignore the historic centre or do not benefit from it.

A third issue relates to the fact that historic centres are usually small when compared to the city as a whole, yet by their nature represent a concentration of high values (historic, sacred, cosmic, symbolic, established powers, volumes and value of trade). This presents a unique situation that requires different urban approaches and regulations than those applied to the rest of the city.



#### CRITERIA AND GUIDELINES FOR SELECTING REVITALISATION PROJECTS

Various criteria will be presented and discussed such as: the political will of local authorities; how well and by what forms residents and users are organised; the nature of partnerships among actors; the type of links between informal and formal trades; and the level of exclusion of vulnerable groups such as street children, elderly and non legal residents.

#### CRITERIA AND GUIDELINES FOR CONDUCTING REVITALISATION PROJECTS

Two main issues will be addressed. The first one refers to the process of *Consultation* among all concerned stakeholders in order to design an *Action Plan* with a social perspective and to define a *Priority Action Program* based upon actual resources. The second issue is the operational structure for implementing what has been agreed upon in the action plan and priority action program.

#### ENTRY POINTS (OR SPECIFIC AREAS) AND APPROACHES THAT MIGHT LEAD TO SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY IN AN INTEGRATED PERSPECTIVE

Specific key areas such as Housing; Security and Crime Prevention; Transport and Pedestrian ways; and Trade in its broad sense should be tailored and sequenced to the specificity of revitalisation programs in Historic Centres.

#### DIMENSIONS AND PARAMETERS THAT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED

Four basic dimensions will be considered:

- Spatial or Physical--differentiating between residential, trade and public spaces--as the key *locus* to build social interaction among people of different ages, race, or income. The need to adapt the fabric of Historic Centres to the necessity of urban life for the benefit of residents and users including the key issues of: emergency circulation, garbage collection routes and fire hydrants;
- The role of concerned actors at each stage of the process;
- The institutional dimension, with particular reference to operational and decision making structures among public, private and civil society partners (Trust Funds, Commissions or *Fideicomiso*); and
- The financial dimension referring to the ways and means of attracting resources, both financial and non financial, to revitalise the historic centres.

# DOES THE CITY AIR REALLY MAKE US FREE?

CESARE OTTOLINI

In medieval Europe, moving to the city to settle for a year and a day was one way for peasants to rid themselves of their feudal bonds. As a result, most cities would tend to grow over time as more people moved in and became permanent residents. It seems this is no longer the case: urbanisation causes poverty, inequality and economic slavery.

The UN-Habitat report mentions a billion people currently homeless or living in poor housing conditions, a figure which could double by the year 2030, with over 374 million people amassed in 23 megalopolises by 2015.

But what lies behind these statistics? What is really going on in the globalised cities? What are the real social dynamics and the true stories unfolding in the areas of the city affected by globalisation in the form of real estate investment, transformations in the urban environment and functional differentiation in human mobility?

The network for housing rights has its antennae tuned to the social earthquake which is taking place in the cities hit by the tidal wave of economic globalisation and new geographical and political divisions. Sometimes, it remains hidden beneath the surface; at others, it makes a dramatic appearance, aggravated by the unrepayable foreign debt, cuts in the welfare state for the sake of monetary parameters and the quest for profitability even in the social service sector. This gives rise to the privatisation of public sector housing, thus increasing insecurity in housing tenure and plunging millions of families into poverty. Privatisation is at work both in the west and in the post-communist east. In Italy, for example, to tackle the public deficit the government did not hesitate to sell off the meagre public sector housing in existence. In Moscow, 60% of publicly-owned apartments have been sold off, with a sharp increase in rents, and no adequate subsidies available from the local administration. In Bucharest, 95% of tenants have become owner-occupiers, but cannot afford the cost of maintaining their dilapidated dwellings. In the former Yugoslavia, the abolition of the ancient "tenants' rights," a sort of "shared property," affects hundreds of thousands of tenants threatened with eviction by property speculators.

In both east and west, the beneficiary and perhaps even the brains behind these schemes is transnational financial capital, in particular international pension funds; after the collapse of the stock exchange, the possibility of speculating in bricks and mortar, thanks to state relinquishment of that sector, becomes highly attractive.

In addition, social exclusion is at work in the loathsome form of 'housing apartheid', with immigrants, nomads and refugees particularly affected. What other term can you use to describe the ethnic cleansing carried out in the Balkan wars? Hundreds of thousands deprived of their homes and forced into exile in a fatal game of geo-political dominoes whose victims are as always the common people. What other term can be used to describe the building of a wall to divide Palestine, destroying villages and lives? How else can you define the evictions and low-cost expropriations being carried out in Athens and Beijing to give the city a face-lift before the forthcoming Olympic Games? Among the first to be affected are residents in the Alexandras Avenue estate and the Dourgouti quarter, built in former times to house the Greeks who fled from Asia Minor. Now it's the turn of working class areas such as Wali and Datun, where the word '*chai*' (to be demolished) scrawled on the ancient Siheyuan (square courtyards) and numerous other buildings is wiped off only by the demolition itself.

What else can you call the urban renewal in Barcelona for the forthcoming Cultural Forum, the driving force behind property speculation in Poble Nou and elsewhere?

And the evictions in Paris? Here the victims are not only the homeless, mostly immigrants, who have 'requisitioned' empty houses, but also families who have lived in Courbevoie or Saint Denis, for example, for many years, but must be sacrificed to the property speculators of La Defense.

What else can you call the lack of any housing policy at all, let alone multicultural policy, which compels immigrant workers to live 10 to a room or build shanty-dwellings and ghettos in the rich capital cities of the north?

Serious monitoring by Habitat Agenda would point out these items and show the widening gap between the legal undertakings contained in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights<sup>1</sup> and the reality of precarious housing conditions.

So many real life stories lie behind the statistics produced by FEANTSA<sup>2</sup>, which estimate that at least 18 million people are badly housed and 3 million are homeless in Europe. Deprived of decent and secure accommodation, these are just the vanguard of a much larger army, if the free market is allowed to continue undisturbed in its pursuit of profits without a halt being called.

We should be allowed to hear the voice of those directly involved: the inhabitants themselves and the associations engaged in trying to oppose the intrusion of unbridled modernity into their homes. Then we would discover that in the centre of Lima over 17,000 dwellings considered "hovels" unfit for habitation will shortly be demolished to make way for offices and luxury residences financed by foreign investors, and that the inhabitants are fighting the evictions caused by contractual deregulation.

We would also hear about the 354,000 inhabitants of the slums of Nairobi, threatened with eviction because they are "illegal", i.e. forced to build shanty-dwellings by the side of the railways, under electricity pylons and along the path of the new bypass<sup>3</sup>, thus disturbing the free flow of investments. As well as many other stories in Mumbai and New Delhi, New York, Dhaka and Karachi ...<sup>4</sup>

This situation is no longer sustainable and is provoking counter-reactions aimed at safeguarding inhabitants' rights to the city, as well as the cities' right to self-preservation and freedom from outside pressures.

Because of this widespread attack on housing rights and the city, those worst hit by the negative effects of globalisation, i.e. the inhabitants themselves, learn how to develop relations and exchange experiences of solidarity which go beyond national borders to prefigure an alternative possible world.

The inhabitants' strategies are not confined to the local situation, but appeal to international solidarity, because the step from local to global is getting shorter and shorter, and the exchange of information is getting faster and faster against the background of conflicts involving the growing

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<sup>1</sup> Art. 11 provides that the States will take appropriate steps to ensure the realisation of this right and improve housing conditions.

<sup>2</sup> European Federation of organisations for the homeless [www.feantsa.org](http://www.feantsa.org)

<sup>3</sup> See the "W Nairobi W!" campaign at [www.habitants.org/IA/](http://www.habitants.org/IA/)

<sup>4</sup> See the COHRE report "Forced evictions reach crisis levels leaving millions homeless worldwide" at [www.habitants.org/IA/](http://www.habitants.org/IA/)

power of transnational, a-democratic institutions (the IMF, the World Bank, NATO, WTO, etc.), compared to those which arose at the end of the Second World War.

So, the associations and the international network are opening the season for super-national platforms in support of public housing and town-planning policies, by drafting reports to the United Nations Committee on Rights, demanding the inclusion of housing rights in the super-national constitutions in the pipeline<sup>5</sup>. They also propose a swap between the cancellation of foreign debts and new public housing and urban policies, favouring slum-dwellers and under the control of all the parties involved<sup>6</sup>.

In parallel with this, some independent local authorities, left to their own devices by administrative decentralisation, react by espousing the cause of an alternative possible world and projects such as the IAI's Zero Evictions campaign, in some cases declaring their territory an 'eviction-free zone'<sup>7</sup>.

In other words, the conflict is taken on board and seen as a positive factor in the fight against gentrification and expropriation to which the inhabitants/builders of the city are subjected.

Such a development would have been unthinkable without the World Social Forum which has spread new ideas and new practices of participatory democracy<sup>8</sup>, including the participatory budget, participatory town-planning, support for the social production of the habitat, as well as new rules for guaranteeing security of tenure. Dealing with the political hot potato of funding for public housing and urban policies, a number of alternative sources have been suggested: the introduction of some form of Tobin tax on land and property left unlet for speculative purposes, using part of the \$100 billion per annum brought in by the Tobin tax, or a theoretical 1% of the \$13 trillion in the pension funds<sup>9</sup>, or part of the cancelled foreign debt.

These issues cannot just be passed on down to grassroots networks or local administrations to decide. They are far too important for that. The future of our cities is a matter of concern for all. Without a working partnership between subjects capable of intervening on an equal footing<sup>10</sup>, the future would be shaped by the free market entirely at the service of the financially powerful. To avoid such a scenario, we have to build a new, vast and varied front, consisting of inhabitants associations, NGO's, co-operatives, trade-unions, and local administrative bodies.

These issues should be included and discussed in our everyday work at all levels.

It's well worthwhile because there's a good chance that this atmosphere of global solidarity can really make the city's inhabitants free.

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<sup>5</sup> See the appeal for the insertion of housing rights in the European Charter of Fundamental Rights at [www.habitants.org](http://www.habitants.org)

<sup>6</sup> This proposal was put forward at the Social Forum of the Americas (Quito, 25-30 July 2004): to set up a People Land and Housing Trust Fund; see [www.habitants.org/IAI](http://www.habitants.org/IAI)

<sup>7</sup> See "Extension des zones anti-expulsion" at [www.humanite.presse.fr/journal/2004-03-24/2004-03-24-390647](http://www.humanite.presse.fr/journal/2004-03-24/2004-03-24-390647)

<sup>8</sup> Cabannes and o. (2004) "Respuestas a 72 preguntas frecuentes sobre presupuestos participativos municipales" at [www.pgualc.org/siteminder/index.php?sv=&category=Presupuesto%20Participativo&title=Preguntas%20Frecuentes](http://www.pgualc.org/siteminder/index.php?sv=&category=Presupuesto%20Participativo&title=Preguntas%20Frecuentes)

<sup>9</sup> Proposed by "The Hassan Fathy Project to Help Resolve the Global Housing Crisis".

<sup>10</sup> See the Salvador Declaration at [www.alliance21.org/caravan/en/2/pg15-21.htm](http://www.alliance21.org/caravan/en/2/pg15-21.htm)

**ROL DE LOS PROFESIONALES DE LA CIUDAD EN EL DESARROLLO  
SOCIALMENTE SOSTENIBLE DE CIUDADES HISTÓRICAS DE  
ESCALA INTERMEDIA**

**JOSEP MARIA LLOP-TORNÉ**

Los análisis del proceso de urbanización del mundo tienden a elevar la escala de las referencias y por ello también de las conclusiones. En especial al analizar el tipo de las ciudades en las que los procesos de se producen. Veamos por ejemplo un grupo de las hipótesis más actuales.

En el que respecta al espacio urbano son conocidas las tesis que definen que los espacios de la sociedad moderna están más allá de los espacios históricos de las ciudades. Se definen los conceptos de región urbana para esta dimensión mayor de lo urbano. Que puede combinarse o complementarse con una descripción de los efectos de la globalización sobre las pautas cotidianas y sobre los modelos de la vida social e individual que nos permite reflexionar en la forma de meta polis. Tesis que simplifadamente envían a los trabajos de François Archer sobre el tema. La ciudad va más allá en los espacios que los que se correspondían con la ciudad tradicional, de un cierto espacio cerrado sobre si mismo, o incluso se puede hablar de la ciudad histórica. El uso individual de la misma, con ritmos más acelerados del espacio común y/o público nos envía a esta nueva dimensión. Cuando se puede afirmar que vamos hacia una "individualidad solitaria, a lo pasajero, provisional y efímero", siempre pensando en la fuerza de los espacios de la movilidad, del transito, del transporte, del comercio y del placer. Nos hace pensar en una fuerte transformación de los lugares urbanos (1). Se habla incluso del concepto de los "no-lugares" de lo "sobre-moderno" por parte de Marc Augé.

Si esta tesis se ofrece como explicación de una cierta modificación de la forma física del espacio urbano, incluye también una cierta interpretación de los ritmos de la nueva ciudad. Hay quien va más allá y la puede complementar con la modificación de los ritmos de vida, los tiempos de la sociedad urbana. Por los nuevos espacios y tiempos que la nueva ciudad genera. Influyendo en las formas de relación social y los propios espacios y tiempos urbanos. Hay que reconocer que estos análisis tienen la dimensión de presentar los nuevos espacios y tiempos a pensar en las políticas urbanas.

Pero también es cierto que se dan los procesos de "gentrificación" que tan bien describe el artículo base de los Profesores Neil Smith y Cesare Ottolini, para la reunión de UNESCO en el marco del II Forum Urbano Mundial. Que modifican los temas del trabajo, y por lo tanto los roles de los profesionales de la ciudad, en particular también de los Arquitectos. Ahora bien no hay que dejar de pensar en que los actuales procesos urbanos, modificados por la presencia de la inmigración en muchos lugares del mundo, en especial de Europa, transforman las culturas y la composición social de los usuarios de ese bien tan preciado que es el espacio público. Así Josep Ramoneda (2), dice que esa modificación del campo de lo urbano, en las dimensiones espacio y tiempo, son la oportunidad de desarrollar la "virtud ciudadana por excelencia" que es la base de la convivencia, el criterio del respeto. No para volver a reivindicar el "reducto" de los espacios históricos sino para reinterpretar lo urbano desde el mismo. Así pues tenemos muchas oportunidades de enfocar de nuevo el rol de los profesionales, con esta base de partida filosófica o ética.

Pero además queremos añadir el tema de la escala de las ciudades históricas. No todas las ciudades del mundo tienen los procesos de transformación del espacio y sus tiempos, fruto de la aceleración de las grandes ciudades metropolitanas o de mayor rango. La mayoría de la población urbana vive en ciudades de tamaño menor y de funcionalidad, que vamos a llamar, de intermediación entre la globalización, a escala del planeta o de ciertas regiones del mismo, y los territorios urbanos o rurales

de las mismas. Esas ciudades históricas, símbolos y centros de esas redes de tipo territorial, ligadas y formadas en base a paisajes culturales concretos, tienen una escala urbana determinada. En su mayoría la podemos llamar escala intermedia. En esas ciudades además contienen la mayoría de la población urbana del mundo. En su interior, pero también en sus entornos a los que prestan sus servicios y de los que también se nutren. Esas ciudades de esa especial escala, pueden aportar otros parámetros, para definir un nuevo rol de los profesionales, más adecuado para un desarrollo socialmente sostenible. Porque las condiciones concretas de esos lugares, de esos paisajes culturales, de esos monumentos o conjuntos históricos, de sus tiempos y de sus espacios, permiten ajustar más las propuestas profesionales. Por ello vamos a citar los resultados de los estudios realizados y de las opiniones expresadas por los colaboradores y compañeros del programa internacional CIMES (3), que abren nuevos caminos de trabajo. En el futuro inmediato, para un desarrollo socialmente más sostenible de la urbanización de las ciudades históricas, creemos que debe reflexionarse y trabajarse sobre materias más concretas, con una nuevas miradas a ese tipo de ciudades (4), que podríamos concretar en las siguientes líneas generales:

- Los aspectos derivados del paisaje cultural y de las acciones locales a favor de un desarrollo sostenible en ciudades intermedias. ¿Cómo compatibilizar desarrollo y criterios de sostenibilidad? ¿Cómo integrar el paisaje en la planificación y ordenación?
- Las condiciones de vivienda y el hábitat urbano, tanto en su visión tipológica como en los aspectos del entorno y calidad de vida de los ciudadanos, en sus entornos sociales, los barrios y los conjuntos urbanos. La vivienda es un tema básico.
- Las diversas fórmulas de participación, gobernabilidad y de gestión urbana. Debería avanzarse en propuestas concretas a partir del análisis de diversas experiencias. Compartiendo las buenas y múltiples experiencias de varias ciudades en redes u otras formas de colaboración entre las mismas.
- Los instrumentos de planificación, proyectación y en especial de gestión de la urbanización, como base del desarrollo urbano. Podría reflexionarse, así como comparar diversas experiencias, sobre los nuevos instrumentos y fórmulas, sobre los ya existentes o los que resulten fruto de la comparación entre municipios. Por ejemplo los trabajos de la Red 7 del programa URB-AL de la Unión Europea.
- El trabajo sobre los espacios libres y comunitarios. En especial los espacios públicos y los lugares del mercado y del comercio son espacios comunes de todos, lugares de ciudadanía y de igualdad social de oportunidades ¿Cómo desde el tratamiento de éstas zonas puede incidirse en la cohesión social?

El análisis de diversas experiencias, la colaboración y el debate parecen ser los métodos más apropiados, para avanzar en las temáticas propuestas. Hacia formulas y ejemplos o buenas prácticas. Teniendo presente que los problemas urbanos en su dimensión física, social y económica tienen una clara vertiente pluridisciplinar y plurifocal. No es, tan solo, cuestión de compartir conocimientos profesionales para entender mejor los diversos aspectos de las mismas y las soluciones posibles (diversas disciplinas). El diagnóstico (el análisis del problema concreto en un –y a poder ser desde ese- lugar concreto), el proyecto y/o plan como instrumento de intervención (para la resolución de ese problema concreto), y los conocimientos y prioridades de esos dos aspectos no solo radican en la dimensión física y cuantitativa de la ciudad. Están también en la dimensión sociocultural que entiende a la población y a los profesionales de la ciudad como capital social. Y en su aplicación a propuestas más sólidas del planeamiento, como se detalla en las opiniones de Annik Osmont (5).

Por ello en las Ciudades intermedias, por sus propias dimensiones físicas y sociales, se añade al trabajo de los profesionales un nuevo reto, pero por su escala intermedias, más abordable, a afrontar: la proximidad a los agentes y a los problemas. Proximidad que debería de leerse como un valor añadido, un valor que debería integrarse a las propuestas y gestión de los problemas urbanos. Con la capacidad para escuchar las descripciones de los agentes sociales, incluso de las personas individuales, del problema y a su vez de la solución pensada por ellos o por ella. Veamos las propuestas de ejemplos positivos en este campo de Yves Cabannes (6). Esa dimensión de diversos focos o puntos de vista se suma a las diversas disciplinas. No solo hay pluri disciplinareidad hay pluri localidad.

Esa doble dimensión convierte a las ciudades intermedias en laboratorios adecuados, para formular nuevas propuestas de gestión y de gobernabilidad, basadas en la participación ciudadana y colaboración profesional. A esa doble dimensión física y social las CIMES aportan además, con sus funciones de intermediación, la oportunidad de relacionar los problemas globales con lo local. Desde esta faceta deberíamos leer las CIMES como un escenario técnico para solucionar siempre a escala local los problemas derivados de procesos más globales.

Dimensión, proximidad y función territorial de las ciudades intermedias serían pues las variables a contemplar en el desarrollo del trabajo de los profesionales cuyas pautas de análisis e intervención habrían de integrar las siguientes pautas:

1. El estudio de los problemas concretos a esa escala local concreta. La importancia de los Diagnósticos.
2. Los planes, en diversas formas, como instrumentos de desarrollo. La importancia de la Planificación.
3. Los informes técnicos y las propuestas de soluciones locales siempre enfocadas hacia la Intervención.
4. El proyecto como instrumento propio de la actuación profesional. La importancia de la Proyección.
5. La divulgación y la pedagogía de las soluciones posibles, diversas y complejas, como Educación.
6. El asociacionismo profesional y cívico, de los residentes, como capital social de Cooperación.
7. El interés por la estética y por la belleza de las propuestas y de los proyectos. La Creatividad.
8. El interés por los temas globales y su análisis y su solución a escala local. Responsabilidad.

Como corolario, y extendiendo su contenido a todos los profesionales de la ciudad, no solo a los Arquitectos, profesión a la que pertenece, sirva esta cita de la Carta de Beijing, coordinada por el profesor Wu Liangyong, aprobada por la Asamblea General del XX Congreso de la UIA el mes de Junio del 1999: "Tal vez no haya un camino común; sin embargo, existe un porvenir común: el porvenir para todos los seres humanos es vivir en un entorno benéfico. Por ello, un arquitecto debe dedicar su vida a la búsqueda del humanismo, de la calidad, de la competencia y de la creatividad. Está bajo su responsabilidad edificar en este planeta un entorno mejor, con recursos limitados."

Lleida, Septiembre 2004  
Josep Maria LLOP-TORNÉ-Director WP UIA-CIMES  
[jmllop@paeria.es](mailto:jmllop@paeria.es) / Tel. mobil N° = + 34 619 29 45 69

### Notas:

(1) Conferencia del Sociólogo-Urbanista François Archer, en el marco de la Inauguración de la Exposición "La explosión de la ciudad" en el COAC de Barcelona, dentro de los Actos del Forum Barcelona 2004.

(2) Conferencia del Filósofo Josep Ramoneda, Director del CCCB de Barcelona, en el marco de los actos de Inauguración de la Exposición "La explosión de la ciudad" en el COAC de Barcelona, dentro de los Actos del Forum Barcelona 2004.

(3) BELLET, C.; LLOP, J.M<sup>a</sup>. Ciudades intermedias. Perfiles y pautas. Segunda fase del programa Ciudades intermedias y urbanización mundial. Lleida: ED. Milenio, 2003. Editado en Castellano, Francés e Inglés < [www.paeria.es/cimes](http://www.paeria.es/cimes) >

(4) BELLET, C. y LLOP J. M. Miradas a otros espacios urbanos: las ciudades intermedias. Geo Crítica / Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 15 de mayo de 2004, Vol. VIII, núm. 165. < <http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-165.htm> >

(5) OSMONT, Annik « Pour une planification urbaine démocratique » ; dans *Quels plans pour la ville ? Gouvernance, gestion et politique urbaines*. Table Ronde de l'UNESCO au II Forum Social Mondial, 2001. Document de discussion N° 69 MOST-UNESCO, Paris 2004.

(6) CABANNES, Yves « Réponses des villes latino-américaines aux défis posés par la planification urbaine participative » ; dans « *Quels plans pour la ville ? Gouvernance, gestion et politique urbaines* ». Table Ronde de l'UNESCO au II Forum Social Mondial, 2001. Document de discussion N° 69 MOST-UNESCO, Paris 2004.



**CASE STUDY: A FEW KEY EVENTS IN THE FORCED EVICTION OF  
THE POM MAHAKAN COMMUNITY, BANGKOK (THAILAND)**

**JEAN DU PLESSIS**

Pom Mahakan is a tiny yet highly significant Thai community of around 380 residents, located next to Mahakan Fort, between the old city wall and the canal, in central Bangkok. In January 2003 the residents were served with a three month notice to vacate their homes, issued by the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration. Residents were offered relocation to a place called Minhburi, on the outskirts of Bangkok, 45 kilometres away.

This development is part of the government-sponsored 'Rattanakosin Island Plan.' The community was to make way for a manicured urban park, similar to that at Phra Sumen Fort.

This is in spite of the fact that Pom Mahakan has been occupied by the residents and their forebears for up to six generations. Forced eviction from this area would therefore amount to a violation of entrenched rights.

In addition, the site is home to what an expert described as 'a rare complex of vernacular architecture,' well-worth preserving in rapidly modernising Bangkok. According to Michael Herzfeld, a professor of anthropology at Harvard University who had done intensive research in the community, 'the city could lose a great opportunity to create a slice of Bangkok culture that would attract tourists. No western tourists would be interested in a plain park, but a community within a park would make for a real tourist attraction.'

The community took a proactive approach in trying to prevent the eviction. Assisted by academics and human rights activists, including COHRE, they put forward an alternative, land-sharing plan. The plan included the renovation of the older buildings and the integration of the residences into an historical park. Many outsiders rallied to a call to support them in this struggle.

In August 2003, an administrative court ruled that the eviction was legal and could go ahead. But for the time being, nothing new happened.

In January 2004, the authorities started work on the unoccupied areas of Pom Mahakan, including the relocation of the pier on the canal and the excavation of certain areas. While the authorities confirmed that the eviction would be implemented, it was not clear when it would be.

In April 2004, there was a further announcement that the eviction would be implemented. In the same month the owner of the oldest wooden house in the community, an ancient two-story teak structure that had become a symbol of the struggle against the eviction, lost hope and sold it to an outside buyer. Within a few days this 100-year-old house had been dismantled and taken away. The community had intended buying the house and turning it into a museum.

Still the eviction was not implemented. The most recent report we have is from 13 August 2004: the other wooden houses were still there, but that the vacant areas had been turned into a park.

Attempts by the community to negotiate with the authorities continue. There is a chance that one of the candidates in the pending Bangkok gubernatorial elections, who has shown openness to resolving such issues by negotiations, may win.

## **A CHALLENGE TO SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY OF HISTORIC DISTRICTS**

**GREG ANDONIAN**

### **PREAMBLE:**

Information Technologies are acting as if they are the foundational medium administering the human global communications system, Bio-Engineering is evolving as if it is aspiring to become the driving force behind the world's life-supporting human-nature-environment survivability system, Nanoscale Engineering is progressing as if it is pretending to enhance the human socio-psychological sentient spatial system, and Artificial Intelligence is gearing up to acquire prominence as if it is the ultimate embodiment of human universal knowledge system -- all are indeed intrusively transconnected in the domains of research and development activity that hold the promise of heralding the new era of exponential change in human affairs. They project to advance accelerated transformations in the geopolitical, social, economic, intellectual and aesthetic realms of human endeavour, intensely impacting the urbanization of multicultural societies and promoting the globalization of goods and services. And, eventually, they attempt to facilitate the diffusion of the city-state governments' monopoly, maintaining traditional norms of sustainable nation building.

### **PROJECTION:**

Imagining a world scenario in a not-too-distant future where the promised technological claims of the above four Info-Tech, Bio and Nano Engineering, and AI systems have been materialized, then what would be the human condition pertaining to the novel ideas' formulation, the characteristics of new design and management of the human dwelling environment, the new boundary definition regarding belongingness, and lastly the comprehensive feedback contemplation? Speculatively, in anticipation of the emerging scenario painted above, the following will be a likely projection:

An unprecedented wave of migration of the educated young, the bright and the skilled, from the guest countries of the East and the South will be continuously testing, if not exhausting, the potentiality of institutions of the West European and North American host countries to absorb these new guests, the transients, in their respective technocratic societies. The regions left behind consisting of third world countries, mostly stripped from their "guardians" of the future, will be struggling to become the outsourcing subservient venues of the G7 to survive; otherwise they will be economically devastated. They will cyclically export their talent, but infinitely be fixed in the demand side of the economic equation.

The professionals and managers of the emerging new transnational society comprised now of the technocrats of the first and third world countries, empowered with state-of-the-art technologies, and fattened by high-paying jobs -- will be invading city core areas, including the historic districts, for professional activity and dwelling. Acting on behalf of transnational investors and encouraged by local and national governments, they will be initiating new design projects for the host countries. They will be remodelling, with a vengeance, the old living premises of the city core, dislocating the poor local authentic inhabitants by the full market force of the law.

These intrusions will be fundamentally changing the character of the city's core context and its supporting cultural mosaic, including its religious, educational, and arts-and-craft oriented institutions. This may indeed lead to the constant aggravation of the precarious relationship being established between the remaining genuine city hosts (who can barely afford their sustenance) and the technocratic nomadic affluent guests -- culminating in social upheavals. Respectively, over time, the areas vacated by emigration in the third world countries will be taken over by the process of desertification, as a result of disinvestment and human neglect.

With the ever-exceeding city-state concessions offered to the transnational investors to entice them to invest in host homesteads to promote the establishment of new goods and services, and with the ever-increasing role played by technocrats to plan, advise and manage the production and distribution of transwares -- the tax base for the city may be shrinking to the point that no longer the state can afford to maintain the functionality of existing infrastructure support system. In providing the prioritized services to the new citizenship of the evolving technocratic society the city-state governments may have no choice but to first cater to the needs of the transnationals overlooking the locals. In doing so, the city-state authorities may inadvertently undermine the special health needs of the children, unconsciously underestimate the educational aspirations of the youth, insensitively shelve the duty of care for the elderly, unwillingly short-change support for the district cultural activities, and ultimately pay minimal attention to, if not totally abandon, the human-artifact and eco-environments. This could spell political instability in the city-states, if not for the larger region.

#### VIEWPOINT:

Here are some reflective yet interpretive and intervening thoughts from the systems design viewpoint. Increasingly, transnational corporations are claiming more power of investment with less identity, and society's transient technocrats, comprised of design professionals, engineers and managers, are more controlling to the corporate investment agenda with less affinity to the locale. The latter group is playing an important mediating role between local governments and transnational giants. Not only do the technocrats plan, develop design strategies and advise the transnational corporations on their new investment projects, they also supervise the design construction and manage the organizational processes to ensure high-yield productivity.

Hence, there is a challenge to the public at large and indeed an opportunity for the silent majority of district-city-state citizens to pro-actively participate in the design and decision-making processes of technocrats and initiate discourses to mutually affect positive attitudinal change in the collective mindset. To achieve the desired design results impacting the outcome of the transnational projects, the following citizen-corporate dynamic design stages can be articulated, 1) by defining the necessity of the systems design-controlling law pertaining to **content** in advancing the design **vision**, 2) by formulating the possibility of the systems design equation of the state concerning the built-form space-**container** in planning the design **mission**, 3) by identifying the constraining factors of the systems design boundary conditions specifying the **context** in projecting the design **actualization**, and 4) by establishing the mechanisms of systems design regarding the intrasystem information **feedback** and intersystem information **feed forward**, in arriving at the design optimality **conclusion**.

1) **VISION:** Why build the transnational project in an existing urban setting -- a historic district in its own right -- to start with? What should be its Controlling Law, Host and Guest Community Unifying Rule, and/or the Value Content shared by all dwellers, including permanent local hosts and transient transnational guests?

The design vision constitutes the conservation law, the foundational truth, the primary guiding principle in design, the ultimate rule governing/directing/dictating all decision-making processes from idea conceptualization to activity programming, and building sustainability to space sentience.

The vision statement is intentionally declarative, defining and confirming the project's reason of existence. The vision as a firm reference is meant to be adhered to at all levels of design during all stages of the project development by planners, financiers and government regulatory agencies. The principal motivation behind the project vision is to validate permanency, stability, endurance and balance in the design, seeking equilibrium. The generation of the vision idea should result in formulating an extremal objective variable (embodying the decision criterion, performance index, forcing function, and/or profit) determining how the new project should behave in augmenting the existing urban setting from its starting state to its projected final state.

The conservation law in the present scenario will attempt to preserve social sustainability of historic districts. It can be manifested in the following vision statement: Host residents have the right to stay in their locales and are entitled to receive support from local governments for their individual-basic and social-group needs satisfaction. The following General Fit relationship can be established for the vision statement:

$f(\text{incoming/centripetal force})$  must be balanced by  $f(\text{outgoing/centrifugal force})$

By transposing, a more general relationship can be derived expressing a minimum requirement for the system behaviour performance satisfaction, PI:

$PI = f(\text{incoming/centripetal force})$  minus  $f(\text{outgoing/centrifugal force})$  strives for zero

The minimization of action/energy loss is the necessity condition for solving the system design problem for social sustainability.

2) **MISSION:** How to build the transnational project in an existing urban setting -- a historic district in its own right -- to start with? What should be its Design Program Development, Host and Guest Joint Community Building Process, and/or the Built-Form and Space-Container Sustainability enhanced by all dwellers, including permanent local hosts and transient transnational guests?

The mission statement constitutes the basis for building activity programming organization, from pattern design to cluster of relationship planning, including entries and exits, circulation of people and goods, pathways and ramps, staircases and partitions, mechanical and electrical systems, and security and safety infrastructure services, etc. The following Specific Fit relationship can be established from the mission statement:

Social Sustainability = (enhanced functionality + adaptability + affordability) Maximization

The maximization of social sustainability assures instinct-survival-time gain for the historic district.

3) **ACTUALIZATION:** What and for whom to build the transnational project in an existing urban setting -- a historic district in its own right -- to start with? What should be its Design Contextuality, Interaction with the Existing Neighbourhood, Complementarity to the Historic Setting, Compliance with the District Scale, Immediate Natural and Physical Extension, Edge conditions Identity Ownership, Human Engagement Thresholds, Activity Boundary Definitions Regarding Belongingness, Interior-Exterior Spatial Behaviour, Host and Guest Joint Community Interactivity, and/or the Built-Form and Natural Space Continuum identified by all dwellers, including permanent local hosts and transient transnational guests?

The actualization statement constitutes the basis for building space sentiency for socio-psychological experiential engagement. It aspires to satisfy the need for a range of associations in pursuit of group and interpersonal happiness, joy of material-energy acquisition, intellectual curiosity fulfillment, and arts and crafts appreciation. The following Occupancy Fit relationship can be established from the actualization statement:

Happiness = (progress in political+social+economic+intellectual+aesthetic realms) Maximization

The maximization of happiness leads the host and guests inhabitants of the historic district to contentment with ecstasy and assures interest-emotion-mood gain.

4) **COMPREHENSION:** Was it worth to build the transnational project in an existing urban setting -- a historic district in its own right -- to start with? What should have been its Design Ramifications, Host and Guest Joint Community Project Communication, Feedback Assessment and Feedforward Contemplation, and/or the Built-Form and Space-Completion and Performance evaluated by all dwellers, including permanent local hosts and transient transnational guests?

The comprehension statement constitutes the basis for reflection and projection as the concluding phase of the systems design approach to the transnational project. It exercises rational deductive, theoretical inductive and productive abductive reasoning to inquire to learn and comprehend issues. The following Intellectual Fit relationship can be established from the comprehension statement:

Knowledge = (recursive combinatorial theorems minus axiomatics) Maximization

The maximization of knowledge enhances information gain, advances the host and guests inhabitants of the historic district to the critical understanding of their limitations, and leads to the inquisitive projection to attain imaginative intuition.

## CONCLUSION:

An equation is formulated for the challenge of Social Sustainability of Historic Districts:

$f(\text{SSH D}) =$

$f(\text{min. \# of incoming people and min. \# of remodelled bldgs + max. new functionality + max. new spatial sentiency + max. feedforward projection}) =$

MINUS

$f(\text{min. \# of outgoing people and min. \# of neglected old bldgs + outmoded functionality + outmoded spatial sentiency + feedback reflection}) =$

EXTREMIZE, where

$f(\text{\# of incoming people + their building remodelling, functional, sentient and feed forward activities}) =$   
Guests with their activities bring augmented value to the existing urban setting, and

$f(\text{\# of outgoing people + non-activities}) =$  Locals leaving voluntarily the area and withdrawing their activities from the existing urban setting.

The ramification of the equation will be evolving on several fronts. Firstly, it will be staging to produce guidelines for the planning and production of the transnational project and seek a balance between the Host and Guest dwelling population in the historic district. It will be minimizing the design-built impact on the EXTERIOR FORM and SPACE CONTEXTUALITY, by preserving the Host district's historic character, including its scale and material identity, color and texture, and dwelling density. Secondly, it will be transforming the spatial behavior of the INTERIOR SETTING for SUSTAINABILITY of the remodeled buildings, by upgrading their functionality and adaptability, to accommodate pragmatic requirements of the technocrats. Thirdly, it will be enhancing interest-emotion-mood parameters of the new SPATIAL SENTIENCY for the Host and Guest group dynamic engagement. This could include joint political group formation, social and individual association, economic and professional partnership, intellectual and educational discourse, and aesthetic artistry pursuits – for social-psychological fulfillment. And fourthly, it will be advancing communication through Host reflective-feedback and Guest projective feed-forward dialectics, to PROMOTE INCLUSIVITY via mutual respect for individual rights and group responsibility. Eventually, it will be striving to delineate the divide between Host and Guest communities.

## **SOCIALLY SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT FOR OLD BEIJING**

**GENEVIÈVE DOMENACH-CHICH**

**RESEARCH - ACTION PROJECT: NEW PROCEDURES TO ACHIEVE SUSTAINABLE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE RENEWAL OF OLD TOWNS, 2002 - 2005**



### **OLD BEIJING PROJECT**

- Started in 2002
- Target area: Xicheng District - Beijing
- Working with Beijing Municipality, Xicheng District, Department of Sociology, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, School of Architecture Tsinghua University – Beijing
- General Objective: To establish new models and new procedures to achieve sustainable social development in the renewal of Old Beijing, and to fight against the social exclusion of poor inhabitants.

## BEIJING FACTS SHEET

- Beijing's greater metropolitan area: **160 km** east to west – **170 km** from north to south; **10 million** inhabitants; **10 districts** and several rural counties; Old Beijing is divided into **4 major districts**: West City District, East District, Xuan Wu District and Chong Wen District; **40** historical and cultural reserves;
- Investments by construction enterprises during the transition period (80's - nowadays);
- **40 million US\$** spent in preservation of cultural relics in the last 3 years;
- 2008 Olympic Games/huge modifications of urban construction in Beijing;
- **200 hutongs** out of 820, and relative *siheyuan* (one-store courtyard house) have disappeared in the past 50 years;
- In 2002: **66 areas** were torn down, 63 were *hutongs*;
- In 2004: **250,000 m<sup>2</sup>** of old homes, inhabited by 200,000 households, will be demolished;
- New architecture appears, compromising oriental and occidental features

## OLD BEIJING INHABITANTS: VICTIMS OF EXCLUSION

- The Good Community neighborhood has been reduced;
- The benefits and rights of Old Beijing inhabitants are often severely abused, causing some social unrest among those who had to move out from where they had been living for decades;
- New urban lifestyle, new challenges in their living conditions;
- Dissatisfaction and social turbulences is growing among those who have to move out.

## OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

- To foster the **active participation of the inhabitants** into the renewal area in Old Beijing;
- **Social cohesion and maintenance of the local population**, living in historical cities areas, providing social services, such as job seeking activities, micro-loans, and income generating activities;
- To **have an impact on policy-making process** related to migration and social inclusion, both at local and national levels;
- To **promote human rights**, such as right to adequate housing, right to information, right to association and right to safe environment.
- **Target Group**: Population of Xicheng District (target area), with emphasis on low-income families and those not able to rehabilitate their proper houses;
- **Direct Beneficiaries**: Beijing Municipality, Xicheng District, Department of Sociology, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, School of Architecture Tsinghua University, other research centres and academics, NGOs;
- **Indirect Beneficiaries**: Beijing Old City inhabitants, the greater Beijing population, local policy makers



## OLD BEIJING: PHASE 1- 2002

Symposium "The Future of Old Beijing and the Conflict between Modernization and Preservation"  
October 30-31, 2002

**Organizers:** Tsinghua University, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Tibet Heritage Fund, Chinese Contemporary Architecture Observer).

Sharing of their practical experiences between foreign and Chinese specialists on the contradictions between modernization of cities and preservation of the urban traditional habitat and protection of rights of inhabitants.

## OLD BEIJING: PHASE 2- 2003

Implementation of a research-action project: " Testing Social Sustainability Development in One of the Historical and Cultural Residential Area in Beijing: *Yan Dai Xie Jie*."

Social investigation in *Yan Dai Xie Jie* Area, Beijing (June-December 2003). Pilot Site: 3,2 hectares (*Shichahai* Historical Zone, *Xicheng* District). Inhabitants: around 300 families.

Content of Questionnaire: Inhabitant's living space, density of population per family, quality of buildings, status of inhabitants (tenant, owner), income, occupation, sanitation equipments, special needs of vulnerable groups, etc.).

## OLD BEIJING: PHASE 3- 2004

- UNESCO/Beijing involved in E.U./Asia-Urbs project: Rome-Paris-Beijing cooperation;
- Set up of Chinese experts network on the issue of urban preservation in Beijing;
- Continuation of 2003 UNESCO reach-action on Tsinghua Yan Dai Xie Jie area;
- Preparation of an exhibition and events with Beijing Municipality, experts, scholars, NGOs etc.

Genevieve Domenach-Chich  
Project Team Leader, SHS Programme Specialist, Beijing UNESCO Office  
[g.domenach-chich@unesco.org](mailto:g.domenach-chich@unesco.org)

## **THE RESTORATION OF CHEONGYE-CHEON**

**YOON-JAE YANG**

The restoration of Cheonggye-Cheon (stream) is not just an urban planning project, but a great task in which the entire nation is interested as a symbolic project to revive the historical and natural heritage of Seoul in the early 21st century. When the project is successfully completed, the capital will become city-friendly to both the environment and the people. The project is also expected to establish a new paradigm for urban management in 21st-century Seoul and contribute significantly to renewing the image of Seoul.

Once the historical site is restored, Seoul will revive its 600-year history as the capital of Korea by turning itself into a city where the modern era is wonderfully harmonized with tradition. The restored Cheonggye-Cheon is expected to become one of Seoul's major tourist attractions for both Koreans and overseas visitors.

The project will focus on improving the environment for both residents and businesses, and is expected to help Seoul become the financial and commercial hub in the East Asian region. The new look of the city is expected to create a new hope for Seoul citizens.

## THE OPEN HOUSE IN THE WALLED CITY OF LAHORE

SAJIDA VANDAL

A Centre for Conservation & Restoration Studies (CCRS) was set up in the historic walled city of Lahore in June 2003 by the National College of Arts (NCA), Lahore. This was done in close association and partnership with UNESCO, forged within the framework of UNESCO's "Urban Poor, Socio-Economic Revitalisation of Urban Centres" initiative. A heritage house located in Chowk Matti, Kucha Pir Shirazi, a neighborhood of the Walled City, probably built in the 1860s, was purchased by the NCA-Endowment Trust to house the CCRS as an "Open House" for the benefit of the public. The concept for establishing the CCRS was that given the low economic status of the resident population and their inability to seek professional advice, a close link needed to be established between the occupants and owners of heritage property, and practitioners, professionals, and art/architecture students to enable positive intervention in the preservation and conservation of prime heritage property and to create opportunities for an interactive learning process. Thus, awareness-building, advisement and technical assistance were envisaged to be some of the key functions of the CCRS, supported through documentation and traditional crafts training. Additionally, the objects underscored the need for improvement in the physical and social environment of the disadvantaged habitat of the poorest of poor in the city of Lahore through community participatory initiatives. It was envisaged that eventually, this would provide the basis for instituting post-graduate degrees in Conservation and Restoration, which is currently not available in the country, in a manner which recognised the realities of the Pakistani situation where most heritage areas are occupied by the poor segments of society.

Lahore, the capital city of the Punjab, is the richest repository of the nation's cultural heritage. Facing various vicissitudes, it enjoyed imperial status and glamour during the reigns of the Mughal Emperors Akbar, Jahangir, and ShahJehan. The city continually suffered, except for the brief period of Ranjit Singh's rule, during the chaotic period following the decline of the Mughal Empire; however it emerged as the leading city of the North Western British India. During the prosperous period of the Mughal Empire, Lahore was a magnificent city extending far beyond the city walls into *guzargahs*, orchards and pleasure gardens. At the time of British annexation (1849), the town had receded back to the walled area with the surroundings strewn with ruins.

The walled city of Lahore has continued through history to be the hub, the kernel and the central point of the metropolis. Today it is an alive and vibrant centre housing a substantial portion of the population of the city of Lahore. The vast majority of the residents have low income levels. Within one square mile of the city are found the principal wholesale markets and a large number of small-scale labor-intensive manufacturing industries. The city, provided with an aging infrastructure of social services in terms of schools, dispensaries and places of worship, has huge problems of drug abuse, poor educational levels, ill health and general decadence. The basic fabric of the walled city is in an advanced state of decay. Age, neglect and apathy have taken their toll. The building stock is crumbling; water supply, sewerage and drainage exhibit gross deterioration

resulting in severe problems of public health. Garbage heaps are a source of pestilence, and lack of general municipal administration adds to the state of dereliction. The low-income level of the residents and the social pattern display all the accompanying ills of poverty. Thus the walled city of Lahore exhibits a dichotomy – a vibrant area rich in cultural value yet poor in quality of life.

The many problems and issues faced by the residents of the walled city are symptomatic of the basic disease – the decay of the underlying urban and social fabric. Efforts in the past have met with little success. Both the Master Plan of 1975 and the Walled City Conservation Plan of the 1980s have been largely unsuccessful in changing the lives of the poor residents, addressing major issues faced by the city or safeguarding the heritage of the historic core of Lahore. A new vision needs to be developed encompassing the aspirations of the local community and providing employment opportunities and improved basic needs.

The CCRS has developed a two-pronged strategy, one directed towards the heritage preservation and conservation and the other towards forging partnerships with local communities and the city government. Through a slow but rewarding process, the community aspirations in terms of better standards of life are being explored, while the base work required for setting up the three main components of the CCRS, namely the Advisory Cell, the Interactive Document and Information Cell and the Training Cell is underway.

For the presentation at the Round Table, I will be focusing on the work carried out in the year following the establishment of the Centre. This will encompass the work carried out under a UNESCO contract for setting up the IDIC (Interactive Document and Information Centre) which included listing of documents, reports, publications on the walled city and computerisation of drawings; the study of best practices and the proposed Maintenance manual to be developed in partnership with local craftsmen. The heritage education programs in schools; partnership initiative with the local schools and the profile of the partnership schools and local community will also form a part of the presentation. The methodology used for creating partnerships with schools in the city and the long term plans for future work will be delineated. The presentation will also highlight the partnerships being forged with the Lahore Municipality and the methodology and mechanisms being harnessed to address a critical issue identified by local residents, i.e. solid waste disposal in the walled city. The impact on local residents of the initiatives being taken by the municipality and government, of delineating parts of the culturally rich walled city as tourist areas will be tabled for discussions and to elicit the views of the participants, particularly in view of residential dislocations which may result out of such actions.

## POOR PEOPLE IN HISTORIC CITIES: THE CASE OF KARACHI'S HISTORIC CORE

ARIF HASAN

[From "*Housing by People in Asia*," The Newsletter of the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR), No. 13, June 2001]

### THE BAD NEWS:

While it took centuries for Europe to urbanise - and to come to terms with urbanisation - it happened like wildfire in Asia. In just a few decades, sleepy colonial outposts, quaint court towns and modest ports exploded into roaring mega-cities, their populations soaring from the thousands into the millions. While this mind-boggling change has brought economic growth and job opportunities, it's done so at a great price. We look all the time at the problems of housing and infrastructure which unplanned and inequitable urbanisation causes, but another casualty of this urban explosion is the loss of Asia's historic urban centres.

To front-liners struggling for people's rights to secure housing and basic services, architectural preservation may seem a frivolous side issue. But palaces and temples aren't the only thing going under the bulldozer. Entire neighbourhoods, market quarters and vast stretches of traditional housing stock are also fast disappearing, and taking with them huge quantities of affordable housing units and places of employment. In the North, revitalisation of historic districts has almost always meant the poor get pushed out, either directly by eviction, or indirectly by market forces, when low rent areas go upscale and the poor find themselves outbid by yuppies and Starbucks franchises.

### AND THE GOOD NEWS:

Initiatives in several cities across the Asia region are exploring innovative means of preserving the old, without throwing out the people. Historic areas and *real people* can, in fact, happily coexist, and there are several cases which demonstrate that rehabilitating historic cities, neighbourhoods and buildings need not be done at the cost of ejecting their human cargo. In fact, here's evidence that rooting preservation in local community processes can turn local people - even if they are poor - into the best preservationists of all.

### KARACHI'S HISTORIC CORE: TRYING OUT OPP PRINCIPLES ON PRESERVATION. . .

For the seeker of urban experiences, a walk through Karachi's historic quarters presents an unrelieved eyefull, earfull and nosefull of sensation. There's so much happening in these bustling, narrow lanes and teeming boulevards, which now account for just 3% of Karachi's metropolitan area. Cobblers, *pan-wallahs*, juice vendors, pottery sellers and make-shift eateries jostle for space under the richly-embellished arches of century-old limestone buildings.

Close proximity to the port, and land-use changes since the 1960s have put great pressure on a city centre designed for 200,000, but now serving 11 million. Concentrations of wholesale and storage activities and the infiltration of hazardous industrial units have led to the deterioration of buildings and infrastructure, loss of open spaces and increasing

traffic from heavy vehicles. The area's elite have long since fled to the suburbs, resulting in a vacuum of political authority and the disinterest of authorities. Today, Karachi's historic quarters, for all their ragged vitality, present a disheartening picture of traffic, encroachment, deterioration, severe noise and air pollution, overflowing sewage, garbage and social apathy.

Between 1996 and 98, the Heritage Cell of Dawood College Department of Architecture and Planning documented the area. In 2000, a group of professionals interested in conserving these rapidly deteriorating historic neighbourhoods set up the *Karachi Old City Rehabilitation Program* (KOCRCP). The KOCRCP will borrow the same participatory development concepts which have helped OPP (Orangi Pilot Project) to upgrade Orangi. Meanwhile, meetings with the people in the area have been held, issues identified, problems surveyed and documented, and plans of almost all the old buildings have been acquired.

The project's premise is that community-based neighbourhood rehabilitation can work in a historic neighbourhood just as it has done in *katchi abadis*. The project aims to strengthen the participation of communities in the process of upgrading the buildings, infrastructure and open spaces in their neighbourhood, and to make it worthwhile for residents to contribute the capital and human resources to do the work. The project will also demonstrate how residents of historic areas can be brought around to the idea of making alternations necessary for contemporary use in sympathetic ways, without destroying their area's historic or cultural validity.

To start with, a small neighbourhood has been identified as a pilot demonstration area. The *Wadhumal Odharam Quarters* typifies the problems faced by the rest of Karachi's historic areas. The building fabric, dating mostly from the British period, is intact, but endangered and deteriorating. Once a wealthy neighbourhood, the quarter's residents are now mostly daily-wage earners with factory and vending jobs. Because most have lived here since independence times (and have secure long-term leases), community linkages in *Wadhumal Odharam* run deep. In the evenings, residents gather in groups at street-side *chai khanas* to drink tea, eat *pan*, chat with their friends and watch the passing scene - a public practice all but erased from the rest of Karachi.

The KOCRCP is now part of the URC and has set up a conservation unit, with one architect and two social organisers, in space offered by the nearby NED Engineering University. What will KOCRCP do?

- **Buildings:** Advise residents on how to maintain their homes, through self-financed house improvement and building conservation "packages."
- **Infrastructure :** Assist communities to make plans and estimates for community-financed infrastructure improvements, solid waste management and maintenance of public open spaces.
- **Neighbourhood Plans:** Help develop neighbourhood plans to upgrade primary water supply, sewerage and drainage systems, street paving, street lighting and solid waste disposal, to be financed by funds from the Municipal Corporation.

**BOX : 19 MAP ANALYSIS :**

The process of inventorying and mapping all the buildings in the area began in July 2000 and took the KOCRUP Unit's architects and volunteers into the city's archives, where they found drawer-fulls of crumbling 19th-century maps of Karachi's older areas, with mouse-eaten corners, but beautifully intact. 192 maps have been digitised now and used to prepare master base-maps for all the areas. An important part of the research involves using these to analyse the neighbourhoods. They've worked out a rigorous 19-step process through which each area is studied - its problems, its physical and socio-cultural issues, its buildings, its social and environmental conditions. Once you get a good base map and digitise it, you can do anything with it - enlarge any part of it, print out copies at different scales, color in bits to show buildings or to identify problem areas.

**UCH: ANCIENT CITIES AND NEW SEWERS**

Another important conservation project is underway in Uch, a historic town with a lot of extraordinarily beautiful buildings and monuments in the Southern Punjab. Professor Yasmin Cheema worked on documenting these monuments for over six years. As a result of her work, the *Conservation and Rehabilitation Centre (CRC)* was set up, with its focus on Uch and funds from *World Monument Watch* and UNDP were acquired for the preparation of a conservation plan.

Sewage disposal is a serious problem for settlements in Uch, and in June 1999, grants from the *UNDP Life Program* and *Water Aid (UK)* helped get OPP involved in training the communities in Uch to lay "internal" sewers and water supply systems in their lanes. Engineers and activists from OPP are now helping the conservation unit to prepare plans for the off-site "external" infrastructure that the government will implement, supplemented by the work that communities do themselves. Six young people from the communities in Uch have been trained in plain-table surveying and computer mapping and are helping the architects to prepare maps of the city and master plans for sewage disposal.

When the social organiser working in nearby Lodhran needed help with mapping, he sent a young local who knows how to use computers to Uch, where the CRC team gave him a crash course on Autocad and maps. They've struck a deal now that if the local government in Lodhran needs any architectural support for its projects, they can get it from Uch, while if Uch needs help with infrastructure, then Lodhran will provide it. In these ways, groups form relationships and help each other, and OPP doesn't have to bother.

**CONTACT :**

For more information on the Karachi Historic City project, or on the rehabilitation of the ancient city of Uch, contact Mr. Arif Hasan:

[arifhasan@cyber.net.pk](mailto:arifhasan@cyber.net.pk)

## STREET VENDORS IN KARACHI'S HISTORIC SADDAR BAZAAR DISTRICT

ARIF HASAN

[Story from "*Housing by People in Asia*," The Newsletter of the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR), No. 15, October 2003]

### STREET VENDORS AND EVICTION:

It's almost impossible to imagine Asian cities without the hawkers, street-sellers and informal transporters which service them, providing for their every need with such resourcefulness and in such opulent variety. These informal-sector entrepreneurs are one of the wonders of Asia's long urban history, offering just what you need, when and where you need it, at rock-bottom prices which no 7-11 or discount superstore can ever beat. Besides providing flexible, lucrative self-employment for a huge portion of Asia's urban poor, these informal businesses constitute a huge chunk of urban economies.

However, in the sanitised version of urbanism that's been absorbed by many Asian decision-makers, hawkers are an eyesore, a hindrance to traffic and a nuisance to pedestrians. So they're being evicted by the thousands from their places of work, and most are being evicted legally. The issue of housing eviction gets a lot of attention in the human rights arena, but if a person is doing a small business to support her family as best she can, and you chuck her out so she can't earn, that's a human rights issue too.

You don't need an MBA to know that if you want to sell something, you need to set up shop where and when your goods are likely to be in greatest demand. Some cities have tried to regulate street vendors by restricting their activities to designated areas away from busy thoroughfares and limiting their operating schedules to off-hour times. Because these rules are usually drafted by bureaucrats, with no input from the informal entrepreneurs they affect, and because they run contrary to business sense, most vendors have no choice but to break them. As a result, evictions, arrests and confiscation of their carts and stock are increasing, all in the name of city beautification or maintaining law and order!

But some groups of informal entrepreneurs around the region are finding that some of the same tools which help communities find alternatives to eviction can be very useful in defending their right to earn a living and creating win-win solutions in the process.

**Street vendors in Karachi's Saddar Bazaar: *Forestalling eviction in a congested area by developing hawker rehabilitation plans before the city does . . .***

Once upon a time, the Saddar Bazaar was Karachi's cultural and commercial hub. The area is still studded with important institutional buildings, but Saddar has become a giant bus terminal, its streets and open spaces swarming with unregulated traffic, choked with pollution and encroached upon by thousands of hawkers, calling their wares over the din of traffic. Successive governments have tried to improve things by removing the hawkers by force, but they just keep coming back.



The *Urban Resource Centre (URC)* has always felt that these hawkers were part of the city, and that it would be possible to rehabilitate them in the same area if solutions to traffic and pedestrian problems could be found. The URC began studying this problem in 1992, and in 2002 assembled a small team of architects, planners and researchers to draw up a detailed plan for the rehabilitation of hawkers. The team first undertook a detailed study of these hawkers - in physical, social and economic terms - and a comprehensive study of traffic flows, land-use and encroachments in Saddar Bazaar area. Then they used this information to develop a rehabilitation plan which involved urban design, community organising and delicate negotiation with the city and hawkers.

The team's first step, with guidance and support from the URC, was to establish a relationship with the hawkers themselves, through meetings and discussions, to try to understand their point of view. Detailed street-wise surveys were carried out to map the existing situation and to understand where various kinds of hawkers sit and why. There are many hawkers organisations in the Saddar area, which worked closely with the project. They operate like trade unions, collecting small monthly fees from their members and use the money to hire guards to look after carts at night, to pay sweepers to keep the place clean, or to give welfare loans to members.

*Only 5% of Saddar's hawkers have permits, and the rest operate under the bhatta (bribe) system. Every now and then, the city throws them out, but each time, they come right back, not legally, but because they've paid slightly higher bhattas than before. The bribe system is a model of efficiency: vendors pay their bhattas (calculated according to the size and nature of their businesses) individually or through their associations, daily or monthly, to middle men called "beaters" who divide the take between the police, traffic police and city government. On average, Saddar hawkers pay 50 Rupees per day in bribes, which multiplied by 3,800 hawkers amounts to a staggering 5.7 million rupees per month! If this sum were channelled into a formal rehabilitation scheme, it would generate revenue for the state while paying for itself and for the area's upkeep. It's no surprise that the hawkers were the biggest supporters of any rehabilitation plan which provides them some sort of permit, lease or document granting them security of tenure - and they'd happily pay for it!*

*What did they propose?* The "*Revitalisation and Rehabilitation*" plan for Saddar Bazaar, which the team developed with the hawkers, is a comprehensive and realistic development plan which treats much more than just the hawker issue, and involves segregation vehicular and pedestrian traffic, re-routing of fast moving traffic and slow-moving traffic, constructing a new bus terminal, adding parking lots and providing basic amenities for shoppers and businesses and pedestrianising certain streets. In many cities, when streets are pedestrianised, the hawkers get thrown out, but in the Saddar plan, the hawkers are relocated permanently to those areas, in stalls built along the centre of the streets, with wide areas for pedestrians and street trees along both sides.

*Scaling up Saddar : The research and revitalisation planning carried out in the Saddar Bazaar (like the proposed vendor stalls along the centre of pedestrianised streets, at right) lays the foundation for similar projects in other parts of the city, which have already been identified, where another 9,000 vendors are under threat of losing their livelihoods through forced eviction.*

**BOX : NO SMALL NUMBER . . . 3,800 HAWKERS IN 18 DISTINCT CATEGORIES :**

In many parts of the world, environmentalists are crying dire warnings about the diminishment of natural habitats and the consequent loss of animal and plant species. But the good news is that in the rich ecosystem of informal sector commerce in Karachi, vigorous new species are popping up all the time and appearing in the Saddar Bazaar - a natural habitat for hawkers which is very likely going to be preserved!

The study found a total of 3,800 hawkers of various sorts plying their wares and services along Saddar's crowded streets. Some are permanent, some temporary, some mobile, some static. Some have been vending in the area for generations, others are more recent entrants. The study makes a distinction between hawkers (informal seller which are mobile), encroachers (who stay in a single location), and leased stall holders (who have some kind of documents).

The study observed and meticulously divided this bewilderingly varied entrepreneurial activity into 18 categories which include: big stalls, small stalls, three-legged stands, showcase sellers, cabin sellers, hand sellers, open-umbrella sellers, box sellers, along-the-wall sellers, scooter sellers, water sellers, weighers, fortune tellers, dry-fruit sellers and hand-carts in four, three and two-wheeled varieties.

**CONTACT :**

*For more information on the Saddar Hawkers Rehabilitation Project, contact:*

*Mr. Arif Hasan, Mr. Muhammad Younus*

Urban Resource Centre (URC),

3/48, Mualimabad Jamal uddin Afghani Road,

Karachi 74800, PAKISTAN

Tel. (92-21) 455-9275

Fax (92-21) 444-288

e-mail: [urc@cyber.net.pk](mailto:urc@cyber.net.pk)

website: [www.urckarachi.org](http://www.urckarachi.org)

**ASIAN INNER CITIES: CONCERNS OF THE ASIAN COALITION  
FOR HOUSING RIGHTS (ACHR)**

**ARIF HASAN**

In almost all cases the inner cities of Asia's large urban centres consist of old walled settlements and the expansion around them in colonial times. By 1940, few of these cities were more than 400,000 population although by the 1920's they contained major transport and cargo terminals (railway stations, ports and related functions) in addition to wholesale markets and storage spaces for them. They also contained the city's commercial areas, housing for the elite and the merchant classes, and working class neighbourhoods.

After the Second World War, Asia's major urban centres expanded rapidly and so did trade, commerce and industry. Many urban centres have since then become mega cities. However, in almost all cases plans for the expansion of the wholesale markets and their storage requirements, informal workshops and small-scale industrial activity, and the requirements of the transport sector that services them, were not planned and implemented. As a result, these activities expanded within the inner cities to engulf them completely. Most of the elite and merchant classes and the retail activity that catered to them, relocated to newly planned elite and middle-income settlements because of the physical degradation and the social changes that took place in the inner cities. In many cases the relocating population was replaced by migrant workers from the countryside. With further expansion of trade and related activities people from the newly established low-income peri-urban areas started to come to the inner city to work during the daytime. As a result, important nodes of the inner city became transit areas for this population and hawkers established themselves in large number at these locations to cater to the transit population.

The result of these changes has been environmental degradation, stress on infrastructure, destruction of built-heritage, congestion, social fragmentation and in the absence of more favourable locations for warehousing and small-scale informal industry, rising land use values for usages other than residential. The changes have also resulted in many community institutional buildings falling into disuse and disrepair as the community that built and managed them is no longer there.

Government plans for the inner cities normally consist of shifting wholesaling and small-scale industry to locations outside the city and removing the hawkers and gentrifying the areas that have been vacated. This process has been followed in Jakarta, Manila, Karachi and Bangkok. With the shifting of markets and industry the inner city population loses its jobs. In none of the new market and industrial relocations has provision been made for offering a housing option to the affected population at the new locations. Nor have urban renewal schemes attempted to cater to the social and economic needs of the resident population so as to prevent them from being forced to relocate. Studies reveal that this process of government planning has increased poverty.

Another aspect of government planning has been the building of expressways, roads and flyovers to solve the growing traffic problems of the inner city. These have displaced both populations and commercial activity with no alternatives being offered to the affected population. In most cases (Bangkok, Karachi, Manila), even the traffic problems have not been solved by the building of this infrastructure.

The ACHR feels that the reasons for this insensitive government planning are:

- The solutions that Asian governments are proposing and implementing are not a part of a larger city planning exercise. They are projects being implemented at different places without any coordination between them or with other projects in other parts of the larger city.
- Even where they are a part of a larger city plan, a powerful politician-bureaucrat-developer nexus sees to it that land value and not social and environmental conditions determine land use. More recently international capital has become a part of this nexus.

- Inner city working class communities are politically weak and cannot negotiate with politically backed developers, contractors and mafias without professional and civil society support. Civil society support can only be generated if professionals can present alternatives based on participatory research.
- Professional organisations do not challenge these insensitive plans because their individual members and consulting firms are major beneficiaries of them. More recently, academic institutions have also become a part of this planning process.
- Architects and planners are not trained to make physical planning and technology subservient to social, economic and governance considerations. So even where they express concern on the insensitivity of plans, they do not possess the tools to offer alternative solutions.
- Thus a key factor in dealing with inner city planning issues (or any planning issues for that matter) is appropriately trained professionals and a culture of consultation and consensus building.

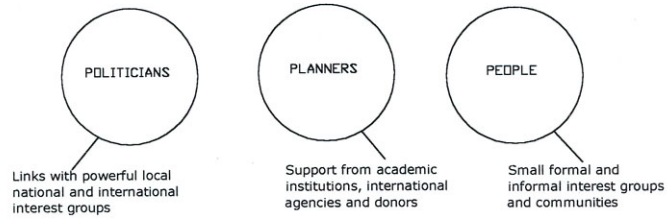
In the case of Karachi, the Urban Resource Centre (URC), established by teachers of Architecture and Planning, NGOs involved in development and CBOs has made a difference. The URC collects information regarding the city and its plans and disseminates it to the media, NGOs, CBOs, concerned citizens and formal and informal interest groups. It analysis plans from the point of view of communities (especially poor ones). On the basis of these analyses, it holds forums in which all interest groups, especially affected communities, are present so that a broad consensus may be attempted. The print and electronic media take up these issues. URC's involvement has brought about many changes in plans for the inner city although it has not brought about a major shift in the planning process itself. The URC has been replicated through ACHR support in Phnom Penh, Colombo, Kathmandu and Cape Town.

The success of URC's initiatives (however limited) is due to the fact that the architects and planners associated with and/or supporting it, were trained at the Department of Architecture and Planning (DAP) at the Dawood College in Karachi. In 1980 changes were made in the DAP curriculum. One of the changes was that in the final year a project known as the Comprehensive Environmental Design Project was introduced. The project consisted of dividing the class into four groups: i) Physical Conditions Group; ii) Economic Group; iii) Social Group; and iv) Governance Group. The groups were abandoned in a problem-ridden area of the city. Each group had to identify the actors of its subject and through dialogue with them understand the causes of the conditions in the area. The four groups then came together in a workshop and synthesised their findings. On the basis of these findings, individual students were asked to plan a physical intervention in the problem area which would benefit the community. A whole new manner of thinking and practicing planning and architecture emerged as a result.

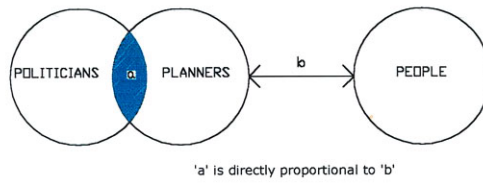
Many of the graduates of this programme are now important persons. They are in government; they lecture at the institutions where bureaucrats are trained; they teach at different academic institutions and they write for newspapers and are interviewed on the media. They carry with them the one message which can bring about a positive change in the whole planning process of which the inner city issues are an integral part. This message is contained in the attached diagram and table.

# The URC Reform Agenda

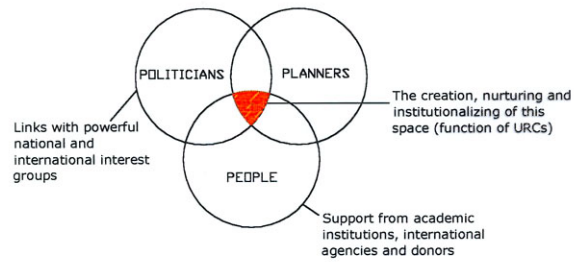
## 1. THE THREE MAIN PLAYERS AND THEIR PRESENT LINKS



## 2. DEVELOPMENT DELIVERY: THE PRESENT SITUATION



## 3. AS IT SHOULD BE



## THE EMERGING KARACHI NETWORK

### A. NGOs

1. Orangi Pilot Project-Research and Training Institute
2. Orangi Charitable Trust
3. Aurat Foundation
4. Shirkatgah
5. Citizen's Committee for Civic Problems
6. Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
7. Urban Working Group
8. Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research
9. Shehri
10. Saiban
11. Urban Resource Centre

### B. 38 CBOs

### C. Media Organisations

1. Jung Forum
2. ICN
3. Press Club
4. Manduck Productions

### D. Interest Groups

1. Minibus Drivers Associations
2. Transport Ittehad
3. Tanker Owners Association
4. Karachi Bus Owners Association
5. Solid Waste Recyclers Associations (6)
6. Hawkers Associations (8)
7. Kabari Welfare Anjuman
8. Scavengers Associations

### E. Government Departments

1. Sindh Katchi Abadi Authority
2. City Government Mass Transit Cell
3. Karachi Public Transport Society
4. Sindh Cultural Heritage Committee
5. Karachi Master Plan Department

### F. Academic Institutions

1. Dawood College, Department of Architecture and Planning
2. NED University, Department of Architecture and Planning
3. Karachi University:
  - Department of Architecture and Planning
  - Social Works Department
  - Mass Communications

### G. National Institute of Public Administration

## RECONSTRUCTION IN MOSCOW: OBJECTIVE FACTORS AND CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

DMITRY KATAEV IVANOVICH

In the last five years, economic growth in Russia is related to:

- long-term results of liberal and democratic reforms,
- obvious rebound from economic recession,
- favorable conditions on energy supply markets,
- and someone mention political stabilisation.

The last factor, political stabilisation is obtained at the expense of liberal reforms by fortifying the power of bureaucracy instead of debugging legislation and fortifying the power of court authorities. This has pros and cons. As Russia has not inherited sound practices of due diligence "free market" economy business relations, fortifying bureaucracy leads to the domination of affiliated business structures, destruction of free competition, and, in part, substitution of court authority in disputes. This tendency may, in the future, impede Russian economic growth and exacerbate social conflicts.

Today Moscow faces an intensification of social conflicts in a sector of the city in which large-scale reconstruction, caused by former factors, is taking place. In comparison with other Russian regions, Moscow is the most democratic, educated, and commercially active region. The average income and city budget is several times higher than in other regions. As a result, the city is the most attractive place with fat margins for property development. We anticipate that the other regions will face similar municipal reconstruction and the ensuing social consequences in the near future.

On the one hand, the city reconstruction is a necessity.

- The habitable square metres per capita in Moscow is one third of that in Warsaw fifteen years ago;
- The segment of houses and public supply systems which require routine overhaul repair is substantial and constantly growing;
- Economic growth has caused higher demand for dwellings, office buildings, and trade centres;
- Moscow is surrounded by other regions which restrict construction expansion which leads to increasing construction density;
- Multiplication of city vehicle fleet has intensified problems with parking, road capacity, and ecology.

On the other hand, city reconstruction destroys the originality of historical places and distorts its settled social balance by forcing dwellers to leave their apartments/buildings.

### CURRENT SITUATION: PROS AND CONS IN THE CITY RECONSTRUCTION SECTOR

Demand is excessively higher than the supply in the Moscow real estate market. Prices doubled in four years, IRR is 200% or higher. The city receives half of these profits as landowner, but the set proportion isn't profitable for the city if we take into account that the city must later pay for the infrastructure of a reconstructed district. Fantastical profits take precedence over all other issues and urge forward corruption tendencies.

For the most part, fantastic profits are the result of an absence of free competition. Independent experts estimate that around half of the investor's profits through affiliated businesses are under-the-counter exchanges, redirected into the hands of municipal officials.

Aspiration for high profits incites executives to bad or even criminal business practice. It is common that construction works begin without:

- obligatory papers;
- agreement from autonomous bodies;
- notification to the owners of demolished property or a signed indemnity contract with them.

Under Federal Law, owners of a building have a prior right for the land under the building, and for an investment into reconstruction of this territory. In reality, this right is sabotaged by city administration and courts on the city and district level. As a fact, apartment/building owners have the only way to protect their right through "outdoor politics:" press, demonstrations, civil unrest.

There is thus a conflict of interest between two groups. The first and winning group is the local administration and investors; the second group is the district dwellers, and public ecological and historical organisations.

I would like to cite two examples from my electoral district. In one typical case, for several years, local administration was unwilling to draw up land owing documents for a garage owned by a cooperative society of dwellers. Recently, one of the administrators affiliated with the property development companies received this land for construction and subsequently tore down existing property without indemnity contract assignment. The aggrieved group tried to defend their rights at the local police department but the department refused to bring any action, arguing that the fault lay with the owners/dwellers because "destruction of the property arises from ignorance of offered compensation."

The second example shows how local administration pushed aside representatives of public organisations who defend dwellers' interests of reconstructed districts.

Krilatskoe is a prestigious and beautiful district of Moscow on the high bank of a river. In March 2004, a group of dwellers who effectively defend dwellers interests were elected a self-governing authority in the district. The administration manipulated voting papers so as to invalidate the election results. Repeated elections gave the same result but, as in the previous case, the election was made void— but this time on the basis of 32 written statements that were not even properly registered and legalised. Moreover, the appeal of the March case was still at the Court of Cassation at the end of July 2004. If candidates independent from the administration win elections in other districts, the situation would most likely be the same as in Krilatskoe.

In every typical case, we see well-organised attorney-backed groups which consist of local administration, affiliated investors, local policemen and local courts. Dwellers try to defend their rights but they are not well-organised and do not have the necessary qualifications.

Reconstruction of city districts raises issues on how we might:

- preserve history face of the city;
- indemnify moving dwellers;
- redirect gains from real estate business to social needs in this sector.

Last year, Moscow City Council passed a law about "procedures in the city planning and development of the Moscow districts" which would solve the above issues. However, this law is currently being sabotaged by executive authorities.

In closing, I think that the happy medium with respect to Moscow reconstruction can be achieved only in a civil society which Russia would build in the future.



## RECONSTRUCTION AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

YELENA SHOMINA

### 1. Reconstruction of the city centre

Central Moscow has been transformed by the real estate boom of the last few years from an area designed for ordinary Muscovites to inhabit, complete with the necessary infrastructure, to an elite area that is closer to central London or Paris. Moscow government relocates the inhabitants from the city centre with no public accountability at all.

This process of gentrification, defined as the upgrading of an area by the influx of affluent people and resulting in the displacement of lower-income people, is a common process in Moscow, as in many cities around the world. The standard of living for those who remain in the reconstructed areas has also deteriorated. Apart from the loss of many local shops, the demand for new real estate has seen construction begin on every spare space in the city centre, replacing many children's playgrounds, courtyards and green areas.

Although individual flats were privatised when the USSR collapsed, the city still owns most buildings and land. Construction firms connected to the City Hall have been handed contracts to renovate or demolish hundreds of old apartment buildings in recent years.

Under Russian law, evicted residents must be compensated with an "equivalent" living space within the city boundaries. Critics say tens of thousands of Muscovites have already been moved from potentially valuable flats, which they obtained in Soviet times, to relatively cheap, concrete-slab housing on the outskirts of the city.

2. Moscow's programme of "Reconstruction of old 5-story buildings" started in 1999. According to the programme, 6 million square miles of old housing stock (constructed in the 1960s) should be demolished and about 135 thousands families replaced, and relocated to new flats. Such old buildings for which repairs are unreasonable (better to demolish) exist in 158 different neighbourhoods in Moscow. There are also 300 thousand square miles of housing stock which needs urgent repair, and these residents also will be relocated.

Moscow Government identifies improvement of Muscovites' housing conditions as one of its top priorities. I can say that many thousands of Moscow residents are happy to get new flats instead of morally and technically old flats.

At the same time, the reconstruction brings many problems for **a) relocated residents** (in many cases they are relocated to better flats but in other areas in the outskirts of the city, causing many new problems for families); **b) for those residents who are not relocated**, as they suffer from long-lasting housing construction in front of their windows (noise and dirtiness), they become isolated from their social infrastructure, they lose their green areas, sun and space. Reconstruction destroys the social capital of existing neighbourhoods.

There is great debate about the real necessity of demolition and the demand for a serious audit of the condition of this housing stock.

**3. Activity of residents.** One positive sign is the growth of civil protest groups, even if little real success has been achieved. Currently, about 200 groups of Muscovites disagree with housing policy of Moscow government and try to defend their housing rights.

**June 9, 2004:** 20 initiative groups applied to Russian Ombudsmen, Vladimir Lukin, requesting to discuss the rights of people in reconstructed areas. Representatives of well-known NGOs – such as Union of Consumers, Socio-Ecological Union, waiting-list “Muscovite” applicants – took part in the meeting with Lukin. They stressed the main problems in the construction field: construction without the obligatory expertise documents, violation of ecological and architectural norms and rules, ignorance of the residents’ interests, demolition of valuable historical buildings, disappearance of green plots, extremely high density of population, and lack of adequate social infrastructure.

**June 15, 2004:** Special **Committee for defending rights of Muscovites** was created in Moscow. The head of the Committee, Sergey Mitrokhin, who is also the vice chairman of the political party Yabloko (Apple), stressed that the committee’s goals are to join the efforts of different “islands of civil society” and to direct them in a positive stream of regulation for the urban policy in Moscow. This includes making urban policy more transparent and joining positive efforts of groups of inhabitants to improve their living environment. The Committee also works to prevent the real social burst of indignation. In July, the Committee joined about 50 different groups of inhabitants. The Committee created a special monitoring team, which gives information about different unauthorised construction cases, or as they say “criminal” construction, when the rights, interests and freedom of the residents are ignored by the authorities.

**4. A few comments on the 5-minute video, filmed in 2000-2004 by local activist Viatcheslav Sedmovsky: “Reconstruction of Khovrino”**

Moscow is divided into 10 prefectures and 125 areas. Area “Khovrino,” near the northern border of Moscow, was constructed in the mid-1960s. The main housing stock consists of 5-story buildings, a few 9- and 12- story buildings (more or less the same quality of housing stock as 5-story buildings, but with lifts). Total population is about 70 thousand people. My neighbourhood micro-region N19, part of the area (15 thousand people), was planned according to the idea of the “garden-city,” and in 1966 it was awarded a special prize for Design and Planning at the International Architectural Exhibition in Paris. It was one of the best neighbourhoods in Moscow: convenient public transport, easy access to the Underground (5 minutes by public transport), 20 minutes away from the city centre and international airport, close to the Moscow passenger river-port, wonderful beaches on the banks of the Moscow-river, with many fruit trees (construction workers kept many of the old orchards), vast park-forest – all within walking distance, as well as the entire necessary social infrastructure (schools for children, gardens, local clinics, shops, etc.). Local residents also took special care of their environment, and by the beginning of 1990s, it was an extremely green, calm and friendly neighbourhood. As a result, it became very attractive for future investment and new construction.

One of the first reconstruction plans for the area was in 1990-1991, and at that time there was an attempt to organise public discussion with local residents regarding reconstruction plans. The plan was located at the local library, but no one knew about the exhibition, very few people took part in the discussion. Everybody forgot about it, as nothing happened in the area up till the very end of 1990s. And I can add – we were very happy!

A few attempts to construct houses between the existing buildings were thwarted by active protest actions of the local residents in 1991. These protests were supported by the sociologists and architects. Independent architectural and environmental expertise showed that new construction would definitely deteriorate the living conditions of the local population and it would violate the existing norms of insulation, density, etc. That was the time of great democratic changes and these protests and recommendations of specialists were taken into account. At the time, no new buildings were constructed.

At the beginning of 1990s, more than 200 different construction works were blocked in Moscow by the protest actions of the residents. Massive reconstruction of our neighbourhood started in 2000. According to the plans of Moscow government, 62 buildings were planned to be demolished (270 000 sq m), 7045 families (13 950 people) to be relocated, 82 new residential buildings to be built in Khovrino, 80% in my neighbourhood.

Residents hardly knew about these plans and did not know their rights or laws. Construction workers or local authorities did not take into account any interests of the local residents. Currently, already 36 buildings have been demolished in my neighbourhood, and 40 new ones constructed.

We live in a 9-story building and have suffered terribly from the noise and dirtiness of construction sites all around our buildings for 4 years. New high-rise buildings brought 5 times more residents, hundreds of new cars, many transport problems (it takes 20 minutes to get to the metro now), overcrowded local transport, as well as problems in schools, policlinics, local shops, etc.

This film is a small part of different activities of a small voluntary group of residents, Stair-case Association, of a 9-story building. Video-recording began in 2000 by Viacheslav Sedmovsky, a member of the group. At that time, only 1 high-rise building was constructed and we even did not know anything in particular about future plans and reconstruction. Now he records every 1-2 months.

In the film –

1. Overview of the neighbourhood in 2000 from the 16th floor
2. Old houses before demolition
3. Demolition process
4. New construction
5. The view of new houses and yards
6. Overview of the neighbourhood in 2004 from the same 16th floor of a 22-floor building

*QUITO*

**A SUCCESSFUL REHABILITATION EXPERIENCE OF THE  
HISTORICAL CENTRE: THE CASE OF QUITO, ECAUDOR**  
HORACIO SEVILLA BORJA

1. Heritage value of the Historical Centre of Quito, First City of included in UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites
2. A deterioration of circumstances in the last 40 years - the Appropriation of Public Space by the Informal Trade
3. A Firm Political Decision / Will: the Fundamental Premise
4. Process of Negotiation and 'Concentration'
5. International Financial Co-operation
6. Social repercussions

*QUITO*

**UNA EXPERIENCIA EXITOSA DE RECUPERACIÓN DE DISTRITO  
HISTÓRICO: EL CASO DE QUITO, ECUADOR**  
HORACIO SEVILLA BORJA

- 1.- Valor patrimonial del Centro Histórico de Quito, Patrimonio Cultural de la Humanidad
- 2.- Situación de deterioro en los últimos 40 años.- el comercio informal apropiado del espacio público
- 3.- La firme decisión política: premisa fundamental
- 4.- Proceso de Negociación y Concentración
- 5.- Cooperación financiera internacional
- 6.- Repercusiones sociales

## **GLOBALISATION AND LOCAL CULTURE.**

### **A SUSTAINABLE EQUATION IN THE HISTORICAL CENTRES AND SETTLEMENTS?**

#### ***SAN FRANCISCO DE QUITO AND SAN FRANCISCO DE MARAS***

**CIRO CARABALLO**

The final decade of the past century may be considered a moment of the most rapid transformations of the theoretical and practical postulates behind the concepts of culture and heritage. In addition, the instruments and methods that new technologies make available to humanity, contribute to this knowledge about, conservation and socialisation of cultural heritage. In this regard, it is important to stress the responsibility of all institutions and professionals that work in this area, to search for responses, which allow for applying the right of a community to transform its cultural heritage into tools that help improve living conditions. Here, living conditions are understood as strengthened self-esteem and increased economic earnings, the right to benefit from cultural heritage and with this, the use of new spaces for participation in public and citizens' life.

The vision of development with a human sense was widely disseminated in the Report of the World Commission of Culture and Development on "Our Creative Diversity" (1997). In this report, the themes of global ethics, respect for pluralism and the management of cultural heritage in the service of integrated social development were touched upon. Although this discourse is inscribed in the work of the international organisations that develop plans and programmes on cultural heritage, its' conservation and appraisal, the overall results in practice are not satisfactory. In dealing with recent experiences with partial action and follow-up, it has become necessary to investigate more thoroughly the concepts, which sustain and lie behind cultural heritage. It is necessary to critically examine the experiences that have been implemented and generate strategic lines, which may facilitate the work with proposals for new actions.

In certain Latin American countries, UNESCO's experience is of a pioneering character. The experience with the project on social sustainability of the Historical Centre of Quito (1998-2000), which was jointly implemented with the "Empresa del Centro Histórico de Quito" ( the Historical Centre of Quito Enterprise) and the Inter-American Development Bank. Promoted by UNESCO through the MOST Programme, the Sector of Social and Human Sciences and the Culture Sector, this pilot experience created an opportunity to test new possibilities, in particular in the construction of networks of participation that were based on existing social structures. Taking point of vantage in this project, programmes were developed for social appropriation as well as the integration of housing plans without speculative purposes/ for non-lucrative purposes.

From this experience followed the proposal of a Plan of Social Sustainability of the Historical Centre of Lima (2001-2002), which was jointly elaborated with the Office of UNESCO in Lima, the Municipality of Metropolitan Lima and the Inter American Development Bank. In this case, the idea remained a paper proposal, due to change in priorities at the local political level. Nevertheless, it added a new and necessary step to the process, namely the early participation of local actors in the creation of the project.

Subsequently, this experience was applied in the design of an integral programme entitled "Heritage; identity and development," that was jointly elaborated with the National

Institute of Culture of Peru. This programme addresses settlements with cultural heritage in rural communities with a high incidence of poverty. Here, as in the historical centres, the challenge is to relate cultural heritage conservation with an improved quality of life. It should be added, however, that the actors and circumstances in the two cases are completely distinct. The case of San Francisco de Maras in the highlands of Cusco, (2002-2004), is an example of the successful application of concepts and ideas through projects of limited resources.

The difference in concepts and in the previously defined elitist visions of intervention in the historical centres and the new visions of participatory endeavours can be illustrated by the large distance between the conservation of a tiger in a museum or in a zoo. Both cases provide imperfect options for the conservation of a specimen of heritage, and in the last case, the ideal seems to be to limit rules and regulations and leave nature to pursue its transformative action - even to the extent of extinction. Unfortunately, the current pace of human destruction in some cases obliges us to take daring action. Of the tiger in the museum remains only its fur mounted on wire and stuffed with cotton, which has a slight smell of naphthalene and that - once in a while - is beaten to rid it of dust. It is only its looks that remind us of what was once one of the most powerful of animals in the feline World. Nowadays, many historical centres remind us of these specimens. In the second case, the zoo, the animal remains alive although with some limitations to its natural development; it is limited in its' action; it is necessary to feed it daily; take care of it when ill and observe attentively its' behaviour. Nevertheless, the animal would be able to roar; and even to reproduce itself; to transmit a certain feeling of astute strength and even of danger. Unfortunately for some ... the tiger will also smell. In fact, this is more like aim that we pursue, namely that of a living historical centre.

## **THE CASE OF MÁLAGA: A TRIP TO THE LANDS OF THE CENTRE**

**SALVADOR MORENO PERALTA**

The city of Málaga, Spain, capital of the tourist region of the Costa del Sol, underwent one of the most striking urban growth processes in the country in the sixties, spreading out from the narrow confines of its historic centre, in a dynamic that has increased in recent years due to globalisation-related phenomena, mobility, the an increase in residential tourism – national and Central European – and the new real estate market boom linked, among other diverse factors, to the drop in interest rates.

Due to all this, Málaga is a city with deep peripheral connotations, while its central nature is practically limited to the core of its historic centre, a very small part in comparison to the total urban area covered. As was widespread practice in other cities during the sixties and seventies, this whole growth process has led to administrative and town planning neglect of the centre, a loss of consideration of its heritage value and its depopulation, so that at the beginning of the eighties, the central area was a geographic map of physical and demographic decrepitude. The long experience of Málaga over the last twenty years, through a series of plans and programmes perfected in a continuous system of verification and error, has consisted precisely of halting the decadent trend of that process, turning the present day storic Centre into a stage for greater opportunities and expectations for the city. We may say that the experience of Málaga has been the long journey of the citizen of Málaga in search of and in reunion with a lost central core: the centre as the epitome of diversity – of functions, of relations, of uses, of exchanges, of encounters, etc, – diversity that is, in turn, the essence of the urban – that is, of the CITY – compared with the confinement and unifunctionality of the peripheral ghetto. The centre, thus, is not only a geographic concept, but rather an option for the citizens and a moral option at that.

The experience began with the Refurbishment Plan for the neighbourhoods of Trinidad-Perchel at the beginning of the eighties. Central neighbourhoods, but ones outside the city walls of the Muslim city, were inhabited by the low-income, popular classes and were threatened by total transformation through systematic opening up and widening of its streets, thus forcing inhabitants out into the suburbs of the city. That plan gave rise to the first realisation of the value of the location and to a collective call by the neighbours to their right to remain in the centre. The Plan was carried out by the Local Government of the city and the Regional Government, by building or refurbishing more than 600 homes and several community facilities, ensuring that the residents could stay. However, the obsession for solving housing problems while passing over no less important aspects, such as, for example, commercial activity, meant that not all the reinstatement objectives were duly fulfilled.

Later, Refurbishment of the Historic Centre was carried out through a Refurbishment Plan - PEPRI CENTRO- and a specific Office for its development. That Office has managed more than six million euros of public resources in the last four years – between municipal funds and the URBAN programme, approximately 50% to refurbish façades, roofs and structural elements of more than two hundred civil buildings. The success of the

programme in that first phase was spectacular, as shown by the fact that the public investment has been followed by more than thirty million euros provided by private initiative. This has encouraged the Local Government to continue with a second phase, in which six million euros of exclusively municipal funds and more than twenty four million euros in private funds have already been invested. These interventions led to the most important companies in the city choosing the centre to locate their head offices, and to the centre becoming the preferred residential area for young home owners, activating a residential market that had languished or been practically non-existent until then.

However, among the most significant actions were 1/ making a pedestrian thoroughfare of the *Calle Larios*- the main street of the historic centre – and 2/ opening the Picasso Museum in a Renaissance palace located in the Jewish quarter. Both actions have allowed the city to be seen in another light, showcasing values that had previously gone unseen in the urban scenery and the architectural heritage, with spectacular reactivation of the commercial and economic activity of the respective surroundings. The consequence of all this is the increase in public interventions in implementation of the PEPRI- the Refurbishment of the Parador de San Rafael, the new City Museum in another abandoned Renaissance palace, regeneration of degraded urban spaces, etc. – and private areas, with intense real estate activity in the refurbishment of buildings.

The last intervention programmed is a Joint Plan between the Local and Regional Governments to extend the scope of the historic centre to the first expansion zones of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, places that are now a fringe to the first peripheral zone of the old Muslim city. The aim is to introduce the concept of the “knowledge neighbourhood” in these zones, with housing units specifically conceived for youths known as “incubator-homes,” under the public housing scheme as rental property, within which there would be places to work. This is based on the idea that, in addition to solving the housing issue for a large segment of the population who need places to live, the nature of a young, educated population, free of all kinds of social prejudices, will encourage their integration and cohabitation with the immigrant sectors and low income groups, encouraging diversity and dynamic regeneration of the social fabric.

**Juan Ramón Casero**, Councillor for Town Planning at the Local Government of Malaga.

**Andrés Gutiérrez Istria**, Municipal Town Planning Officer of the Local Government of Malaga.

**Salvador Moreno Peralta**, former Municipal Town Planning Officer and author of the General Town Organisation Plan of 1983.



# **CIUTAT VELLA, BARCELONA: MIXITICIDAD VS. GENTRYFICATION**

**CARLOS MARTÍ**

## **1. Ciutat Vella . El distrito histórico, centro de Barcelona**

## **2. El proceso de pérdida de valor y de centralidad urbana**

1. 1854/1859 Derribo de las murallas / Inicio del Eixample
2. Emigración de las clases acomodadas.
3. Grandes vías entre Eixample-puerto
4. Edificación envejecidas
5. Pérdida de valor comercial
6. Envejecimiento de la población
7. Marginalidad/inseguridad/prostitución/droga

## **3. El proyecto de revitalización**

### **3.1 Objetivos estratégicos**

1. Recuperación centralidad urbana a través de:  
rehabilitación urbanística, valoración patrimonial, mejora condiciones de vida, facilidades a las actividades económicas.
2. Recuperación centralidades: políticas/administrativas/universidades/puerto
3. Variedad y equilibrio:  
Residencial. Jóvenes/ancianos. Ricos/pobres, autóctonos/inmigrantes.  
Productivo. Comercio/turismo/artesanía/lúdico/cultural/administrativo  
Patrimonial. Preservación/renovación edificación

### **3.2 Líneas de actuación**

1. Urbanismo.  
Nuevo espacio público  
Creación de equipamientos  
Promoción de vivienda de protección oficial.  
Ayudas a la rehabilitación de edificios privados  
Renovación infraestructuras
2. Programas de bienestar social
3. Promoción económica
4. Seguridad ciudadana
5. Control de usos y actividades

### **3.3 El modelo de gestión**

1. Participación ciudadana
2. Implicación y concertación administraciones:  
Ajuntament+Generalitat+Estado+ UE
3. Instrumento de gestión mixto público/privada

#### **4. Situación actual. Retos presente y futuro**

1. Integración/normalización de la inmigración
2. Preservación derecho permanencia
3. Mantenimiento ayudas a la rehabilitación
4. Vivienda pública. Nuevas promociones/parque existente
5. Equilibrio económico entre zonas del distrito

# **CIUTAT VELLA, BARCELONA: MIXITY VS. GENTRIFICATION**

CARLOS MARTÍ

1. *Ciutat Vella* . Historic district, central Barcelona

2. Process of value depreciation and loss of urban centre

1. 1854/1859 Destruction of walls / Starting point of *Eixample*
2. Emigration of well-to-do classes
3. Large thoroughfares between *Eixample* and the harbour
4. Ageing buildings
5. Depreciation of commercial value
6. Ageing population
7. Marginalisation/insecurity/prostitution/drug abuse

3. Revitalisation project

### **3.1 Strategical objectives**

1. Recovery of urban centre through:  
urban rehabilitation, patrimonial valorisation, improvement of living conditions, facilities and economic activities
2. Recovery of political/administrative/university/harbour centres
3. Variety and equilibrium:  
Residential. Youth/elderly. Rich/poor. Indigenous/immigrants.  
Production. Commerce/tourism/craftsmanship/leisure/culture/administration  
Patrimony. Preservation/building renovation

### **3.2 Proposed interventions**

1. Urbanism/Town Planning
  - New public spaces
  - Creation of facilities
  - Promotion of housing and official protection
  - Assistance for the rehabilitation of private buildings
  - Renovation of infrastructures
2. Programmes which promote social well-being
3. Economic promotion
4. Security for citizens
5. Control of uses and activities

### **3.3 Management model**

1. Civic participation
2. Administrative involvement and compromise:  
City Council+Parliament+State+European Union
3. Instruments of mixed public/private management

### **4. Current state of affairs. Present and future challenges**

1. Integration/normalisation of immigration
2. Preservation of permanent rights
3. Maintenance of assistance for rehabilitation
4. Public housing. New promotions/existing park
5. Economic equilibrium between the zones in the district

*\* English translation of original text in Spanish [previous pages]*

## **INNER CITY REGENERATION THROUGH DECENTRALISATION AND DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN BARCELONA, SPAIN**

**PERE CABRERA MASSANES**

### **BARCELONA:**

Barcelona is the capital of the Spanish region of Catalonia and has approximately 1,500,000 inhabitants. It is the capital of Barcelona province and of the autonomous region of Catalonia. It is the second largest Spanish city and the principal industrial and commercial centre of the country. The main manufactured products are textiles, precision instruments, machinery, railroad equipment, paper, glass and plastics. Barcelona is one of the major Mediterranean ports and a financial and publishing centre in Spain. Among the cultural institutions are the University of Barcelona, the Autonomous University of Barcelona, the Royal Archives of Aragon, the Archaeological Museum, the Museum of Ancient Art, and the Museum of Modern Art. The city was host to the Summer Olympic Games in 1992, and the site of the Games and other districts of the city were modernised by a massive municipal redevelopment programme.

**POPULATION: 1505000**

Ciutat Vella, one of ten districts of Barcelona, was the political and financial centre of Barcelona until the mid-19th century. In the wake of industrialisation, the area changed dramatically as the decline in employment and housing led to social marginalisation and deterioration in physical and socio-demographic conditions. By the 1970s, it was the city's most deprived district.

In the 1980s the city council decided to tackle the situation with integrated renewal management. This project is said to be a pioneering effort in rehabilitation of an old city centre and an example of good practice for:

- reduction of the district density and new open spaces;
- improvement of living conditions and increase in the number of public facilities;
- consolidation of the municipal decentralisation process as a means of local empowerment;
- institutionalisation of direct participation in planning and urban management.

In order to achieve these goals new organisational structures were set up by the City Council of Barcelona:

- municipal decentralisation took place and political and administrative responsibilities were devolved to a district level of governance;
- new forms of political and community participation were established;
- a public-private partnership, PROCIVISA (Promocio Ciutat Vella S.A.), the project company for the promotion of Ciutat Vella, was set up in order to accelerate the process of municipal intervention.

Management of the Plan for Integral Action was provided by PROCIVISA, 54% of this public-private company is owned by Barcelona City Council. Other public, financial and service entities participate in the company on a regional or national scale. The company is not only funded by public money but also receives capital from a collective of trades and businesses in Ciutat Vella itself. PROCIVISA is also the manager of land for public use as the City of Barcelona ceded the benefits from expropriation to the public-private partnership. The Plan for Integral Action required balanced action between contrary interests as the revitalisation policy is characterised by competing policies. The public-private partnership also sees its role as a mediation agency between institutions, community organisations and government.

## CONCEPT AND AIMS

Until the mid-19th century the Ciutat Vella district of Barcelona was the area of urban life as all political, industrial and financial activities took place within the old town walls. In 1856 this situation changed radically when the city walls were demolished. The newly created district of Cerda's Eixamples and other neighbouring boroughs formed the present metropolitan area and the importance of the old town diminished. Nowadays the Ciutat Vella is one of ten city districts. Since this arrangement the urban, social, economic, and cultural conditions have changed dramatically:

- at the beginning of the 1990s the population had decreased to approximately 90,000 inhabitants, whereas in 1950 some 240,000 people lived in this area of 4.3 square kilometres. Nevertheless, the population density remained extremely high;
- building stock has a high percentage of old houses as 32% of the dwellings are more than 100 years old;
- composition of the population changed as former inhabitants were replaced by immigrant families many of which are not on the census rolls;
- the percentage of elderly people over 65 years went up from 14.8% in 1986 to a proportion of 17.2% in 1991;
- lower and lowest income groups dominated the district's population with 57.8%;
- social, health and security problems characterised daily life in the district.

At the end of the 1970s the Ciutat Vella district of Barcelona was the most deprived area in Barcelona. However, the time for new thinking in the search of a solution to the urban crisis had only come once the power of local policy making had been regained after 40 years of the Franco dictatorship. In 1979 the first democratic city council was elected. The decentralisation of urban politics prompted drawing special plans in the policy area of town planning. In the first half of the 1980s the plans for inner-city reforms (Planes Especiales de Reforma Interior or PERI) focused on several areas of the Ciutat Vella district (Raval, Casc Antic and Barceloneta). The main goals of these plans were expropriation and emptying of housing for demolition, construction of public housing for the local residents, and urbanisation of gardens, squares and new streets. PERIs are characterised by planning at neighbourhood level housing. This approach has its pros and cons. On the one hand it suits the characteristics and necessities of a particular area, but on the other hand there are a number of significant shortcomings. The activities were undertaken in isolation and did not take account of the area as a whole. The importance of road planning within the area was not properly considered, and the economic spread effects of regeneration schemes were underestimated.

All the actions and administrative resources were combined into a master plan approach. Planning for the whole district was designed as Area of Integrated Rehabilitation (Area de Rehabilitacio Integrada - ARI) in 1986. An ambitious regeneration plan, the Plan for Integral Action (PAI), was launched which was to tackle the following main issues:

- reduction in urban congestion;
- renewal of health and welfare infrastructures;
- promotion and modernisation of economic regeneration;
- stimulation of businesses around new public spaces;
- improvement of internal mobility and support of public transport;
- rehabilitation of historical architecture;
- improvement in security for residents.

In order to achieve these goals new organisational structures were set up by the City Council of Barcelona:

- municipal decentralisation took place and political-administrative responsibilities had were given to the district;

- new forms of political and community participation were established;
- a public-private partnership, the project company for the promotion of Ciutat Vella (PROCIVESA - Promocio Ciutat Vella S.A.), was set up in order to accelerate the process of municipal intervention.

There were two crucial reasons for the innovation of the organisational framework:

1. The Plan for Integral Action required balanced action between contrary interests as the revitalisation policy is characterised by competing policies. A public private partnership can act as a mediation agency between actors and institutions.
2. The PROCIVESA had overall responsibilities for the management of a complex programme. Thus it could effectively combine the administrative aspects of the programme (e.g. expropriation) and the operational tasks of the programme (e.g. execution of infrastructure projects).

#### **IMPLEMENTATION**

Following the principles of the European Greenpaper on the Urban Environment, the need for interdisciplinary action was regarded as a key element of the renewal strategy: "In order to handle the problems of urban environment a sectional approach has to be overcome. This means to turn not only to the nearest causes of environmental degradation, but also to examine social and economic options." In consequence, the renewal strategy is based on three main pillars. In accordance with the goals of the renewal strategy the Plan for Integral Action has been implementing the following measures:

In the area of urbanisation and housing, which takes up the largest amount of resources, the actions focus on opening squares and renovation of pedestrian streets as well as the creation of social housing and the renovation of private buildings. Measures include the expropriation and emptying of blocks destined for demolition, the construction of public housing for the persons affected by the demolition, the construction of infrastructure facilities in their neighbourhood, and the urbanisation of gardens, squares and new streets. Furthermore, special attention is given to the environmental impact of transport. An EU sponsored pilot project on the restriction of car access to a designated neighbourhood has been initiated in order to reduce traffic inside the area. With the help of innovative technology (intelligent identity cards which remove bollards) the volume of traffic can be controlled from a Traffic Control Centre, and access to the area can be given during pre-set periods. The project was financed by the DRIVE2 programme.

The second area is the plan for social action which is designed to prevent and fight against social exclusion. The programmes include initiatives for underprivileged children, action against truancy, assistance and labour rehabilitation for persons without occupational training, measures to combat prostitution and drug abuse, health measures, help for adolescents at the risk from delinquency, visits to elderly people in the district etc. The following health and medical programmes have been set up:

- a programme against tuberculosis;
- a programme for AIDS prevention;
- a programme to facilitate breaking drugs habit;
- a programme to help prostitutes in their health risks;
- a programme for mother and child care;
- a programme for syringe collection.

Further special programmes are designed to reduce school absence and to support elderly people. In addition, recreational activities are to be promoted with the help of civic centres and sport infrastructure. As all programmes rely on the support of community associations an organisational network of co-ordinators was set up.

The third area of action is the security and prevention plan which was designed to guarantee maintenance of the results of the renewal projects. Improving in policing is obtained by more police presence on the streets. The topic of security is regularly revised by a Council working commission which deals with themes like the situation of elderly people, immigration problems, prostitution in the district, security of tourists etc. Furthermore, the use of public establishments is permanently registered in order to reduce the rate of illegal boarding houses and bars.

#### **ACTORS AND STRUCTURES**

Management of the Plan for Integral Action was provided by PROCIVESA (Promocio Ciutat Vella S.A.). 54% of this public-private company is owned by Barcelona City Council. Other public, financial and service entities participate in the company on a regional or national scale. The company is not only funded by public money but also receives capital from a collective of trades and businesses in Ciutat Vella itself. PROCIVESA is also the manager of land for public use as the City of Barcelona ceded the benefits from expropriation to the public-private partnership.

Nevertheless, the regional government, the Generalitat de Catalunya, is also directly participating in the renewal projects as it has taken on an important building campaign through INCASOL (Institut Catala del Sol) which is entrusted with the task of constructing houses.

The regional government and PROCIVESA manage the architectural, cultural, environmental, and social interests of private rehabilitation via co-operation in the newly established Ciutat Vella rehabilitation office.

#### **RESULTS**

So far 90% of the planned facilities have been built which is equal to the acquisition of 70% of building land in the district. The implemented measures include the following results:

- ten hectares of new public space have been created;
- opening two new parks and 26 further squares;
- planting more than 4,000 trees;
- building 1,700 new homes (including 400 modernised dwellings and 1,300 newly designed ones);
- installation of 439 street-lights;
- paving 308 streets;
- six new civic centres have been opened;
- three new old people's homes have been built;
- five additional sport complexes have been constructed.

The project of traffic control has been used as a model in planning nine new housing blocks in the Ciutat Vella district which will have a computerised car access control system.

#### **SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT**

Peripheral areas received most of the investment in the 1979-1999 period and gained at the expense of a deprived core. The results have been totally unexpected. The most degraded areas with barely measureable numbers of immigrants in 1979, have seen their numbers reach 36% of the population in 2002. These areas lie adjacent to streets where significant gentrification has occurred, with evidence of considerable wealth. The reforms have contributed to the creation of a polarised community.

Project was added at 24.11.1998 / Project was changed at 17.08.2001



## **CIUTAT VELLA: ILLUSTRACIÓN CONTRA MERCADO**

**JUAN DIEZ MEDRANO**

La rehabilitación del distrito histórico de Ciutat Vella en Barcelona, cuyos orígenes datan de la transición democrática a mediados de los años 70, pertenece a un movimiento de renovación urbana en marcha en muchas ciudades alrededor del mundo desde los años 70. La bibliografía contemporánea resalta el papel que ha jugado la globalización en la transformación de los distritos centrales de las ciudades. La eliminación de barreras al movimiento de bienes y capital así como las revoluciones en los transportes y las comunicaciones han aumentado la competición entre ciudades por las inversiones y las rentas del turismo. Las autoridades públicas que han intentado enfrentarse al reto de un mundo global y de la tendencia del capital, grande y pequeño, a privilegiar a algunas ciudades sobre otras han contribuido a la transformación de los distritos centrales de las ciudades. Aquellos que ponen el acento sobre el papel de la globalización en estas transformaciones suelen olvidar, sin embargo, que la nueva era de la globalización es posterior y no anterior al movimiento de rehabilitación y cambio de estructura económica de los centros históricos de las ciudades. Otro proceso, la crisis del modelo metropolitano, también explica los esfuerzos por acabar con el olvido al que habían sido expuestos los centros de las ciudades en el período posterior a la segunda guerra mundial. A mediados de los años 70, determinados segmentos de la burguesía, sensible culturalmente y económicamente estancada tornó la vista hacia los centros de las ciudades y hacia los centros de poder municipal, desencadenando así un proceso gradual y desigual de gentrificación en muchos distritos urbanos históricos. Barcelona, así como Madrid y muchas otras ciudades, participó en este proceso desde el principio, gracias a la democratización de la vida pública que siguió a la muerte de Franco en 1975.

Momentos centrales en la transformación del distrito histórico de Barcelona, Ciutat Vella, fueron 1) la aprobación del Plan General Metropolitano (General Metropolitan Plan) en 1976, 2) los primeros pequeños proyectos de renovación urbanística y la preparación de los primeros Planes Especiales de Reforma Interior (Special Plans of Inner Reform) o PERIs en el período 1979-1983, 3) el PERI y el Plan de Acción Integral (PAI) para Ciutat Vella en el período de 1983 a 1986, enfocado sobre la recuperación de áreas en declive de Ciutat Vella, 4) la creación en el período 1986-1992 de la Sección de Rehabilitación Integrada en Ciutat Vella (Section of Integrated Rehabilitation in Ciutat Vella) (ARI) y de la empresa privada-pública Promoción de Ciutat Vella (PROCIVESA), encargada de liberar espacios en Ciutat Vella y de coordinar el proceso de transformación urbanística en Ciutat Vella, 5) la recuperación de áreas en declive en el período de los Juegos Olímpicos de Barcelona, 6) el énfasis en la implementación de grandes proyectos de infraestructuras y la reorganización del espacio público en el período 1992-1999 y 7) el Programa de Acción para Ciutat Vella (Action Program for Ciutat Vella), centrado en la renovación urbanística, en la rehabilitación de edificios y en la sostenibilidad social en el período 2000-2007.

A nivel más visible, el período post-olímpico vivió la implementación de grandes proyectos urbanísticos. Entre ellos, la transformación del Port Vell, que incluyó la creación de un gran centro de compras, la apertura de cines con pantalla gigante, y la construcción de oficinas como parte del World Trade Center y del centro Maremàgnum. Además, en este período se han construido grandes bulevares marítimos como el Passeig de la Barceloneta, que ha proporcionado un nuevo espacio de grandes proporciones para pasear, comprar y comer tanto para la población local como para los turistas. Otro proyecto importante en Ciutat Vella en este período ha sido la construcción del nuevo Museo de Arte Contemporáneo, el MACBA, diseñado por Richard Meier. Finalmente, los años 90 fueron años de multiplicación de edificios universitarios pertenecientes a la universidad Pompeu Fabra, de centros de fitness, y de viviendas de alto standing.

En conjunto la rehabilitación y reestructuración de Ciutat Vella ha conllevado un proceso considerable de expropiación y destrucción de edificios en mal estado. El espacio recuperado no ha sido únicamente utilizado para desarrollar proyectos de imagen. También ha sido utilizado para mejorar la calidad de vida a través de un aeramiento de este distrito congestionado mediante nuevas plazas, parques y calles, como la Plaça dels Angels, la Plaça de les Caramellas, la Plaça George Orwell, el Parque de San Pau del Camp, y la Rambla del Raval.

Finalmente, la transformación de Ciutat Vella ha supuesto la relocalización de población desde edificios destruidos o decrepitos a nuevas viviendas, tanto de carácter públicas como privadas.

La transformación de Ciutat Vella en la última década ha resultado de la compleja interacción de fuerzas sociales múltiples. Entre las más importantes hay que mencionar a 1) la iniciativa privada que representa y responde al proceso de gentrificación resultante de la crisis del modelo metropolitano y del proceso de globalización, 2) actores públicos, ilustrados y preocupados por reconciliar la necesidad de la renovación urbanística, su obligación de mejorar la imagen de Barcelona de cara a los inversores privados de todo el mundo y a los turistas y su objetivo proclamado de asegurar el desarrollo sostenible de Ciutat Vella, es decir, un desarrollo que garantice un medio físico y urbano vivible así como la diversidad social y cultural de Ciutat Vella, 3) viejos y nuevos residentes provenientes de la clase obrera y de la clase media baja, interesados en una renovación urbanística que mejore su calidad de vida pero al mismo tiempo casi impotentes para enfrentarse a la presión simultánea y las amenazas potenciales de la transformación urbanística y la diversificación de la población.

El conflicto de intereses inevitable entre estos grupos sociales a menudo enfrentados, y las divisiones dentro de estos grupos mismos, se ha traducido a veces en un conflicto abierto.

Un ejemplo de ello es la confrontación del otoño de 2002 entre un grupo de residentes y fuerzas de seguridad que representaban a la municipalidad. Esta confrontación derivó de desacuerdos respecto a la utilización de un gran espacio vacío en el Casc Antic (Old Quarters), cerca del antiguo mercado de Santa Caterina en la zona noroeste de Ciutat Vella. Otro ejemplo es la aparición de revistas y asociaciones de residentes críticos con la política urbanística municipal. Los esfuerzos por parte de la municipalidad y de la organización responsable de la gerencia del proceso de renovación urbanístico de Ciutat Vella han hecho que el proceso sea más democrático a través de la promoción de la participación pública. Procesos difíciles de evitar de cooptación, apatía entre los vecinos, movilización selectiva de determinados grupos de residentes y el acceso selectivo de grupos con más recursos a los tomadores de decisiones han llevado, sin embargo, a los conflictos aquí descritos.

El destino de los antiguos y nuevos residentes de clase baja y las relaciones entre unos y otros depende en gran medida de la voluntad y los recursos disponibles a la administración para corregir el proceso de gentrificación que resulta de la globalización y de la crisis metropolitana. La administración ha proclamado su voluntad por promover el desarrollo sostenible de Ciutat Vella, a través de políticas centradas en la rehabilitación y el mantenimiento del legado histórico, de mejoras en la calidad de vida de los residentes tradicionales, y de aumentar el atractivo de Ciutat Vella para todos. Una simple caminata por Ciutat Vella evidencia de forma clara que aunque el proceso de gentrificación está en marcha, el distrito sigue siendo un microcosmo sumamente diverso. Sólo el tiempo dirá quién tuvo razón en su pronóstico, los optimistas que confían en la voluntad y capacidad de la administración para cumplir su promesa de un desarrollo urbanístico sostenible o los escépticos que no confían en la administración y predicen una exclusión social masiva al final del camino.

## CIUTAT VELLA: ENLIGHTENMENT AGAINST THE MARKET

JUAN DIEZ MEDRANO

The rehabilitation of the historical district of Ciutat Vella in Barcelona, originating during the democratic transition in the mid-1970s, forms part of an urban renewal movement that has been underway in numerous cities around the world since the 1970s. The contemporary literature emphasizes the role that globalisation has played in the transformation of inner-city districts. The facilitated movement of goods and capital and the communications and transportation revolutions have increased competition between cities for both investment and tourism revenue. Public authorities trying to meet the challenge of an increasingly global world and struggling to attract private capital, big and small, have contributed to the transformation of central city districts. Scholars emphasizing the role of globalisation in these transformations often forget, however, that the new era of globalisation follows rather than precedes the movement toward the rehabilitation and changed economic profile of old city centres. Another process, namely the crisis of the suburbanisation model, also explains attempts to put an end to the neglect to which city centres had been subject for a good part of the post-WWII era. Sometime in the mid-1970s, segments of the bourgeoisie, culturally sensitive and economically deprived, turned their attention both toward city centres and toward the centres of municipal power, thus setting into motion a gradual and uneven process of gentrification in many cities' historical districts. Barcelona, like Madrid and many other Spanish cities, was affected by this process from the beginning, thanks to the democratisation of public life following Franco's death in 1975.

Major institutional moments in the transformation of Barcelona's historical district, Ciutat Vella, were 1) the approval of the *Plan General Metropolitano* (General Metropolitan Plan) in 1976, 2) the first small projects of urban renewal and the preparation of the first *Planes Especiales de Reforma Interior* (Special Plans of Inner Reform) or PERIs from 1979 to 1983, 3) the PERI and *Plan de Acci3n Integral* (PAI) for Ciutat Vella from 1983 to 1986, which focused on the recovery of declining areas in Ciutat Vella, 4) the creation during the 1986-1992 period of the *Secci3n de Rehabilitaci3n Integrada en Ciutat Vella* (Section of Integrated Rehabilitation in Ciutat Vella) (ARI) and of the private-public organization *Promoci3n de Ciutat Vella* (PROCIVESA), charged with liberating spaces in Ciutat Vella and coordinating the process of urban transformation in Ciutat Vella, 5) the recovery of declining areas in Ciutat Vella in the period around the Olympic Games of Barcelona, 6) the focus on the implementation of large infrastructure projects, on the reorganisation of public space and on the transformation of the uses of public space from 1992 to 1999, and 7) the *Programa de Acci3n para Ciutat Vella* (Action Program for Ciutat Vella), focused on urban renewal, housing restoration, and social sustainability for the 2000-2007 period.

At the more visible level, the post-Olympic Games period has witnessed the implementation of large urban projects. These have included the transformation of the old harbour area through the development of a modern shopping mall, the installation of giant-screen cinemas, and the construction of office buildings (i.e. World Trade Center and Maremagnum Center). This period also saw the opening of new seaside boulevards, such as the *Passeig de la Barceloneta*, which has provided both tourists and locals with a huge new space for walking, shopping, and eating. Another major project in Ciutat Vella during this period has been the building of the new Contemporary Art Museum, the MACBA, designed by Richard Meier. Finally, the 1990s saw the mushrooming of university buildings belonging to the *Universitat Pompeu Fabra*, of fitness clubs, and of expensive housing.

All in all, the rehabilitation and restructuring of Ciutat Vella has involved a considerable process of expropriation and destruction of badly maintained buildings. The newly gained space has not only been used to develop ambitious image projects; it has also been used to improve the quality of life by creating open spaces in this crowded urban area with new squares, parks, and streets, such as the *Plaça dels Angels*, the *Plaça de les Caramellas*, the *Plaça de George Orwell*, the Park of San Pau del Camp, and the *Rambla del Raval*.

Finally, the transformation of Ciutat Vella has involved the relocation of sectors of the population from demolished or decrepit buildings to new housing units, both public and private.

The transformations of Ciutat Vella in the last decade have resulted from the complex interaction of multiple social forces. Among the leading actors, one should mention 1) private initiative representing and responding to the gentrification forces which have followed the crises of the suburbanisation model and the process of globalisation, 2) public actors, enlightened and concerned with reconciling the need for urban renewal with their duty to enhance the appeal of Barcelona to worldwide private investors and visitors, and with their proclaimed goal of ensuring the sustainable growth of Ciutat Vella— that is, one that guarantees a liveable physical and urban environment and the social and cultural diversity of Ciutat Vella, 3) old and new residents of working- and low/middle-class origin, interested in an urban renewal that will improve their quality of life but who are barely able to cope with the simultaneous pressures and potential threats of urban transformation and population diversification.

The inevitable conflict of interest between these often-antagonistic social groups, notwithstanding the internal divisions within the groups, has sometimes resulted in open conflict. One example of this is the Fall 2002 clash between a group of residents and security forces representing the municipality. The clash resulted from disagreement about the uses of an empty space in what is known as the *Casc Antic* (Old Quarters), near the old market of Santa Caterina in the Northwest section of Ciutat Vella. Another example is the emergence of magazines and associations of residents highly critical of municipal urban policy. The municipality and the public-private organisation responsible for administering the renewal process in Ciutat Vella have attempted to make the process more democratic by promoting public participation. Processes of co-optation, resident apathy, the selective mobilisation of some groups of residents, and the selective access of some resourceful groups to decision-makers have, however, led to conflict of the kind described above.

The fate of the old and new residents of lower class origin and the relations between the two depend to a very large extent on the will of the administration and the resources at its disposal to correct the gentrification forces resulting from the globalisation and suburban crisis pressures. The administration has consistently proclaimed its will to promote the sustainable development of Ciutat Vella through policies oriented towards restoring and maintaining its historical heritage, improving the quality of life for its traditional residents, and generally increasing the attractiveness of Ciutat Vella for everyone. A simple walk through Ciutat Vella shows unambiguously that while gentrification is under way, the district remains a highly diverse microcosm. Only time will tell who was right in their appraisal of the process, the optimists who trust the municipality's will and capacity to fulfil its promise of a sustainable form of urban development or the sceptics who do not trust the administration and predict massive social exclusion at the end of the road.