Social Sustainability in Historical Districts

Sostenibilidad social en los distritos históricos

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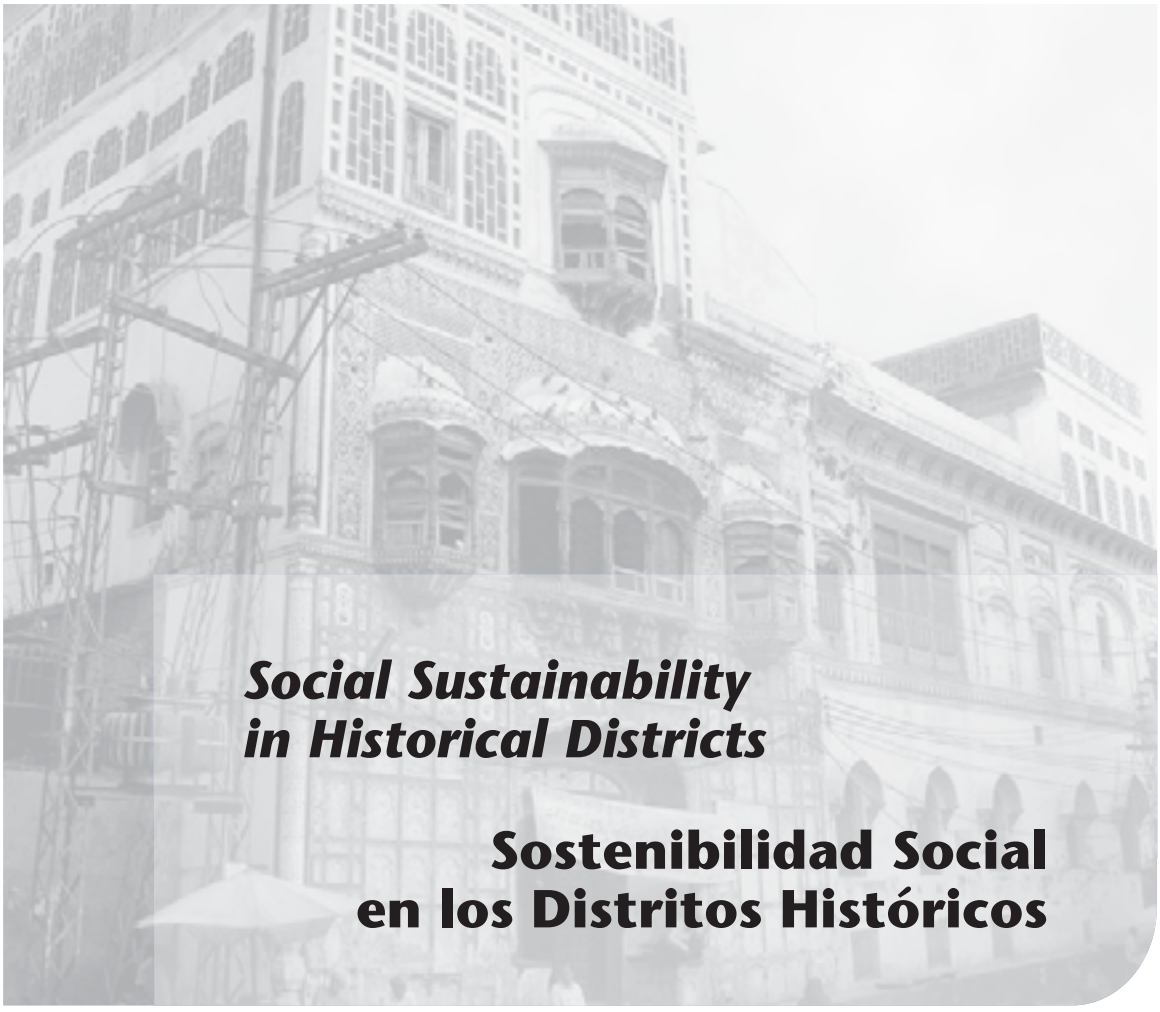

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56 *Human Settlements and Socio-Cultural Environment*
Asentamientos Humanos y Ambiente Socio-cultural

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Preface

The Second Session of the UN-HABITAT World Urban Forum, hosted by the city of Barcelona from 13-17 September 2004 during the Universal Forum of Cultures, focused on 'Cities: Crossroads of cultures, inclusiveness and integration'. The Forum aimed to contribute to the two major goals of the Habitat Agenda: ***sustainable urbanization*** and ***adequate shelter for all.***

The Forum was organized around four thematic dialogues: urban cultures, urban realities, urban governance and urban renaissance. Within the dialogue on urban realities, UN-HABITAT proposed a working session on 'Social Inclusion through Heritage Conservation', which tackled phenomena such as gentrification and its effects on affordable housing, urban sprawl, and social exclusion.

As part of this working session, on 13 September 2004, UNESCO convened a wide range of city professionals, international NGO representatives and mayors and municipal representatives to a Round Table of experts on 'Social Sustainability in Historical Districts'. The Round Table sought both to expose a geographical variety of successful and unsuccessful examples of urban revitalization policies in historical districts and to evaluate the potential for networking among a diverse range of city officials, urban practitioners, scholars and international organization and NGO representatives who took part in the conference.

It was concluded that urban revitalization projects should be linked to urban public policies that promote innovative and integrated approaches to the conservation of urban heritage and to the use of public resources. For example, several case studies in various Spanish cities suggested that appropriate laws and policies can effectively result in investment, growth of social equity and social inclusion in historical districts. Most experts who participated in the dialogue recognized that ownership of cultural heritage should remain in the hands of the people who live and work in the historical centre: an affordable centre enables the current residential and commercial inhabitants to remain in the district, which in turn leads to the inhabitants' continued investment in the maintenance and improvement of their environment.

This UNESCO publication is part of the series, 'Human Settlements and Socio-Cultural Environment', produced by the Social and Human Sciences Sector. The present publication continues a reflection on urban revitalization issues elaborated in the most recent collective work by city professionals in this

series, entitled, *From Istanbul 1996 to Venice 2002: Socially Sustainable Revitalization of Historical Districts* (N° 55 of this series).

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the participants in this Round Table for their valuable contributions, joining us today from Asia, Europe and South and North America: mayors and municipal representatives, representatives from professional and inhabitant NGOs, and scholars from universities and research centres.

Chaibong Hahm
Director of the Division of Social Sciences, Research and Policy
UNESCO

Prefacio

La segunda sesión del Foro Urbano Mundial del Programa de Hábitat de las Naciones Unidas, llevado a cabo en la ciudad de Barcelona del 13 al 17 de septiembre durante el Foro Universal de Culturas, se enfocó en 'Ciudades: cruces de cultura, inclusividad e integración'. El objeto del Foro era contribuir las dos metas principales del Programa de Hábitat: ***urbanización sostenible*** y ***vivienda adecuada para todos.***

El Foro se organizó alrededor de cuatro diálogos temáticos: culturas urbanas, realidades urbanas, gobernanza urbana y renacimiento urbano. Dentro del diálogo sobre las realidades urbanas, el Programa de Hábitat de la ONU propuso una sesión de trabajo relativa a la 'Inclusión social a través de la conservación del patrimonio', donde se trataron temas como la gentrificación y sus efectos en viviendas de bajo costo, la expansión descontrolada de las ciudades y la exclusión social.

Como parte de la sesión de trabajo, el 13 de septiembre del 2004, la UNESCO reunió una mesa redonda de expertos sobre 'Sostenibilidad social en los distritos históricos' compuesta de profesionales de la ciudad, representantes internacionales de ONG y alcaldes y representantes municipales. La mesa redonda buscaba exponer una variedad geográfica de ejemplos exitosos y no-exitosos de políticas de revitalización urbana en los distritos históricos y, al mismo tiempo, evaluar la posibilidad de conformar redes entre los funcionarios de las ciudades, académicos y representantes internacionales de ONG que participaron en la conferencia.

Se concluyó que los proyectos de revitalización urbana deben relacionarse con las políticas públicas urbanas destinadas a promover enfoques innovadores e integrados sobre la conservación del patrimonio urbano y el uso de los recursos públicos. Por ejemplo, varios estudios de caso en España sugirieron que leyes y políticas apropiadas pueden tener un resultado efectivo en la inversión, crecimiento de la equidad social e inclusión social en los distritos históricos. La mayoría de los expertos que participaron en el diálogo reconocieron que la propiedad del patrimonio cultural debe permanecer en las manos de las personas que viven y trabajan en el centro histórico: un centro histórico de costos asequibles permite a los actuales habitantes y comerciantes permanecer en el distrito, lo que por su parte lleva a que los habitantes continúen invirtiendo en el mantenimiento y mejora del ambiente.

Esta publicación de la UNESCO hace parte de la serie 'Asentamientos Humanos y Ambiente Socio-cultural', producida por el Sector de Ciencias sociales

Esta publicación de la UNESCO hace parte de la serie 'Asentamientos Humanos y Ambiente Socio-cultural' producida por el Sector de Ciencias sociales y humanas. La presente publicación continúa con la reflexión sobre cuestiones esenciales relacionadas con la revitalización urbana elaborada en el trabajo colectivo más reciente por parte de profesionales de la ciudad en esta serie, titulado De Estambul 1996 a Venecia 2002: Sostenibilidad social de la revitalización de los distritos históricos (N° 55 de esta serie).

y humanas. La presente publicación continúa con la reflexión sobre cuestiones esenciales relacionadas con la revitalización urbana elaborada en el trabajo colectivo más reciente por parte de profesionales de la ciudad en esta serie, titulado *De Estambul 1996 a Venecia 2002: Sostenibilidad social de la revitalización de los distritos históricos* (N° 55 de esta serie).

Me gustaría aprovechar esta oportunidad para agradecer a todos los participantes de esta mesa redonda por sus valiosas contribuciones, por haber venido de Asia, Europa Sur y Norte América: alcaldes y representantes municipales, representantes de ONG profesionales y de residentes y académicos de universidades y centros de investigación.

Chaibong Hahm
Director de la División de Ciencas Sociales, Investigación y Política
UNESCO

Introduction

Introducción

Introduction

In December 2002, resolution 57/254 was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly designating UNESCO as lead agency for the promotion of the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005–2014).[1] In an effort to achieve a world where everyone has the opportunity to benefit from quality education and learn the values, behaviour and life-styles required for a sustainable future and for positive societal transformation, the campaign is rooted in the United Nations' longstanding commitment to environmental and socially sustainable development. The Brundtland Commission's report, 'Our Common Future' (1987), helped to popularize the term, 'sustainable development', which has since become an internationally accepted model of environmental and development policy. Defining sustainable development as **'the ability to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs',** the report identified the two elements central to sustainability: **the distribution of social capabilities** and potentialities (such as education, health and social relationships) among a present generation, as well as **the transmission of these capabilities to future generations,** with the ultimate goals of preventing poverty, social exclusion, vulnerability and inequality.

Beginning in the 1960s, formerly-abandoned city centres became once again the focus of renewed public, academic, institutional and municipal interest. Widespread revitalization projects, occurring first in developed countries and, more recently, in developing countries, began in the hope of restoring to historical city centres their architectural and cultural heritage. Large-scale reconstruction and modernization plans targeted historical buildings and dilapidated infrastructure, while the construction of new commercial, tourist, leisure and local craft activities promised to rejuvenate the city centres' tired economy. In some cases, the arrival of the Olympic Games and other international events stimulated a frenzy of redevelopment projects in anticipation of the global spotlight. Yet these revitalization plans have not been without consequences. Rent has often doubled or tripled, making it too expensive for lower income residents to remain in their homes and neighbourhoods, sometimes leading to what Jean du Plessis, from the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE), has characterized as 'an international epidemic of forced evictions', as in the case of Beijing, Moscow or the Pom Mahakan community in Thailand. The resulting cultural and socioeconomic uniformity of these newly renovated historical centres can be characterized in terms of large-scale gentrification.

It is important to recognize that historical districts are not fixed in history. Centres of encounter and exchange, these socially and architecturally rich districts are not just the living testament of a single culture's history, but a record of the intersections of diverse peoples, ideas, cultures, politics, goods and services. Historical districts are, first and foremost, inhabited districts, whose populations are actively linked to urban spaces and buildings. The challenge, then, of revitalization projects in historical districts, as Sajida Vandal, professor at the National College

1 For further information on the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, please consult: http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URL_ID=27234&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

of the Arts in Lahore (Pakistan), observes, is 'how to address the numerous problems without destroying the living culture and dislocating the very people who are its custodians'.

In its ongoing efforts to analyse the current trends in cities and historical districts, to encourage dialogue among diverse urban stakeholders and to work towards the development of more socially, culturally, economically and environmentally sustainable environments, UNESCO convened a range of urban experts to participate in a Round Table on the subject of 'Social Sustainability in Historical Districts'. This Round Table, held on 13 September 2004, was organized on the occasion of the Second UN-HABITAT World Urban Forum in Barcelona.

The international, interdisciplinary debate included presentations on a variety of case studies from cities across the globe. In addition, contributors identified a series of key considerations when approaching revitalization projects, as well as a number of significant methodological tools that can help ensure more sustainable environments. Among the central concerns of Round Table participants was the identification of the evolving role that city professionals can play in this ever-changing urban setting. In order for revitalization projects to be environmentally, socially, economically and culturally sustainable, it is imperative that contemporary urban social dynamics and ever-evolving social transformations be taken into account. The development of historical districts, in particular, and cities in general, cannot be sustainable if *all* urban stakeholders are not called upon to participate in the design of their future.

The Round Table marked a continuation of UNESCO's work on sustainable development in cities and historical districts. UNESCO has consistently facilitated exchanges across disciplines and cultures in an effort to create stronger linkages among mayors and municipal authorities, academics, architects, planners and international NGOs. For example, during Habitat II in Istanbul (June 1996), the Social and Human Sciences Sector (SHS) of UNESCO organized a Round Table on the 'Renewal of Inner City Areas' to discuss the consequences of development in historical city centres. In Venice six years later (December 2002), on the occasion of the award ceremony for the International Union of Architects and UNESCO student prize for sustainable reuse of urban wasteland, SHS followed up its investigation with a conference on 'City Centres: Ethical and Sustainable Socioeconomic Rehabilitation of Historical Districts', where experts tackled the role of architecture in revitalization efforts. The conclusions of these two events are chronicled in a recent UNESCO publication, *From Istanbul 1996 to Venice 2002: Socially sustainable revitalization of historical districts. Architects speak out* (also available in the present series 'Human Settlements and Socio-Cultural Environment').

Introducción

En diciembre de 2002, la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas adoptó la resolución 57/254 relativa al Decenio de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación con miras al Desarrollo Sostenible (2005-2014)[1] y designó a la UNESCO como órgano responsable de la promoción del Decenio. En un esfuerzo por lograr un mundo en el que todos tengan la oportunidad de beneficiarse de una educación de calidad y aprender los valores, comportamientos y hábitos de vida necesarios para un futuro sostenible y para la transformación positiva de la sociedad, la campaña tiene su origen en el compromiso hace tiempo contraído por las Naciones Unidas para un desarrollo medioambiental y social sostenible. El informe de la Comisión Brundtland, "Nuestro futuro común" (1987), contribuyó a popularizar la expresión "desarrollo sostenible", que desde entonces se ha convertido en un modelo internacionalmente aceptado de política medioambiental y de desarrollo. Al definir el desarrollo sostenible como **"la capacidad de satisfacer las necesidades del presente sin poner en peligro la capacidad de las generaciones futuras para satisfacer sus propias necesidades",** el informe señalaba los dos elementos fundamentales para la sostenibilidad: **la distribución de las capacidades** sociales y las potencialidades (como la educación, la salud y las relaciones sociales) en una generación presente, así como **la transmisión de esas capacidades a las generaciones futuras,** con el objetivo primordial de prevenir la pobreza, la exclusión social, la vulnerabilidad y la desigualdad.

1 Puede obtenerse más información sobre el Decenio para la Educación con miras al Desarrollo Sostenible en la siguiente dirección: http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URL_ID=27234&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

A comienzos del decenio de 1960, los centros urbanos anteriormente abandonados vinieron a ser una vez más el foco de un renovado interés público, académico, institucional y municipal. Se iniciaron proyectos de revitalización generalizados, primero en los países desarrollados y, más recientemente, en los países en desarrollo, con la esperanza de restituir a los centros históricos de las ciudades su patrimonio arquitectónico y cultural. Se establecieron planes de reconstrucción y modernización a gran escala especialmente destinados a los edificios históricos y las infraestructuras ruinosas, mientras que la creación de nuevas actividades comerciales, turísticas, de ocio y de artesanía local prometía reavivar la maltrecha economía de los centros urbanos. En algunos casos, la llegada de los Juegos Olímpicos y otros eventos internacionales fomentó una febril actividad de proyectos de reurbanización en previsión de lo que sería el foco de la atención mundial. No obstante, estos planes de revitalización no han dejado de tener consecuencias. A menudo, los alquileres se han duplicado o triplicado, alcanzando precios demasiado onerosos para que los residentes de bajos ingresos pudieran continuar en sus hogares o en las cercanías, lo que, en ocasiones, ha provocado "una epidemia internacional de desalojos forzosos". La uniformidad cultural y socioeconómica resultante de estos centros históricos recientemente renovados puede caracterizarse en términos de aburguesamiento a gran escala.

Es importante reconocer que los barrios históricos no están fijos en la historia. Centros de encuentro e intercambio, estos barrios social y arquitectónicamente ricos no son el mero legado vivo de la historia de una sola cultura, sino un registro de

las intersecciones de diversos pueblos, ideas, culturas, políticas, bienes y servicios. Los barrios históricos son, ante todo y sobre todo, barrios habitados, cuyas poblaciones están activamente vinculadas a espacios y edificios urbanos. Así pues, el reto de los proyectos de revitalización en los barrios históricos es "cómo abordar los numerosos problemas sin destruir la cultura viva y desplazar precisamente a quienes son sus custodios".

En los esfuerzos que ha venido realizando para analizar las tendencias actuales en las ciudades y los barrios históricos, fomentar el diálogo entre las diversas partes interesadas en las cuestiones urbanas y promover el desarrollo de unos entornos social, cultural, económica y ambientalmente más sostenibles, la UNESCO convocó a un conjunto de expertos en dichas materias a participar en una Mesa Redonda sobre el tema "Sostenibilidad social en los barrios históricos"; Mesa Redonda que se celebró el 13 de septiembre de 2004 en Barcelona, organizada con ocasión del Segundo Foro Mundial Urbano UN-HABITAT.

El debate, internacional e interdisciplinario, incluía la presentación de diversos estudios de casos de ciudades de todo el mundo. Además, los ponentes señalaron una serie de consideraciones que son esenciales al abordar los proyectos de revitalización, así como varios instrumentos metodológicos importantes que pueden ayudar a lograr entornos más sostenibles. Entre los principales asuntos de interés de los participantes en la Mesa Redonda figuraba la determinación del papel evolutivo que los profesionales de las cuestiones urbanas pueden desempeñar en ese marco urbano en constante cambio. Para que los proyectos de revitalización sean sostenibles desde los puntos de vista ambiental, social, económico y cultural, es imperativo que se tenga en cuenta la dinámica social urbana así como las incesantes transformaciones sociales contemporáneas. El desarrollo de los barrios históricos en particular, y de las ciudades en general, no puede ser sostenible si no se hace participar en el diseño de su futuro a *todas* las partes interesadas en la cuestión urbana.

La Mesa Redonda marcaba una continuación de la labor de la UNESCO sobre el desarrollo sostenible en las ciudades y los barrios históricos. La UNESCO ha facilitado de manera constante los intercambios entre todas las disciplinas y culturas, en un intento por crear vínculos más sólidos entre los alcaldes y las autoridades municipales, los académicos, arquitectos, urbanistas y ONG internacionales. Por ejemplo, durante la Habitat II en Estambul (junio de 1996), el Sector de Ciencias Sociales y Humanas (SHS) de la UNESCO organizó una Mesa Redonda sobre la "Renovación de las zonas urbanas deprimidas" para debatir las consecuencias del desarrollo de los centros urbanos históricos. En Venecia, seis años más tarde (diciembre de 2002), con motivo del acto de entrega de premios sobre reurbanización sostenible de las zonas urbanas deprimidas, destinados a estudiantes por la Unión Internacional de Arquitectos y la UNESCO, el SHS prosiguió su investigación con una conferencia sobre "Los centros urbanos: rehabilitación socioeconómica ética y sostenible de los barrios históricos", en la que los expertos abordaron el papel de la arquitectura en los esfuerzos de revitalización. Las conclusiones de estos dos eventos se dieron a conocer en una reciente publicación de la UNESCO, *From Istanbul 1996 to Venice 2002: Socially sustainable revitalizacion of historical districts. Architects speak out* (también disponible en la serie actual "Asentamientos humanos y entorno sociocultural").

From Gentrification to Forced Eviction

How should economic competition be reconciled with social sustainability in historical districts?

The impact of globalization 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 globalization 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 growing inequity becomes both visible and tangible in terms of territorial segregation, economic polarization and exclusion. 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 urbanization 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 urbanization today will be sustainable in both the near and distant future. In an increasingly urbanized world, the promotion of sustainable urbanization — 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

Paper 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 Historical Urban Centres', as well as concepts on the globalization of urbanization 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 Social and Human Sciences Sector of UNESCO within the framework of its current research-action area on 'Urban Public Policies towards the Right to the City'.

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 segment 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 in the capitals of countries long-since industrialized, and now, however, the phenomenon is reaching some cities in developing countries.

Initially, the phenomenon came about with sections of society with little capital but who 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 into 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 generalization of gentrification goes along with democratization. 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 democratized 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 local anomaly status to a concerted urban strategy. In Seoul or Sao Paolo, 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 in 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 twentieth 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.

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 building of large cultural complexes.

The crisis in city centres is, in fact, rooted in the public authorities' lack of policies for structural action: there are no plans for restoring housing and town planning that 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 on expiry of tenancy. There is also a notable deficit in social housing, further worsened by the lack of maintenance caused by the privatization policies in the sector. The generalization 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 generalization of gentrification by sector.

The social dimension of the changes which are taking place in transforming towns is an aspect that can no longer be ignored. Worldwide economic 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 socio-economic pressure is high become a real centrifugal force, making victims of those residents and citizens belonging to 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 21st 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, Quito, Barcelona and Malaga? 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 parameters 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 finalized by the end of 2007, with the publication of a guide to 'Best Municipal Practices on Social Sustainability in Historical Districts'.

¿Cómo conciliar la competitividad económica con la sostenibilidad social de los distritos históricos?

La globalización ha tenido un impacto amplio y variado en las ciudades. En términos globales, la liberalización del comercio y de los flujos de capital ha colocado a las ciudades, incluso más que a los estados, a la vanguardia de la competencia económica. Ciudades con ventajas comparativas tales como una fuerza de trabajo educada, puertos localizados en lugares estratégicos, aeropuertos y demás infraestructuras de transporte y comunicación, han podido beneficiarse rápidamente del creciente comercio e intercambio global. Sin embargo, muchas otras han explotado recursos físicos únicos o el patrimonio cultural para atraer rápidamente el creciente turismo.

A pesar de ello, la mayor parte de las ciudades y de los países del mundo deben enfrentar los desafíos económicos y financieros de la globalización y de las políticas neoliberales que han debido implementar en aras de integrar la economía global y de adquirir un nivel de competitividad adecuado. El impacto de la falta de oportunidades, sumado al aumento de la inequidad, se hace al mismo tiempo visible y tangible en cuanto a la segregación territorial, la polarización y la exclusión económica. Estos factores son los que más contribuyen al crimen y a la violencia urbana, fenómenos que, por su parte, amenazan la sostenibilidad social y económica de la ciudad a largo plazo.

Para idear un mayor número de mecanismos sostenibles de urbanización se requiere más que un enfoque de la planeación urbana y del desarrollo respetuoso del medio ambiente y más que simples reformas a los enfoques existentes sobre la promoción y la distribución del crecimiento económico. En efecto, es necesario desarrollar políticas, estrategias y procesos concertados que sean socialmente inclusivos y capaces de asegurar que los beneficios de la urbanización de hoy no serán insostenibles en el futuro. Debido al constante aumento de la urbanización en el mundo de hoy, la promoción de la urbanización sostenible, unida a cuestiones de crecimiento económico, equidad social, cohesión cultural y étnica y la protección al medio ambiente, requiere más que nunca de una planeación

Documento basado en extractos de un texto del profesor Neil Smith, Director del Centro de Postgraduados, City University de Nueva York y de la investigación coordinada por Cesare Ottolini, representante europeo de la Coalición Internacional del Hábitat 'Estrategias populares en los centros urbanos históricos', así como en los conceptos sobre la globalización de la urbanización desarrollados por la Unidad para la planeación del desarrollo de la University College de Londres.

Los resultados de la mesa redonda deben fomentar la creación de una red de investigación internacional comparada por parte del sector de ciencias sociales y humanas de la UNESCO, dentro del contexto del área 'Políticas públicas urbanas dirigidas hacia el derecho a la ciudad'.

estratégica hacia el futuro, de la construcción de consensos y de la resolución de conflictos.

En efecto, los procesos de gentrificación amenazan cada vez más la cohesión y la inclusión social en los distritos históricos, produciendo en muchos casos transformaciones sociales brutales y, eventualmente, desalojos forzados.

Autores estadounidenses y británicos fueron los primeros en utilizar el término gentrificación para describir y analizar el proceso que ha caracterizado los espacios urbanos de los países post-industrializados. Ruth Glass utilizó por primera vez el término gentrificación a comienzos de la década de 1960 para describir el proceso mediante el cual los hogares de clase media se trasladaban a los barrios de la clase trabajadora ubicados en el centro de Londres, donde los precios habían disminuido, en vez de instalarse en los suburbios residenciales, como había sido la regla para ese sector de la sociedad. A través del concepto, la autora quería designar al mismo tiempo la transformación de la composición social de algunos distritos centrales y el proceso de rehabilitación de edificaciones deterioradas. Algunos escritores, como Neil Smith, consideran que este fenómeno ha surgido gradualmente en todo el mundo, comenzando hace muchos años en las capitales de los países industrializados. Sin embargo, el fenómeno ha comenzado a afectar algunas de las ciudades de los países en vía de desarrollo.

Inicialmente, el fenómeno surgió dentro de los sectores de la sociedad con pocos recursos económicos, pero ricos en la esfera cultural (profesionales de la educación, las artes, la cultura, etc). El término gentrificación estaba acompañado, para quienes lo utilizaban, de un sentimiento premonitorio: la apertura de caminos sociales que el fenómeno ayudaría a organizar. La gentrificación — un proceso socio-espacial — puede producirse de dos maneras: mediante la exclusión de la clase trabajadora de los distritos ya aburguesados o mediante la llegada de los estratos altos de la sociedad a un área que hasta ese momento había sido socialmente mezclada u ocupada en su mayoría por miembros de la clase trabajadora.

La generalización de la gentrificación va de la mano de la democratización. La gentrificación produce estructuras urbanas que pueden 'consumir' a las clases medias y altas — las personas sin hogar son evacuadas rápidamente — y colabora con la creación de identidades de clase, mediante la creación de una jerarquía de clases significativa, aunque de maneras diferentes: en esta estructura aparentemente democratizada, la extraordinaria desigualdad en la capacidad de consumación demuestra el aumento del poder de la clase que ha dado a la 'gentrificación' una posición principal.

La gentrificación refleja las particularidades de la estructura del espacio urbano, pues es una expresión de relaciones sociales, políticas y económicas más amplias. Mucho se ha dicho sobre Nueva York pues, en casi cuatro décadas, ha visto su gentrificación transformarse de una anomalía local a una estrategia urbana concertada. En Seúl o Sao Paulo, el proceso es espacialmente aislado y relativamente nuevo. En el Caribe, el aumento de las relaciones entre la gentrificación y la economía global atraviesan usualmente la industria del turismo, otorgándole su sello particular. El desarrollo de la gentrificación, examinado a través del ejemplo de Nueva York, debe seguir siendo estudiado. De esta manera, el proceso puede llegar a ser más aceptable: aunque en grados diferentes, la gentrificación alrededor de los años 90 se dirigió hacia estrategias urbanas cruciales para las alcaldías y contó con la colaboración del sector privado. La gentrificación se convirtió en una alianza sistemática entre urbanismo público y economía pública y privada, llenando de esta

manera el vacío producido a raíz del abandono de las políticas urbanas progresivas. En las ciudades que no habían experimentado políticas progresivas a lo largo del siglo XX, el camino del cambio fue muy diferente, aunque si consideramos la gentrificación de los centros urbanos en su sentido más amplio como una estrategia de competitividad urbana en el mercado global, podemos afirmar que se está orientando hacia la misma dirección.

Gentrificación relaciona la economía global con quienes desarrollan la propiedad, con las empresas locales, los agentes del estado, las tiendas de diseñador – todos ellos estimulados por las autoridades locales, para quienes las consecuencias sociales de la gentrificación se encuentran en la actualidad más aseguradas por la economía que por sus propias reglas: el nuevo *modus operandi* de las políticas públicas es la lógica de la economía, dejándose de lado la financiación de los servicios sociales. La construcción de proyectos, justificada por la creación de empleos, impuestos, turismo y la construcción de enormes complejos culturales, se ha convertido en el núcleo de la economía de la ciudad.

El origen de la crisis de los centros urbanos se encuentra en la falta de política de las autoridades públicas destinada a la acción estructural: no existen planes para la restauración de viviendas ni planes urbanos que sean sostenibles desde el punto de vista social. Los cambios en el uso de la propiedad producen el adelgazamiento social de los centros urbanos, antes de que éstos se conviertan en oficinas, almacenes y viviendas de lujo; las leyes sobre arrendamiento favorecen incrementos controlados en los arriendos y el desalojo por el vencimiento de contratos. Además, existe un déficit profundo en lo que a la vivienda social se refiere, empeorado por la falta de mantenimiento producto de la privatización de políticas en el sector. La generalización de la gentrificación presenta diferentes dimensiones que pueden ser entendidas en términos de cuatro características interconectadas: el nuevo rol del Estado, la inserción del capital, los cambios en el nivel de la oposición política, la dispersión geográfica y la generalización de la gentrificación por sector.

La dimensión social de las transformaciones que viven las ciudades no puede seguir siendo ignorada. Intereses económicos a nivel mundial y el aumento de las discrepancias entre las necesidades sociales y la economía afectan todas las esferas de la sociedad, pero principalmente la esfera local, donde podemos encontrar una nueva forma de exclusión: el desplazamiento urbano.

Los habitantes de las ciudades históricas y, más precisamente, de los centros históricos urbanos, se han visto obligados a trasladarse. El repentino aumento de las rentas y la especulación de la propiedad raíz, obliga a los arrendatarios a partir y a renunciar a sus hogares, barrios y ambiente habitual. Parece que los centros urbanos donde la presión socio-económica es alta se convierten en una fuerza centrífuga, cuyas víctimas son los residentes y ciudadanos pertenecientes a las clases trabajadoras.

El conflicto social relativo a los derechos al uso de los centros urbanos juega un papel importante en la lucha entre las demandas de la ciudad para la integración/evolución y el rechazo de la mezcla social y cultural. El derecho de los residentes a vivir en la ciudad debe ser considerado como un principio intocable por todas las operaciones de finca raíz.

En el siglo XXI, los países del primer mundo continúan siendo el escenario principal de la gentrificación. ¿Cómo se está desarrollando este fenómeno en el sudeste asiático, en los países árabes, en Europa del este o España en comparación con Norteamérica? ¿Cuáles son las consecuencias físicas sobre las edificaciones y las consecuencias socio-económicas y culturales sobre los residentes de los

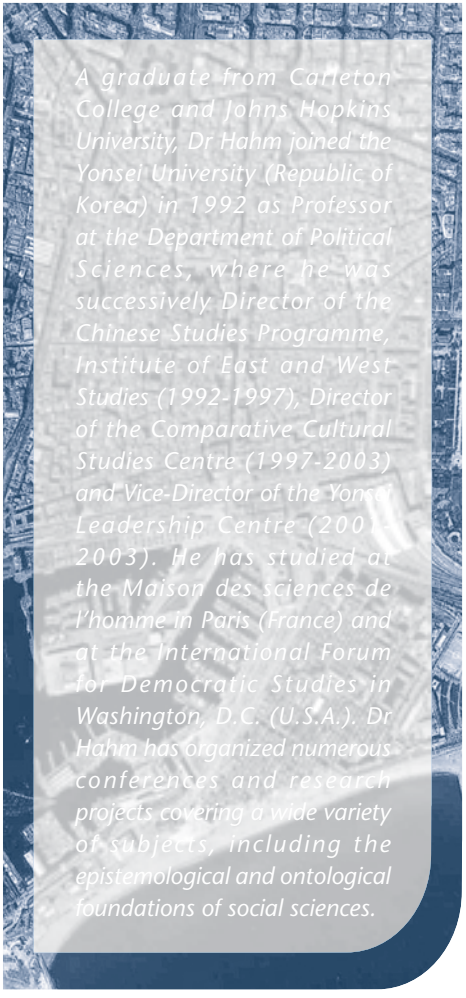
distritos históricos en ciudades tales como Seúl, Lahore, Karachi, Moscú, Quito, Málaga y Barcelona? ¿Cómo prever los efectos de éste fenómeno y enfrentar los desafíos socio-económicos y culturales que lo acompañan? ¿Designando los yacimientos históricos patrimonio de la humanidad? ¿Mediante la organización de eventos tales como los juegos olímpicos? ¿O acaso estas posibles soluciones no hacen más que agravar la gentrificación de los distritos históricos?

Todos estas preguntas deben ser tratadas por los expertos, universitarios, alcaldes y representantes de organizaciones no-gubernamentales invitados a esta mesa redonda. El alcance de sus reflexiones debe permitir al sector de ciencias sociales y humanas de la UNESCO identificar algunos de los indicadores y principales parámetros de la sostenibilidad social en los distritos históricos enfrentados a proyectos de renovación urbana. Los resultados de esta discusión de expertos serán la base del lanzamiento de una red internacional de investigación comparada sobre estos fenómenos entre el 2005 y el 2007. Esta investigación de la UNESCO debe finalizar en el año 2007 con la publicación de una guía sobre las prácticas municipales idóneas relativas a la sostenibilidad social de los distritos históricos.

Chaibong Hahm
Director of the Division of Social Sciences, Research and Policy / UNESCO

De Estambul... a Barcelona
Hacia la sostenibilidad social en los distritos históricos

Durante los primeros años del siglo XXI, los países del primer mundo se convirtieron en el escenario principal de la gentrificación. Pero, ¿cómo se está desarrollando este fenómeno en el sudeste asiático, América Latina, Europa del este o España en comparación con Norteamérica? ¿Cuáles son las consecuencias físicas sobre las edificaciones y las consecuencias socio-económicas y culturales sobre los residentes de los distritos históricos en ciudades tales como Beijing, Seúl, Lahore, Karachi, Moscú, Quito, Málaga y Barcelona? ¿Cómo prever los efectos de éste fenómeno y enfrentar los desafíos socio-económicos y culturales que lo acompañan? ¿Designando los yacimientos históricos patrimonio de la humanidad? ¿Mediante la organización de eventos tales como los juegos olímpicos? ¿O acaso estas posibles soluciones no hacen más que agravar la gentrificación de los distritos históricos? Durante el Foro mundial sobre urbanismo llevado a cabo en Barcelona el 13 de septiembre de 2004, la UNESCO organizó una mesa redonda de expertos en el tema de la "Sostenibilidad social en los distritos históricos". Se espera que esta publicación, que documenta la experiencia práctica, metodologías, debates y cuestiones claves que surgieron durante los diálogos de la mesa redonda, contribuya a la siempre relevante discusión sobre las tendencias actuales de gentrificación en las ciudades del mundo.



A graduate from Carleton College and Johns Hopkins University, Dr Hahm joined the Yonsei University (Republic of Korea) in 1992 as Professor at the Department of Political Sciences, where he was successively Director of the Chinese Studies Programme, Institute of East and West Studies (1992-1997), Director of the Comparative Cultural Studies Centre (1997-2003) and Vice-Director of the Yonsei Leadership Centre (2001-2003). He has studied at the Maison des sciences de l'homme in Paris (France) and at the International Forum for Democratic Studies in Washington, D.C. (U.S.A.). Dr Hahm has organized numerous conferences and research projects covering a wide variety of subjects, including the epistemological and ontological foundations of social sciences.

From Istanbul... to Barcelona

Towards Social Sustainability in Historical Districts

Excellencies,
Mayors,
Representatives of Mayors,
Colleagues,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

In Barcelona on the occasion of the Forum of Cultures, I am reminded of Jordi Borja's thoughts on city, democracy and governability:

'Twenty eight years ago Barcelona was an emerging civil society; by the time of the 1992 Olympic Games, the city had become a powerful social, economic, cultural and political force based on special symbiosis between key institutions and community associations. The policy of building up the city, promoting citizen participation and devising major forward-looking projects is indivisible: the City as identity, citizenship as the collective use of urban space'[2].

The UN-HABITAT Bi-annual World Urban Forum is now a key event on the international calendar both to address key issues and to keep abreast of the main challenges of the new millennium. This year's theme, 'Cities: Crossroads of cultures, inclusiveness and integration?' is closely linked to the mandate of the World Urban Forum on Culture (2004), organized by the City of Barcelona under the auspices of UNESCO.

I would first like to express my gratitude to the UN-HABITAT organizing team for the work achieved here and for their efficient support in preparation for this Round Table. I would also like to thank them for enabling the participation of Mr Pierre Sané, Assistant Director-General of UNESCO for Social and Human Sciences, in the UN-HABITAT dialogue on Urban Governance on 16 September 2004.

Humanizing the city

Round tables such as this one are instrumental in forging the current and future work of our institutions and our cities. This networking event, prepared by the Urban Development Section (URB) of the Division of Social Sciences, Research and Policy, UNESCO, has been organized alongside the development of a new research-action area for URB for 2006-2007. Research was initiated by UNESCO in 1996 during Habitat II on the concept of 'Humanizing the City', from a study by Céline Sachs-Jeantet. Sachs-Jeantet urged the need to break from the 'economistic view of the city' in order to create a new ethic of the city at the service of the people and to strengthen the local ability to re-conceptualize the city altogether. She argued that the city of the future must be built not by specialists alone but by the people themselves. 'In the twenty-first century, the city must be the place where social transformations are invented and managed. The challenge is to humanize cities so that by their urban quality they promote and create citizenship

2 J. BORJA, 'The City, Democracy and Governability: the Case of Barcelona', *International Social Science Journal,* 'Cities of the Future: Managing Social Transformations', (March 1996, vol. XLVIII, no. 1).

and the interbreeding of cultures and thus become more 'civic'.... The challenge is to develop policies to awaken the latent conditions that produce the creative instincts of the men, women and children who live in cities.... Involving the inhabitants, now citizens, in the planning of their city and their future, is the challenge of the Age of the City'.[3]

From this position presented in 1996, the Urban Development section is moving towards a human rights approach to promote urban public policies inclusive of the 'Right to the City'. The research-action area, currently under way, has evolved from a concept first introduced by French philosopher Henri Lefebvre in 1968 regarding every inhabitant's 'right to the city' (droit à la ville). Lefebvre urged for a restructuring of the power relations underlying urban space, which would transfer control from capital and the State over to urban inhabitants.

From Istanbul...to Barcelona

Within UNESCO's MOST[4] Programme, the Urban Development section has focused several research-action projects on social perspectives for the renewal of inner-city areas, beginning with a Round Table organized for Habitat II (Istanbul, 1996). This Round Table included presentations and discussion on urban renewal projects after major socio-economic transformations, such as studies of London docksides, post-war downtown Beirut, and the redevelopment of Shanghai which was destroying the traditional Lilong blocks.

Six years later, in Venice in 2002, some of the participants of the Round Table held in Istanbul were invited to reflect upon the sustainable and ethical revitalization of historical districts.

The main conclusions of these two Round Tables are assembled in UNESCO's recent publication *From Istanbul to Venice: Socially sustainable revitalization of historical districts. Architects speak out.*[5]

Since 1996, UNESCO's office in Mexico, directed by Professor Gonzalo Abad, urges socio-economic perspectives in revitalization projects in Latin America, while, since February 2002, Geneviève Domenach-Chich, UNESCO Regional Advisor for Social Sciences in Eastern Asia, has worked on a revitalization project in Old Beijing in cooperation with Tsinghua University. Meanwhile, in Paris, a project on 'Small Historical Coastal Cities' within the Arab World was undertaken with the Natural Sciences Sector and UNESCO's Regional Offices in Venice, Rabat and Beirut.

In each of these cases, the socio-economic transformations have occurred quickly — and are seemingly irreversible. Perhaps the Vice-Mayor of Seoul will show us that this is not the case in the Cheonggye-Cheon district?

In his most recent publication in cooperation with UNESCO, entitled 'Public Participation in Socially Sustainable Urban Development', Dr György Enyedi pointed out that 'inner city inequalities mirror the socially uneven development of the present-day global economy'.[6]

Today's topics and participants

The work proposed today will, in the first panel, consist of identifying the major social challenges that

3 C. Sachs-Jeantet, 'Humanizing the City', *International Social Science Journal,* 'Cities of the Future: Managing Social Transformations', (March 1996, vol. XLVIII, no. 1).

4 *Management of Social Transformations*

5 *From Istanbul to Venice: Socially sustainable revitalization of historical districts. Architects speak out* (Paris: UNESCO, 2004). Available at: *www.unesco.org/shs/shsdc/urbdev/urbdev/listdoc.htm*

6 Available at: *www.unesco.org/shs/shsdc/urbdev/urbdev/listdoc.htm*

must be tackled in redeveloping districts, seen from the point of view of:

- **Urban professionals,** like **Dr Alfonso Vegara**, President of the International Society of City and Regional Planners, and **Josep-Maria Llop Torné**, Architect and Town Planner, representing the International Union of Architects;
- **Academic researchers,** like **Professor Yves Cabannes**, previously working with UN-HABITAT and the UNDP on urban revitalization projects in Latin America, and now a Lecturer at the School of Design at Harvard University and Deputy Director of the Centre of Urban Development Studies, and **Professor Greg Andonian,** from the School of Architecture at Carleton University;
- **Representatives of inhabitant NGOs,** like Cesare Ottolini, coordinator of the International Alliance of Inhabitants in Italy, or **Jean du Plessis,** from the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions in South Africa.

Greg Andonian will then facilitate a short debate by taking a few questions from the public.

The second panel, presented by my colleague, Brigitte Colin, will give the floor to teams of municipalities and universities working on specific case studies in Beijing, Seoul, Lahore, Karachi, Moscow, Quito, Malaga and Barcelona. Panellists will present local projects and programmes where social perspectives have been taken into account in the revitalization of historical districts. Again, after each panellist has spoken, I hope to have time for questions and comments from the audience.

Greg Andonian and I will then conclude this Round Table by attempting to synthesize the key issues addressed throughout the day, to be developed further in a follow-up working meeting of professors and NGO representatives invited here by UNESCO on 15 September 2004.

This working meeting will facilitate UNESCO's organization of a research network in cooperation with UN-HABITAT towards the creation of a 'Best Practices' website on revitalization projects inclusive of social perspectives and the 'Right to the City' agenda. Secondly, UNESCO plans to support the creation of a UNESCO Chair on 'Social Perspectives in Revitalization Projects in Historical Districts' and the elaboration of an orientation guide for mayors to better select and manage revitalization projects in historical districts, which will hopefully be presented at the WUF III in Vancouver (2006).

On behalf of UNESCO, I would like to express my gratitude to the City of Barcelona for her warm welcome and for the opportunity to launch this project in a city where the problems of urban revitalization in historical districts have been on the forefront of public debate since the Olympic Games in 1992 and the construction of the Forum Area in 2000.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank all the mayors or representatives of mayors and the experts for coming from distant cities, namely Quito, Beijing, Lahore and Moscow.

I will now give the floor to the first keynote speaker, Dr Alfonso Vegara, President of the International Society of City and Regional Planners — adding that Dr Vegara has been an important contributor to UNESCO since 1992.

I thank you for your attention.

Chaibong Hahm
Director
Division of Social Sciences, Research and Policy
Social and Human Sciences Sector
UNESCO

Keynote speakers

Conferenciantes

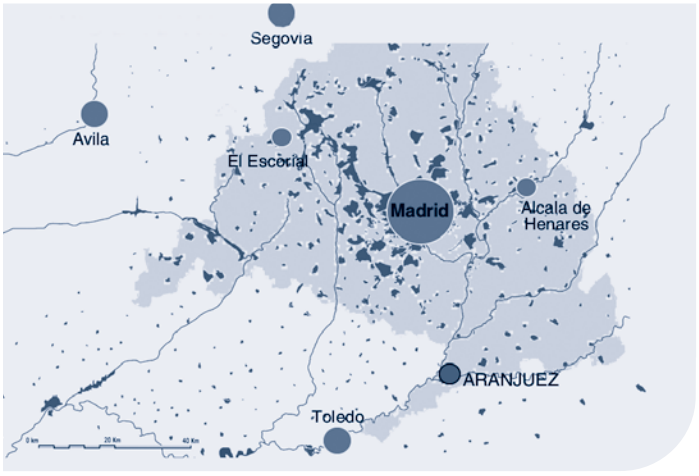
Aranjuez Proyecto Ciudad

Alfonso Vegara

President / International Society of City and Regional Planners (ISoCaRP)
President / *Fundación Metrópoli*

With degrees in Economics, Sociology and City and Regional Planning, Dr Vegara has been a professor of urban planning in architecture schools in Madrid and Navarra, and has lectured in a number of European and North American universities. He is the author of several textbooks and publications on urban and regional planning, including: El Proyecto Urbano, La Ordenación Urbana, Urbanismo de Ideas, Madrid Metrópoli, El Triángulo Alicante-Elche-Santa Pola, Logroño: Programa Ciudad, Innovación y Desarrollo de Ciudades y Regiones, La Ordenación del Territorio del País Vasco, and La Ordenación del Territorio de las Islas Baleares. Dr Vegara is president of the Fundación Metrópoli, a non-profit organization dedicated to creating and sharing knowledge on cities, where he directs the Proyecto-CITIES initiative, an investigation of the competitive advantages and the urban factors of success of twenty innovative cities around the world. He is also the president of the Taller de Ideas group. The firm was founded in 1987 and is based in Madrid (Spain). Taller de Ideas offers a full range of professional services in architecture, urban design and city and regional planning.

The ecocity of the canal



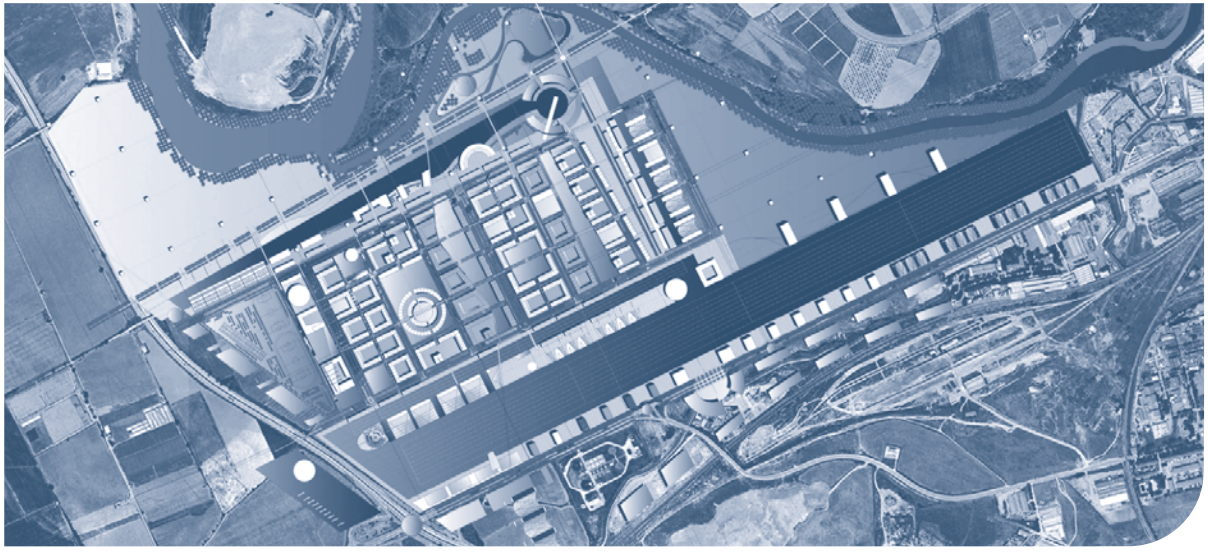
Aranjuez is a city of 40,000 people located within the greater metropolitan region of Madrid. The city represents a significant historical component of the greater Madrid region; however, it has not seen the level of development that has occurred in other cities around Madrid in recent years. What makes Aranjuez a special case is that it is on the list of UNESCO World Heritage sites for its Palace District and it has been selected as the location for rowing events in Madrid's Olympic bid.

Key concepts

The city is currently implementing a plan for redevelopment created out of the *Proyecto CITIES* methodology, developed by the *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 determinant 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 historical centre.
- The substantial improvement of the rail and highway infrastructure in the Madrid area is creating a housing demand from 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 is the interaction of new growth pressures with the protection of its wealth of cultural heritage. Aranjuez has the capacity and determination to grow

IMAGE: Map of UNESCO World Heritage Sites in region surrounding Madrid (Spain). Note the city of Aranjuez in the lower right corner.
© *Fundación Metrópoli*



in the context of the Metropolitan Area of Madrid, which is one of most dynamic capital regions in 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 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 twenty 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 of the *Aranjuez Proyecto Ciudad* design

- To emphasize 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.
- To utilize 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

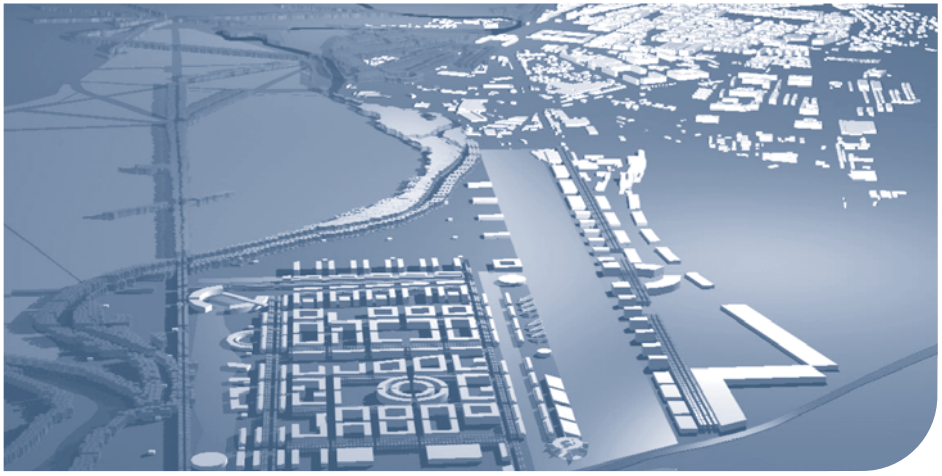
IMAGE: The Ecocity of the Canal / *Ecociudad del Canal* © *Fundación Metrópoli*

that 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 of residential housing types with the objective of integrating different social, income and family types. In particular, to establish a plan that promotes the renovation of historical buildings and the construction of lofts, condominiums, apartments and other housing types.
- To encourage a fusion of uses both in the historical district and in the newly created urban areas through the development of multi-use neighbourhoods, with residential, work, education and entertainment uses.
- To emphasize development that 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.
- To promote and use bioclimatic architectural and urban design principles both in the historical district and newly developed neighbourhoods.
- To build the development around the theme of an eco-city and eco-community with a focus on sporting activities.
- To find a collective commitment towards environmental excellence.

IMAGE: Aranjuez and the Palacio Real / *Aranjuez y el Palacio Real* © *Fundación Metrópoli*

La ecociudad del canal



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 en este proyecto.

IMAGEN: The Ecocity of the Canal / *Ecociudad del Canal*
© *Fundación Metrópoli*

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 déficit 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 Area 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.

IMAGEN: The Ecocity of the Canal / *Ecociudad del Canal*
© *Fundación Metrópoli*

- 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.

Yves Cabannes

Lecturer / Graduate School of Design / Harvard University
Deputy Director / Centre for Urban Development

Perspectivas sociales en los centros históricos

El primer punto clave de esta presentación se refiere a cómo mantener una 'perspectiva social' en los proyectos de revitalización, que tenga en cuenta el valor y el potencial de los residentes y trabajadores de los centros históricos. Un punto relacionado al anterior se refiere a cómo evadir situaciones donde la revitalización es sinónimo de gentrificación y desalojo de los arrendatarios y propietarios de escasos recursos, principalmente aquellos que viven en condiciones de hacinamiento y en edificaciones deterioradas. Irónicamente, la gentrifiación puede ser la base de un modelo socialmente sostenible a partir de diferentes premisas. Un segundo punto clave es encontrar un equilibrio satisfactorio, basado en beneficios e intercambios, entre tres cuestiones que se enfrentan con frecuencia: (1) le necesidad de preservar los yacimientos y edificaciones históricas, incluyendo aquellos de gran valor histórico, pero que debido a problemas de hacinamiento y de falta de mantenimiento, dejan de ser físicamente sostenibles; (2) intereses económicos y la necesidad de generar actividades económicas y riqueza; y (3) tener en cuenta a las personas que viven o trabajan actualmente en centros históricos y la necesidad de encontrar una solución satisfactoria para cada una de las partes involucradas (por ejemplo, en la reubicación de comerciantes callejeros). Un tercer punto se refiere al hecho que los centros históricos son usualmente pequeños en comparación a las ciudades; sin embargo, por su naturaleza, representan una concentración de valores superiores (históricos, religiosos, cósmicos, simbólicos, poderes establecidos, volúmenes y valores del comercio). La particularidad de esta situación requiere de enfoques y regulaciones urbanas diferentes a las aplicadas en el resto de la ciudad.

Yves Cabannes, an urban economist, has worked in Asia, Africa, the Arab States, and notably in Latin America, Brazil and Mexico. His work with social organizations, NGOs and local governments has focused on local development, housing, employment and the formation of micro credit. He has been the director of urban research programmes and a Visiting Professor at numerous universities. From 1997-2004, he coordinated the Urban Management Programme, UNDP/UN-HABITAT from Quito for Latin America and the Caribbean. He is currently a lecturer at the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University, and Assistant Director of the Centre for Urban Development Studies.

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Social perspectives in historical districts

Some preliminary issues

The social groups referred to in this presentation are current residents of historical centres, occasional or permanent users such as commuters or street-traders; or potential groups that are not 'using' the historical 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 generalizations, 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 contexts.

The first key issue relates to how to maintain a 'social perspective' in revitalization projects that actively take into account the assets and potential both of residents as well as those working in historical centres. A related issue is to how to avoid situations where revitalization 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 base on different premises.

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

- The need to preserve historical sites and buildings, including those that are overcrowded and of great historical 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 historical centres* so that they may be appreciated and used by different cultures while at the same time respond 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 historical 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'* historical 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 historical centre or do not benefit from it.

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

Criteria and guidelines for selecting revitalization 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 organized; 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 revitalization 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 Programme* 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 programme.

Entry points 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 path ways; and trade in its broad sense should be tailored and sequenced to the specificity of revitalization programmes in historical centres.

Dimensions and parameters to consider

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 historical 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 revitalize the historical centres.

Cesare Ottolini

Coordinator of the International Alliance of Inhabitants (Italy)

¿Nos hace realmente libres el aire de la ciudad?

El actual contexto de gentificación, pobreza, inequidad y esclavitud económica producto de la acelerada urbanización se ha vuelto insostenible y está provocando en los ciudadanos reacciones destinadas a defender no sólo los derechos de los habitantes a la ciudad, sino además el derecho de las ciudades a la auto-preservación y a la libertad de presiones exteriores. Los habitantes son los principales perjudicados por los efectos de la globalización y, ante el ataque generalizado a los derechos de vivienda y a la ciudad, se han visto obligados a aprender cómo desarrollar relaciones e intercambiar experiencias de solidaridad que trascienden las fronteras nacionales, en aras de construir un posible mundo alternativo. Podemos entonces afirmar que, de alguna manera, la lucha contra la gentrificación y la expropiación ha sido positiva, ya que ha permitido desarrollar el potencial de resolución colectiva de conflictos de los ciudadanos. Esta clase de desarrollo habría sido impensable sin el Foro social mundial y las nuevas ideas y prácticas de democracia participativa que ha propagado, incluyendo el presupuesto participativo, la planeación participativa de ciudades, al apoyo a la producción social del hábitat, así como nuevas reglas para garantizar la seguridad de tenencia. Nos resulta entonces posible construir un nuevo, vasto y variado frente, compuesto por asociaciones de habitantes, organizaciones no-gubernamentales (ONG), cooperativas, sindicatos y cuerpos administrativos locales. Estos temas deben ser incluidos y discutidos en todos los niveles de nuestro trabajo cotidiano.

Cesare Ottolini is currently President of the Italian Unione Inquilini, the world coordinator of the International Alliance of Inhabitants (a global network of grass-roots associations of inhabitants and community social movements) and the coordinator of HIC Europe. In this capacity, he has organized initiatives during the European and World Social Forums and participated in meetings with local and national governments and international agencies, such as the European Union and UN-HABITAT, organizing initiatives to protect housing rights. He has fostered the exchange and formation of rights in various countries throughout the continents and acted as chairman at numerous conferences, seminars and congresses at national and international level, which have been scientific, political and social in nature. He actively supports campaigns against evictions, displacements and violations of housing rights in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Europe, Latin America and North America.

Does the city air really make us free?

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: urbanization causes poverty, inequality and economic slavery.

The UN-HABITAT Report[7] 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 globalized cities? What are the real social dynamics and the true stories unfolding in the areas of the city affected by globalization in the form of real estate investment, transformations in the urban environment and functional differentiation in human mobility?

There are now many networks operating in the urban domain (i.e. Shack and Dwellers International, Huairou Commission, Habitat International Coalition, COHRE, International Alliance of Inhabitants). Thanks to their geographic and social roots, it is possible to have a more accurate understanding of the nature of the impacts and consequences derived from the urbanistic transformations of the cities.

In fact, these networks have their antennae tuned to the social earthquake which is taking place in the cities struck by the tidal wave of economic globalization and new geographical and political divisions. At times, this earthquake remains hidden beneath the surface; at other moments, it makes its dramatic appearance, further aggravated by the inextinguishable foreign debt, cuts in the welfare state for the sake of fulfilling monetary parameters and the quest for profits even in the social service sectors. This leads to the privatization of public sector housing, therefore increasing insecurity in housing tenure, while plunging millions of families into poverty.

Privatization 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 sector of public housing in existence. In Moscow, 60% of publicly-owned apartments have been sold with a sharp increase in rent 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 the East and the 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, has become 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 one use to describe the ethnic cleansing carried out in the Balkan wars?

7 http://www.unhabitat.org/report_celebrates.asp

Hundreds of thousands were deprived of their homes and forced into exile in a fatal game of geopolitical dominoes, whose victims were, 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 facelift 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 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.[8]

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

Serious monitoring by the Habitat Agenda illustrates these occurrences and shows the widening gap between the legal undertakings contained in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights[9] and the reality of precarious housing conditions.

So many real-life stories lie behind the statistics produced by FEANTSA,[10] which estimates that in Europe at least 18 million people are poorly housed and 3 million are homeless. Deprived of decent and secure accommodation, these poor people will just be the vanguard of a much larger army, if the free market is allowed to continue undisturbed in its pursuit of profits.

We should be allowed to hear the voices 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 300,000 inhabitants of the slums of Nairobi, threatened with eviction because they are 'illegal' — having been forced to build shanty-dwellings by the side of the railways, under electricity pylons and along the path of the new bypass[11] — thus disturbing the free flow of investments. As well as many other stories in Mumbai and New Delhi, New York, Dhaka and Karachi...[12]

8 Sara Meg Davis and Lin Hai *Demolished: Forced Evictions and the Tenants' Rights Movement in China* (2004), Human Rights Watch, at: http://www.hrw.org/reports/2004/china0304/

9 Article 11 provides that States will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right and improve housing conditions.

10 European Federation of organizations for the homeless, http://www.feantsa.org

11 See the 'W Nairobi W!' campaign at http://www.habitants.org/IAI/

12 See the COHRE report 'Forced evictions reach crisis levels leaving millions homeless worldwide', at http://www.habitants.org/IAI/

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.

This widespread attack on housing rights and on the city has prompted those hit worst by the negative effects of globalization — the inhabitants themselves — to learn how to develop relations and exchange experiences of solidarity that go beyond national borders to prefigure an alternative possible world.

These new inhabitants' strategies seek to avoid being confined to the local situation, but rather appeal to international solidarity. As the step from local to global is getting shorter and shorter, the exchange of information is getting faster and faster. All this is occurring against a background of conflicts involving the growing power of transnational, ademocratic institutions (the IMF, the World Bank, NATO, WTO, etc.), compared to those which arose at the end of the Second World War.

The associations and the international networks are thus 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.[13]

They also propose a swap between the cancellation of foreign debts and new public housing and urban policies, freeing resources otherwise unavailable to this end, to be managed instead by a People's Land and Housing Trust Fund, thus favoring slum-dwellers and the control of all the parties involved.[14]

In parallel to these propositions, some independent local authorities, left to their own devices by administrative decentralization, 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'.[15]

One could therefore argue that in some ways, the fight against gentrification and expropriation has also shed a positive light on the collective problem-solving potential of the inhabitants of the city.

Such a development would have been unthinkable without the World Social Forum, which has spread new ideas and new practices of participatory democracy,[16] including the participatory budget, participatory town-planning, support for the social production of the habitat, as well as new rules for the guarantee of secure tenure.

In 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,[17] or part of the cancelled foreign debt.

13 See the appeal for the insertion of housing rights in the European Charter of Fundamental Rights at http://www.habitants.org

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

15 See "Extension des zones anti-expulsion" at: http://www.humanite.presse.fr/journal/2004-03-24/2004-03-24-390647

16 Cabannes (2004), 'Respuestas a 72 preguntas frecuentes sobre presupuestos participativos municipales', at: http://www.pgualc.org/siteminder/index.php?sv=&category=Presupuesto%20Participativo&title=Preguntas%20Frecuentes

17 Proposed by 'The Hassan Fathy Project to Help Resolve the Global Housing Crisis'

These issues cannot simply be passed down to grass-roots networks or left for 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,[18] the future will be shaped by the free market entirely at the service of the financially powerful.

To avoid such a scenario, it seems possible to build a new, vast and varied front, consisting of inhabitants' associations, NGOs, cooperatives, trade unions and local administrative bodies.

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

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

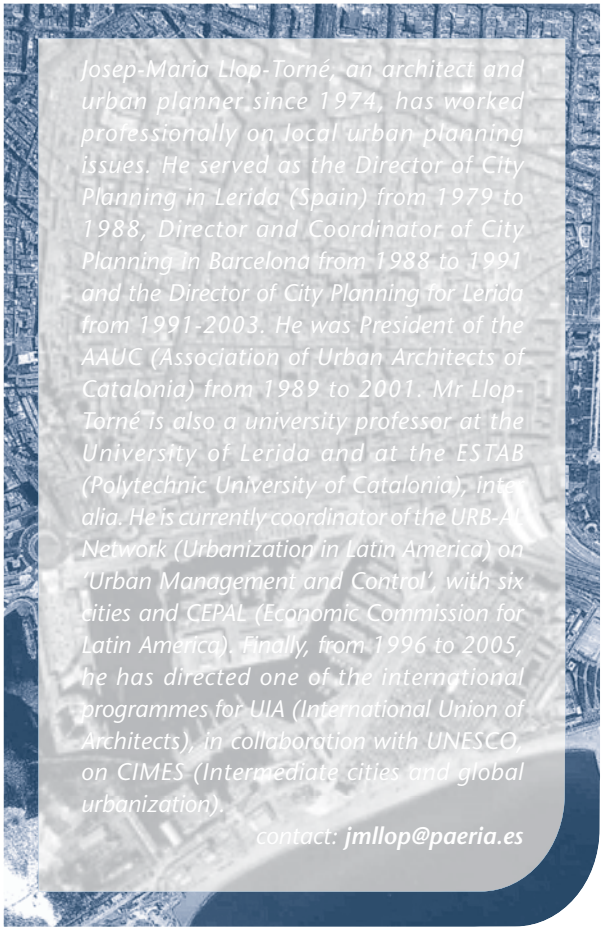
18 See the Salvador Declaration at : http://www.alliance21.org/caravan/en/2/pg15-21.htm

Josep-Maria Llop Torné

Professor / Architect and Urban Planner
Director / International Union of Architects (UIA)
Ciudades Intermedias y Urbanización Mundial (CIMES)

The Intermediate Scale: Role of Urban Professionals for Social Sustainability in Intermediate Historical Cities

When analysing the processes of urbanization, it is important to examine the type of cities in which this global phenomenon is occurring. The acceleration of worldwide urbanization has not only modified the physical form of urban space; it has also led to changes in our interpretation of the rhythms of the new city, which has in turn affected the forms of social relations and the experience of urban time and space. Gentrification, a process compounded by the presence of immigration in many parts of the world and especially in Europe, modifies the themes of work as well as the roles of urban professionals — and in particular the role of architects. By paying special attention to the scale of these increasingly urbanizing cities, one can reach important conclusions. Not all global cities are experiencing the transformation of time and space, result of the acceleration of big metropolitan cities. The majority of the global urban population lives in what one can call 'intermediate' cities, which serve as intermediaries between globalization on a planetary scale and smaller urban and rural territories. These historical cities, symbols and centres of territorial networks that link concrete cultural landscapes, have a determined urban scale: an 'intermediate' scale. The study of this intermediate scale can provide other parameters with which to define a new role for urban professionals, more suitable for the achievement of socially sustainable development. The concrete conditions of these cities, cultural landscapes, monuments, historical ensembles and of their times and their spaces permit us, as architects and planners, to better formulate and more easily adjust our professional proposals.



Josep-Maria Llop-Torné, an architect and urban planner since 1974, has worked professionally on local urban planning issues. He served as the Director of City Planning in Lerida (Spain) from 1979 to 1988, Director and Coordinator of City Planning in Barcelona from 1988 to 1991 and the Director of City Planning for Lerida from 1991-2003. He was President of the AAUC (Association of Urban Architects of Catalonia) from 1989 to 2001. Mr Llop-Torné is also a university professor at the University of Lerida and at the ESTAB (Polytechnic University of Catalonia), inter alia. He is currently coordinator of the URB-AL Network (Urbanization in Latin America) on 'Urban Management and Control', with six cities and CEPAL (Economic Commission for Latin America). Finally, from 1996 to 2005, he has directed one of the international programmes for UIA (International Union of Architects), in collaboration with UNESCO, on CIMES (Intermediate cities and global urbanization).

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Rol de los profesionales de la ciudad en el desarrollo socialmente sostenible de ciudades históricas de escala intermedia

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 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 simplificadamente 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.[19] 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 quién 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

19 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.

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,[20] 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. Porqué 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,[21] 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 unas nuevas miradas a ese tipo de ciudades,[22] 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

20 Conferencia del filosofo 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.

21 BELLET, C. y J.Mª. LLOP, *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

22 BELLET, C. y Mª. LLOP, "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

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 diagnostico (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.[23]

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 intermedia, 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.[24] Esa dimensión de diversos focos o puntos de vista se suma a las diversas disciplinas. No solo hay pluridisciplinariedad hay plurilocalidad.

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

23 OSMONT, Annik, "Pour une planification urbaine démocratique" in *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.

24 CABANNES, Yves, "Réponses des villes latino-américaines aux défis posés par la planification urbaine participative" in*Quels plans pour la ville : Gouvernance, gestion et politique urbaines,* Mesa Redonda de la UNESCO al II Foro Social Mundial, 2001. Documento de debate N° 69 MOST-UNESCO, Paris 2004.

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 Proyectación.**
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. **La 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'.

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Pom Mahakan
Los habitantes del fuerte

Pom Mahakan es una significativa aunque pequeña comunidad tailandesa de aproximadamente 380 habitantes, situada al lado de la fortaleza Mahakan en el centro de Bangkok. En enero del 2003, los habitantes de la comunidad fueron objeto de una notificación de la Alcaldía de Bangkok mediante la cual se les pedía desocuparan sus casas. Se les ofreció reubicarlos en Minhburi, en las afueras de Bangkok, a 45 kilómetros de sus hogares. La comunidad sería remplazada por un parque urbano detalladamente planificado, similar al de la fortaleza Phra Sumen. Esto a pesar del hecho que Pom Mahakan ha estado ocupado por sus habitantes y antepasados desde hace por lo menos seis generaciones. El desalojo forzado de esta comunidad constituiría entonces una violación de derechos arraigados. Además, según un experto, la comunidad es el escenario de una "rara y compleja arquitectura vernacular" que vale la pena preservar. La comunidad asumió una posición pro-activa en el intento de impedir el desalojo. Asistida por académicos y activistas de derechos humanos, incluyendo el COHRE, presentó un plan alternativo en el cual propone la renovación de las viejas edificaciones y la integración de las viviendas en el parque histórico. Un gran número de personas ajenas a la comunidad se reunieron para apoyarla en esta lucha.

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People of the fort

Any assessment of the social sustainability of historical districts, or any district for that matter, would have to take into account what can reasonably be described as an international epidemic of forced evictions. It would also have to reflect on what can and should be done, at a global level, to address this seemingly irreversible process. At the same time, every particular eviction case we look at, in all its graphic detail, tells us how forced evictions impact ordinary people, and can provide us with clues on what ought to be done at the local level to resist them. What follows is the story of a small but significant historical community in Bangkok, Thailand, whose members risk being swept aside in the name of development.

PHOTO: **On guard** — a community elder and a child sitting in a barricade set up in the main gate to Pom Mahakan © Jean du Plessis

Global context

Every year, millions of people are forcibly evicted and plunged into homelessness. This practice entrenches patterns of poverty, discrimination and social exclusion. International law explicitly recognizes the right to adequate housing. It also clearly prohibits forced eviction and has repeatedly condemned this practice as a gross and systematic violation of human rights.[25] Nevertheless, forced evictions continue in almost all countries of the world. In the overwhelming majority of these cases, the evicted people receive no relocation assistance or compensation, and end up poorer than they were to begin with.

Forced evictions are generally caused by one or any combination of the following:

- Development and infrastructure projects, often funded by major international financial institutions;

25 The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) is the most important source of housing rights in international human rights law. ICESCR Art. 11(1) explicitly recognizes the right to housing for everyone living in countries that have ratified the Covenant. Art. 11(1) has been consistently interpreted as providing legal protection against forced evictions, most notably in General Comments No. 4 and No. 7 issued by the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR).

- Large international events, including global conferences and international sporting events such as the Olympic Games;
- Urban redevelopment and 'beautification' initiatives aimed at drawing investment into previously neglected areas and creating 'world-class' cities;
- Property market forces, often supported by government intervention, resulting in systematic 'gentrification' of areas, usually at the direct expense of the poorer residents;
- The absence of State support to the poor under deteriorating economic conditions;
- Political conflict resulting in the 'ethnic cleansing' of entire communities and groups.

Forced evictions are truly a global phenomenon, occurring in both developing and developed countries, and in democracies and dictatorships alike. The numbers boggle the mind, with many evictions counted not in thousands, but in hundreds of thousands of people. Here are some recent examples of mass evictions:

- In July 2000, nearly one million people were evicted in Rainbow Town, Port Harcourt (Nigeria);
- In early 2004, some 150,000 people were evicted in New Delhi and 77,000 in Kolkata, Calcutta (India);
- In Beijing (China), over 300,000 people have reportedly lost their homes as a result of preparations for the 2008 Olympic Games;
- In the Kibera settlement, Nairobi (Kenya), more than 100,000 people currently face eviction.

The total number of forced evictions in any given year may well be impossible to determine. COHRE and its partner organizations continuously monitor reported forced evictions around the world. COHRE's most recent study, *Forced Evictions: Violations of Human Rights - Global Survey No. 9,* found that nearly seven million evictions had been reported in the period 2001 to 2002.[26] In the same period, there would also have been large numbers of unreported evictions.

But sheer numbers can be disempowering. If we concentrate just on totals, there is a danger that we begin to abstract; and in doing this we lose sight of the incredibly traumatic impact of a forced eviction on every individual, family and community subjected to this violation of one of the most basic human rights: the right to a home. Even as we reflect and begin to formulate ideas on how to mobilize resources to tackle the global problem, it is important to look closely at as many individual case studies as possible, to provide

26 Copies of this and other editions of the Global Survey can be ordered, or downloaded free of charge, from http://www.cohre.org/lbframe.htm (accessed from the COHRE homepage though the links <Library> and <Global Forced Eviction Surveys>).

us with clues on what can be done at a local level. Pom Mahakan is one such case.

Key events in the forced eviction of the Pom Mahakan community

Pom Mahakan (Bangkok, Thailand) is a community of around 300 residents located next to Mahakan Fort, between the old city wall and the canal in central Bangkok. In January 2003, the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) served the residents with a notice to vacate their homes. Residents were offered relocation to a place called Minhburi, on the outskirts of Bangkok, 45 kilometres away.

This proposed relocation is part of the Government-sponsored 'Rattanakosin Island Plan', approved by the Committee for Conservation and Development of Rattanakosin and Old Towns. Under this plan, which bears all the hallmarks of inner city redevelopment and 'beautification' mentioned in the previous section, the community would 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. It would also result in the death of what Michael Herzfeld, a professor of anthropology at Harvard University who has done intensive work in the community, describes as a 'vibrant, cohesive community with a remarkable sense of collective responsibility and mutual support'. In addition, the site is home to what experts have described as 'a

PHOTO: House marked for eviction, Kibera, Nairobi (Kenya); March 2004
© Jean du Plessis

rare complex of vernacular architecture', well worth preserving in a rapidly modernizing Bangkok.[27]

The announcement of the planned eviction heightened the fears of many similar communities in Rattanakosin that they may also be in line for removal. At the same time, the Pom Mahakan residents did all they could to prevent the eviction. They clearly demonstrated their resistance by holding protests, building barricades and organizing a night-watch system. They also acted preemptively: assisted by a coalition of academics, NGOs and human rights activists, including COHRE, they put forward a highly innovative land-sharing plan as an alternative to eviction and relocation. The plan included the renovation of the older buildings and the integration of the residences into an historical park.[28] The residents even started implementing part of this plan, and many outsiders rallied to the call to support them in this process.[29]

As pointed out by COHRE Executive Director Scott Leckie, communities around the world are often more than willing to work with the authorities in formulating feasible alternatives to eviction. Unfortunately, few governments have the insight to appreciate the enormous value of community-driven initiatives:

'It really comes down to the willingness of the State to accept alternative plans… Throughout the world, we have seen [that] when people living in

PHOTO: Park area developed by the Pom Mahakan Community (June 2003) © Jean du Plessis

27 Michael Herzfeld, 'Pom Mahakan: Humanity and Order in the Historical Centre of Bangkok', *Thailand Human Rights Journal,* Vol. 1, 2003.

28 A fascinating and comprehensive report of this planning process, including illustrative diagrams of the plans, can be downloaded from www.glbristol.com

29 See www.members.shaw.ca/wiredup/

communities that are threatened with eviction put forward their own alternative plans… they almost always put forward very practical, very feasible, very do-able plans, nothing pie-in-the-sky, nothing too dramatic, nothing too expensive, but something that can preclude the eviction and provide the people who seek to do the eviction with their own satisfaction… These kinds of alternatives to eviction — they're not esoteric dreams; they're very practical and real things. Many communities have themselves prevented eviction, but it really does take the political will of the local government, usually, to take those plans seriously'.[30]

Despite the above efforts, in August 2003 an administrative court ruled that the eviction was legal and could go ahead.[31] In January 2004, the authorities started work on the unoccupied areas of Pom Mahakan, including moving the canal pier and excavating certain areas. While the authorities confirmed that the community would be evicted, it was not clear when this would happen. For several weeks, there were no new developments.

In April 2004, the authorities again announced that they would implement the eviction. That month, the owner of the oldest wooden house in the community, an ancient double-story teak structure that had become a symbol of the anti-eviction struggle, 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 been using the house as a museum and as an exhibition area for their development plans. They had hoped to buy it to establish a permanent community museum.[32]

Still the eviction was not implemented. The most recent reports indicate that the other houses are still there, but that the vacant area that had served as meeting place, car park and market has been turned into a sterile park, closely resembling the 'grassy void' predicted by Herzfeld.[33] Despite all the warnings and pleas, the area has been transformed into the type of place that few people, whether Thai or tourist, would care to visit.

The community is still attempting to negotiate with the authorities in a bid to prevent its eviction. The new Bangkok Governor, Mr Apirak Kosayodhin, has shown openness to resolving such issues through negotiations, which is a hopeful sign. However, the

PHOTO: Ancient teak house, Pom Mahakan…
© photo courtesy of www.2Bangkok.com
PHOTO: …demolished (April 2004)
© photo courtesy of www.2Bangkok.com

30 Scott Leckie, in *Pom Mahakan:* People of the Fort.
31 *Bangkok Post,* 30 Aug. 2003.
32 *Bangkok Post,* 25 Apr. 2004.
33 Herzfeld, op. cit.

fact that the community area has been cut off from the park with a (hopefully temporary) metal fence is a much less promising development, and indicative of a growing list of missed opportunities.

In the words of community leader Tawatchai Woramahakun:

'I want to send this message to the BMA: the people of Pom Mahakan hope the BMA will take care of them, take them into account in its development plans and allow them to work with the BMA in developing Pom Mahakan. I believe that if the BMA does take care of the community and allows the community to work with it, then there will be lots of good ideas and solutions — not just removing people from their community. But if the BMA follows its original plan to evict, the loss will be more significant than they think. I look forward to an offer from the BMA to allow the community to work with them in developing Pom Mahakan'.[34]

Conclusions

The case of Pom Mahakan illustrates how a historically significant community, despite all its efforts to cooperate with the authorities and to preserve and protect its heritage, may soon become yet another victim of forced eviction. It is not too late for the authorities to take a novel approach and work towards a situation that would benefit all parties, including the community and — potentially — many other Thai communities like it. To this end, all possible encouragement and pressure should be brought to bear on the government.

In a broader context, it must not be forgotten that Pom Mahakan is but one of thousands of similar cases all around the world. For institutions such as UNESCO, which pursue the ideals of sustainable development, human rights and the elimination of poverty, it is imperative to identify the effects of forced evictions on their sphere of work, and to form alliances and develop methodologies to counter them. As Graeme Bristol of the KMUTT Architecture Programme in Bangkok warns:

'The BMA has a rather narrow view of what constitutes history. They are not alone in that. As a result, we often wind up losing a lot of any city's history by defining it out of existence'.[35]

Also as a result, an excellent opportunity to find new, pro-poor ways of making history, of shaping the future with the needs and interests of the affected communities at the centre of the process, will be lost.

COHRE and its partners hope that discussion and action around cases such as that of the Pom Mahakan community will contribute to the process of broadening the prevailing view of history, giving recognition to the essential role of local communities and allowing them to set the agenda — for a change.

34 Tawatchai Woramahakun, in *Pom Mahakan: People of the Fort.*

35 Personal Communication, 14 Oct. 2004.

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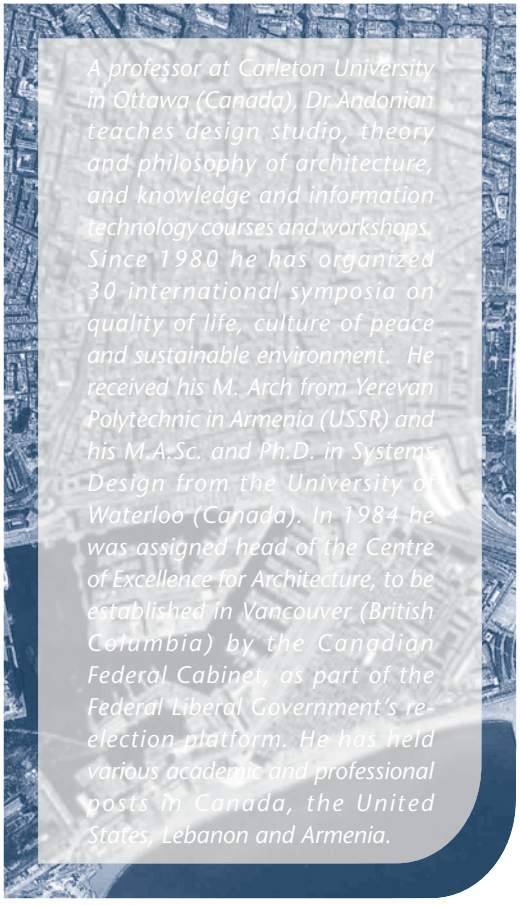
Un desafío a la sostenibilidad en los distritos históricos

Las tecnologías de la información, la bioingeniría, la ingeniería de nanoscala y la inteligencia artificial se entrecruzan íntimamente en el ámbito de la investigación y del desarrollo, actividades que sostienen la promesa de anunciar la nueva era de cambio exponencial en asuntos humanos. Se les ha programado para adelantar transformaciones aceleradas en las esferas geopolítica, social, intelectual y estética de la vida humana, impactando fuertemente la urbanización de las sociedades multiculturales y promoviendo la globalización de bienes y servicios. Eventualmente, pretenden facilitar la difusión del monopolio de gobierno de la ciudad-estado, manteniendo la normativa tradicional sobre la construcción de la nación. Imaginando el escenario del mundo en un futuro cercano, una vez materializadas las pretensiones de las tecnologías de la información, de la bioingeniería, de la ingeniería de nanoscala y de la inteligencia artificial, ¿cómo sería entonces la condición humana correspondiente a la formulación de las nuevas ideas, las características del nuevo diseño y gestión del ambiente de los asentamientos humanos, la nueva definición de las fronteras relativas a la pertenencia y, en fin, la amplia reflexión sobre los resultados?



A professor at Carleton University in Ottawa (Canada), Dr. Andonian teaches design studio, theory and philosophy of architecture, and knowledge and information technology courses and workshops. Since 1980 he has organized 30 international symposia on quality of life, culture of peace and sustainable environment. He received his M. Arch from Yerevan Polytechnic in Armenia (USSR) and his M.A.Sc. and Ph.D. in Systems Design from the University of Waterloo (Canada). In 1984 he was assigned head of the Centre of Excellence for Architecture, to be established in Vancouver (British Columbia) by the Canadian Federal Cabinet, as part of the Federal Liberal Government's re-election platform. He has held various academic and professional posts in Canada, the United States, Lebanon and Armenia.

A challenge to social sustainability in historical districts

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. Artificial Intelligence is gearing up to acquire prominence as if it is the ultimate embodiment of human universal knowledge system. All are indeed intrusively trans-connected 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 monopoly of city-state governments, 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 materialized, how would one envision the human condition pertaining to the formulation of novel ideas, 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 is 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 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 historical 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 fundamentally change the character of the city's core context and its supporting cultural mosaic, including its religious, educational and arts-and-crafts oriented institutions. This may indeed lead to the constant aggravation of the already

precarious relationship 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 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 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 the state can no longer afford to maintain the functionality of the 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-artefact 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 proactively 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 comprehension.

Design vision Why build the transnational project in an existing urban setting — a historical 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 sentiency.

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 historical 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(incoming/centripetal force) must be balanced by f(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(incoming/centripetal force) minus f(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.

Design mission How to build the transnational project in an existing urban setting — a historical district in its own right — to start with? What should be its Design Programme 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 = Maximization of enhanced functionality + adaptability + affordability

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

Design actualization What transnational project in an existing urban setting — a historical district in its own right — should be built, to start with? For whom? What should be its Design Contextuality, Interaction with the Existing Neighbourhood, Complementarity to the Historical 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 fulfilment, and arts and crafts appreciation. The following Occupancy Fit relationship can be established from the actualization statement:

> Happiness = Maximization of progress in political + social + economic + intellectual + aesthetic realms

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

Design comprehension Was it worth it to build the transnational project in an existing urban setting — a historical 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 Feed-forward 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 = Maximization of (recursive combinatorial theorems minus axiomatics)

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

Research and design thesis proposals

During the past twenty years in academia, about 1000 research and design thesis studies were conducted at Carleton University's School of Architecture in Ottawa, as part of its graduating year from the Bachelor of Architecture degree programme. A number of them attempted to deal with issues pertaining to globalization, gentrification and urbanization. Following are a few case studies:

Case Study: Beirut Harbourfront / Arts and Crafts Centre

Initially, the design programme was introduced as an investigation for building the largest International Centre for Foreign Goods and Services in the Middle East. The Centre was to embody the process of globalization as a vehicle to increase the connectivity and interdependence of the world's markets and businesses, with a sensible consideration of their social, economic and political impacts regarding sustainability. Based on contemporary hi-tech communication systems

and modern travel means, the Centre was to lead to the transnationalization of space and a challenging notion about cultural identity. The introduction of technocrats into the historical setting would initiate new modes of gentrification and urbanization in the given district. The displacement of underprivileged people and their related fabric from the core of harbourfront would lead to a turnover in class composition and blurred cultural coherence, based on the transient nature of the new 'guests'. The decrease in proportion of racial minorities and household size is achieved by the accretion that would result in increased economic activity and decreased diversified economic classes.

The research thesis recognized the challenge of identifying the conflict between gentrification and social sustainability in the Beirut harbourfront historical district. The alienation between host and guest was seen as unavoidable. The thesis verified globalization in this context as a negative economic trend in the historical area of the city with a loss of local business and domestic products. The design thesis articulated a change in the design programme with a vision to include the recovery of the arts and crafts of the historical site from the Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Ottoman and French eras. Its mission was to re-enact the lost crafts through reconstruction of the artefacts in workshop settings and transform them into modern consumer products. The actualization of the building design is projected to evolve from the ground, layer by layer, reminiscent of the character of the architecture of each respective era with its unique colours and textures. The Harbourfront Arts and Crafts Centre was to include the local elderly and young in mastering the arts and crafts of the historical past and indeed become the new engine of the district's economic activity. The products were not only to be rejuvenating the memory of the past, but were also keeping the history of the place continuously alive.

Hence, the design proposal was intended not only to deflect, in a measured way, the globalization process of importing goods and services from the world at large for local and regional consumption, but additionally was aspired to balance the global imports with genuine local products, authentic arts and crafts for world distribution. It attempted to incorporate local artisans' work with the homestead manufacturing skills as a hedge against the gentrification of the harbourfront historical site and thus become a model for the region to enhance social sustainability.

Case Study: Ottawa Shopping Malls and Superstores

Shopping malls in general and superstores in particular are at a crossroads at the turn of the millennium on the North American scene. During the second half of the 20th Century, malls were mimicking the European galleries and Middle Eastern souks and bazaars as marketplaces. With globalization, gentrification and urbanization, these stores have lost their local identity and contextual belongingness. Electronic banking, Internet shopping, and computer-mediated menu-ordering have transformed the act of interface-purchasing. No longer is a human to human communication setting seen as necessary for transactions. Indeed, at present, there are so many semi-deserted malls across the continent that a new definition for a new role-playing within the community at large is required.

In the Ottawa shopping malls and superstores context, the research thesis recognized the challenge of identifying society's aspiration in the post-modern era as it related to Canadian shopping. A plausible design thesis scenario was articulated by advancing the notion that malls can be new *agoras* with their socio-political,

multicultural and economic agenda. The newness had to be omni-inclusive, relating information retrieval with experience gaining, knowledge gathering with having fun: discovery with entertainment. Also the agenda could cater to all age groups. In the Ottawa Bayshore Shopping Mall situation, the design thesis articulated a change in the design programme with a vision to include the elderly with kindergarten kids. The two-story Noah's Arc-type shopping building would have a floating structure above the mall roof where the elderly could dwell and the in-between space on the existing roof could be transformed into a winter garden to house kids and toddlers, among others. The actualization of the building design was projected to evolve from the ground, the first two layers reminiscent of the character of the post-modern *agora*, with all its specific services catering to society's social, cultural, economic, health, entertainment and educational needs. The roof garden designed for all seasons was meant to be the meeting place for all ages, in particular for the elderly caring for the very young and the youth caring for their grandparents.

In the mall setting, the superstores were to be transformed into workshop venues where professionals could inform, advise and consult individuals and families regarding neighbourhoods in particular and society in general on how they could plan and prepare themselves for the imminent technological changes. Global issues of gentrification and urbanization impact the local social sustainability in historical districts and their architecture.

Case Study: Los Angeles Housing for the Homeless

Eviction-based homelessness causing confusion, disorientation, helplessness and eventual displacement and dislocation has parallels with the gentrificated architecture of the historical districts and its tradition-based but unsustainable social structures. Whether in the Sunbelt regions of the United States or in the Nordic Provinces of Canada, urbanization involving globalization is omnipresent. The host and guest conflict is most acute in homeless environments. Homeless architecture, mostly made of portable card-panels carried on shopping carts, is the unwelcome guest in downtown core areas. Municipal governments are at a loss as to how to solve the conflict between attracting much-needed investments in historical districts to maintain its infrastructure systems and, at the same time, not totally jeopardizing the traditional social constructs. The question is, who is in charge of containing and controlling the social agenda — the local governments or the transnational corporations?

In the Los Angeles mega-city context, the research thesis recognized the need for identifying the source and the cause of society's neglected residue in the area, the transient quarter of a million homeless people. The challenge was to find out where they came from, where they were heading and why. Was this a transmediated mental projection of newcomers (the visitors from all over the world), an in-between condition, from aspiring to succeed at all costs in sunny California to rejecting to concede any failure, albeit 'temporary'?

A plausible design thesis scenario was articulated by advancing the notion that empty and neglected two-to-three storey parking structures spread on the city landscape could be transformed into night-stations for the homeless. It would be managed by retired and educated volunteers who could make a contribution to these transient and displaced people's lives, by providing them not only temporary shelter but also basic education and skills for survival. They would instil hope in the mental condition of the homeless and prepare them, in turn, to be contributors in kind for the future of society's well-being.

Hence, architecture of the neglected district structures as manifestation of the process of gentrification would aspire to reclaim its meaningful essence in the multiplicity of gestures of built form and expression. They would attempt to provide new functionality, adaptability and affordability in advancing social sustainability in hopelessly deserted settings. In addition, they would be integrated in the mainstream of city's sociopolitical, multicultural and economic agenda.

Design challenge equation formulation

An equation is formulated for the design challenge to Social Sustainability in Historical Districts (SSHD):

f(SSHD) = f (minimum # of incoming people and minimum # of remodelled buildings + maximum new functionality + maximum new spatial sentiency + maximum feed-forward projection)

MINUS

f(minimum # of outgoing people and minimum # of neglected old buildings + outmoded functionality + outmoded spatial sentiency + feedback reflection)

= **EXTREMIZE**, where

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

Concluding reflections

The ramifications of the equation for the design challenge to Social Sustainability in Historical Districts will evolve on several fronts. Firstly, the equation will attempt 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 historical district. In addition, it will minimize the design-built impact on the EXTERIOR FORM and SPACE CONTEXTUALITY, by preserving the Host District's historical character, including its scale and material identity, colour and texture harmony, and dwelling density. Secondly, it will transform the spatial behaviour of the INTERIOR SETTING for the SUSTAINABILITY of remodelled buildings by upgrading their functionality and adaptability to accommodate pragmatic requirements of the technocrats. Thirdly, it will enhance the interest-emotion-mood parameters of the new SPATIAL SENTIENCY for 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 fulfilment. Fourthly, it will advance 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 strive to delineate the divide between Host and Guest communities.

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Presentation of case studies

Presentación de estudios de caso

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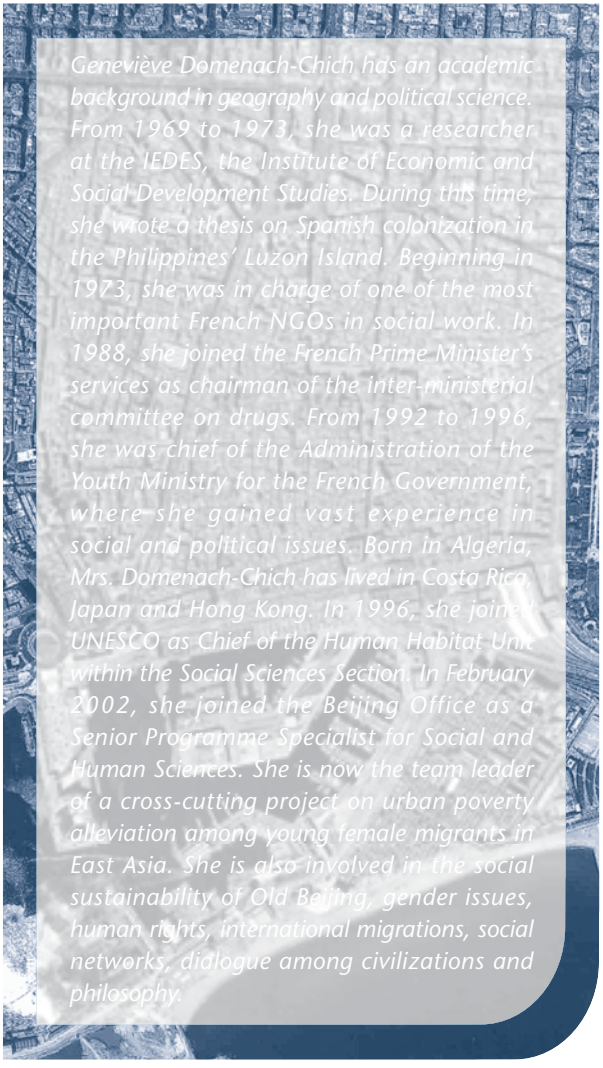
Desarrollo urbano socialmente sostenible en el distrito de Xicheng

En décadas recientes, la destrucción de antiguos centros urbanos ha alterado dramáticamente la tela social en Asia, especialmente en China — ha quebrantado barrios comunitarios, ha vulnerando los derechos de las personas comunes y ha creado nuevos desafíos urbanos para quienes han habitado durante un largo tiempo en las áreas afectadas — lo cual ha producido insatisfacción y disturbios sociales entre los residentes de las áreas de interés histórico, pues se han visto obligados a reubicarse. Beijing en particular ha presentado numerosos cambios desde la década de 1980. Teniendo en mente la edición 55 de los Juegos Olímpicos, que se llevarán a cabo en Beijing en el 2008, el sector de ciencias sociales y humanas de la UNESCO, a través de su oficina de Beijing, ha estado desarrollando un proyecto de investigación-acción que establecerá nuevos caminos para asegurar un desarrollo social sostenible en Beijing, mediante la creación de nuevos enfoques, procedimientos y modelos de renovación. El proyecto, comenzado en el 2002, tiene por objeto el distrito Xicheng de Beijing, haciendo especial énfasis en familias de bajos recursos y en aquellas que no están en capacidad de rehabilitar sus casas. El proyecto cuenta con el apoyo de expertos de la alcaldía de Beijing, del Distrito Xicheng y del departamento de sociología, de la Escuela de humanidades y ciencias sociales y de la Escuela de Arquitectura de la Universidad de Tsinghua en Beijing.



Geneviève Domenach-Chich has an academic background in geography and political science. From 1969 to 1973, she was a researcher at the IEDES, the Institute of Economic and Social Development Studies. During this time, she wrote a thesis on Spanish colonization in the Philippines' Luzon Island. Beginning in 1973, she was in charge of one of the most important French NGOs in social work. In 1988, she joined the French Prime Minister's services as chairman of the inter-ministerial committee on drugs. From 1992 to 1996, she was chief of the Administration of the Youth Ministry for the French Government, where she gained vast experience in social and political issues. Born in Algeria, Mrs. Domenach-Chich has lived in Costa Rica, Japan and Hong Kong. In 1996, she joined UNESCO as Chief of the Human Habitat Unit within the Social Sciences Section. In February 2002, she joined the Beijing Office as a Senior Programme Specialist for Social and Human Sciences. She is now the team leader of a cross-cutting project on urban poverty alleviation among young female migrants in East Asia. She is also involved in the social sustainability of Old Beijing, gender issues, human rights, international migrations, social networks, dialogue among civilizations and philosophy.

Socially Sustainable Urban Development in the Xicheng District

In recent decades, all over Asia, and especially in China, the destruction of the old inner cities has dramatically altered the social fabric — fracturing community neighbourhoods, offending the rights of ordinary people and forging new urban challenges for longtime residents — all of which has led to dissatisfaction and social turbulence among the residents of these historical centres who have been forced to relocate.

Beijing, in particular, has undergone many changes since the 1980s. Boasting a greater metropolitan area of 160 kilometres from east to west and 170 kilometres from north to south, the city houses ten million people in ten districts and several rural counties. Old Beijing is divided into four major districts: the West City District, the East District, the Xuan Wu District and the Chong Wen District. It also benefits from 40 historical and cultural reserves. Thanks to investments by construction companies since the 1980s, 40 million US dollars spent on the preservation of cultural relics in the past three years and the huge construction projects in preparation for the 2008 Olympic Games have led to the disappearance of 200 (out of 820) *hutongs* and relative *siheyuan* (one-story courtyard houses) in the past fifty years. In 2002, sixty-six areas were destroyed – of which sixty-three were *hutongs*. In 2004, 250,000 square metres of old homes, housing 200,000 households, were demolished. New architecture, combining oriental and occidental features, has appeared to replace the traditional structures in the historical district.

PHOTO: The neighbourhood hairstylist reads her eviction notice – July 2004 © G. Domenach-Chich

PHOTO: Accelerated destruction in Old Beijing – July 2004 © G. Domenach-Chich

In view of the 55th Olympic Games to be held in Beijing in 2008, UNESCO's Social and Human Sciences Sector (SHS), through its Beijing office, has been developing a research-action project that will blaze a new trail by creating new models of renewal and new approaches and procedures to ensure future socially sustainable urban development in Beijing. The project, which began in 2002, targets the Xicheng District in Beijing, with an emphasis on low-income families and those not able to rehabilitate their own houses. It draws on the support and expertise of the Beijing Municipality, the Xicheng District and the Department of Sociology, the School of Humanities and Social Sciences and the School of Architecture at Tsinghua University in Beijing.

The Beijing project aims to:

- **Fight against the social exclusion** of the poor urban inhabitants living in historical city areas;
- Foster the **active participation of the inhabitants** in the renewal area in Old Beijing;
- **Restore social cohesion** and maintain the local population of the historical areas;
- **Impact the policy-making process** related to migration and social inclusion, both at the local and national levels;
- **Promote human rights,** such as the right to adequate housing, the right to information, the right to association and the right to a safe environment.

In order to achieve these goals, the Beijing Project proposes to take the following actions:

- **Deliver social services to inhabitants** (single women in particular) in cooperation with the Beijing Municipality;
- Support poor inhabitants with **job-seeking activities, micro-loans and income-generating activities,** in cooperation with the Beijing Municipality;
- **Fund aid/housing** for local inhabitants in partnership with the Beijing Municipality;
- Provide **responses and offer recommendations,** in the form of policy papers on measures to enhance social sustainability in historical districts.

The Beijing Project has unfolded in three phases. In October, 2002, Tsinghua University, the *École Française d'Extrême Orient,* the Tibet Heritage Fund and the Chinese Contemporary Architecture Observer organized a symposium on 'The Future of Old Beijing and the Conflict between Modernization and Preservation'. Chinese and foreign specialists shared their practical experiences regarding the conflict between modernizing cities, preserving the traditional urban habitat and protecting the rights of inhabitants.

PHOTO: The Xicheng District - July 2004 © G. Domenach-Chich

In 2003, a research-action project testing the socially sustainable development in one of the historical and cultural residential areas in Beijing, Yan Dai Xie Jie, was initiated. This phase of the project consisted of a social investigation of the Yan Dai Xie Jie area, a pilot site of 3.2 hectares with about 300 families [note: the Yan Dai Xie Jie area is a part of the Shichahai Historical Zone within the Xicheng District]. Questionnaires were distributed to the inhabitants of this area, asking residents about living space, family size, building quality, homeowner/tenant status, income, occupation, sanitation infrastructure and the special needs of particularly vulnerable groups.

The project entered its third phase in 2004. During this phase, a network of Chinese experts in urban preservation was set up and the UNESCO research-action project on the Tsinghua Yan Dai Xie Jie area continued. In addition, on 21 November 2004, a closed workshop with Chinese scholars and experts was held at Tsinghua University on the topic, 'Urban Preservation, Social Cohesion and Public Participation in the Old City of Beijing'. This workshop aimed to bring together experts with different backgrounds to analyse urban preservation in the Old City of Beijing, the problems and puzzles confronting Beijing, as well as their eventual solutions.

At the same time, SHS has established a working partnership with the Asia-Urbs project. Asia-Urbs is carried out by the cities of Rome, Paris and Beijing, under the sponsorship of the European Union Commission. The EU project implies a local development process that allows the identification of an innovative model of sustainable urban development and provides the conservation and valorization of urban heritage and the improvement of the quality of life and socio-economic development of urban dwellers.

Negotiating with the Xicheng District and the Beijing Municipality, the UNESCO Beijing office continues to work with Tsinghua University on the project for the 'Renewal of the Shichahai Historical Area', with the help of the Beijing Urban Planning Committee.

In spring 2005, SHS will organize an event to raise awareness in the Chinese and international public on forced evictions and urban preservation. The event will be coordinated in close collaboration with the Beijing Municipality, the Xicheng District, academic researchers and private companies. This action will also be realized in close connection with the second activity of the 'Dialogue on Human Rights' project. SHS would like to develop the project further within the framework of 33 C/5.

PHOTO: The bulldozer's work complete, an inhabitant searches the grounds for any remnants of his personal affairs - July 2004
© G. Domenach-Chich

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La restauración de Cheonggye-Cheon

La restauración de Cheonggye-Cheon (arroyo), más que un proyecto de planeación urbana, es un proyecto simbólico destinado a revivir el patrimonio histórico y natural de Seúl a comienzos del siglo XXI, en el cual se interesa la nación entera. Una vez culminado el proyecto, Seúl se convertirá en una capital acogedora para las personas y en armonía con el medio ambiente. Se espera además que el proyecto se convierta en un nuevo paradigma de gestión urbana para el Seúl del siglo XXI y que contribuya significativamente a la renovación de la imagen de la ciudad. Una vez terminada la restauración, Seúl resucitará sus 600 años de historia como capital de la República de Corea y se convertirá en una ciudad donde lo moderno y la tradición coexisten en armonía. Se espera que el Cheonggye-Cheon restaurado se convierta en una de las atracciones turísticas más importantes para los visitantes coreanos y extranjeros. El proyecto se enfocará en mejorar el ambiente urbano para los habitantes y los comercios y se espera ayude a Seúl a convertirse en el centro financiero y comercial del sudeste asiático. Esperamos que la nueva imagen de la ciudad cree nuevas ilusiones para los ciudadanos de Seúl.

Mr Yang received his BA from Seoul National University, majoring in architecture. He then pursued his M.Arch. at Illinois Institute of Technology in 1978, then his MLA from Harvard University in 1980. After enriching his working experience as an architect and urban designer at S.O.M. in Chicago from 1976 to 1978, and then in Boston and Washington from 1979 to 1981, he has been a professor at Seoul National University in the Graduate School of Environmental Studies. Yoon Jae-Yang is currently Vice-Mayor of the Seoul Metropolitan Government for the Cheonggye-Cheon Restoration Project, one of the most important urban planning and construction projects in Korea.

The restoration of Cheonggye-Cheon

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 the Republic 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.

Sajida Vandal

Professor / National College of the Arts / Lahore (Pakistan)

SKAFTI BATIK: La casa abierta en la ciudad amurallada de Lahore

En aras de encontrar una forma innovadora de abordar los problemas a los que se enfrenta el centro histórico de Lahore, el National College of Arts (NCA) de Lahore creó en junio del 2003 el Centro para los estudios de conservación y restauración (CCRS) en la ciudad amurallada de Lahore, con la asociación de la UNESCO a través de la iniciativa "Pobres urbanos, revitalización socio-económica de los centros urbanos". El fondo de inversión de la NCA compró una casa de interés histórico ubicada en el barrio Chowk Matti, Kucha Pir Shirazi de la ciudad amurallada para ser la sede del CCRS. Uno de los principales objetivos del CCRS era establecer vínculos estrechos entre los ocupantes y dueños de la propiedad de interés histórico, las organizaciones y profesionales locales, los profesionales urbanos y los estudiantes de arte y arquitectura. Estos vínculos podrían hacer posible una intervención positiva en la ciudad amurallada, conduciendo no sólo a una mejor calidad de vida para sus residentes, sino además a la preservación y conservación de la propiedad patrimonio histórico. Se previó que esta propiedad podría eventualmente convertirse en la base de los estudios de post-grado en conservación y restauración — actualmente indisponibles en Pakistán — con el objeto de lograr que la realidad sobre la situación del país, caracterizada por la ocupación de las áreas de interés histórico por los estratos populares de la sociedad, sea reconocida.

Sajida Vandal, currently the Principal and a Professor of Architecture at the National College of Arts in Lahore, specializes in architecture and planning, higher education management and participatory development.

She has worked as an architect and a consultant for the Asian Development Bank, the World Bank and for UNESCO. She has a Bachelor's degree in Architecture, a Master's degree in the Built Environment and a degree in Urban Design.

The Open House in the Walled City of Lahore

The Walled City, or *Androon Shaher,* represents the historical core of metropolitan Lahore, the capital city of the Punjab province. The Walled City is the richest repository of the nation's cultural heritage, with a recorded history dating back to 1000 A.D. Facing various vicissitudes through history, it enjoyed imperial status and glamour during the reigns of Mughal Emperors Akbar, Jahangir and ShahJehan. 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. Following the decline of the Mughal Empire, the city suffered continually, except for a brief period during Ranjit Singh's rule. At the time of British annexation (1849), the town had receded back to the walled area, leaving the surroundings strewn with ruins. However, Lahore reemerged as the leading city of the North Western British India during the colonial period.

The Walled City of Lahore, covering an area of 2.56 square kilometres, has continued through history to be the hub, the kernel and the central point of the metropolis. At its northwestern end is the citadel, comprising the Fort, a World Heritage site, the Badshahi Mosque and the Hazuri Bagh, while extant monuments, mosques, *havelis* (mansions), *hamams* (baths) and *gurdawaras* temples (Sikh temples) are spread throughout. A 1986 study commissioned by the Lahore Development Authority (LDA) identified 4000 premises of architectural merit of which 1400 were to be conserved, along with 30 monuments of national importance. Traditionally, the city was divided into *guzars* (administrative units), which were further divided into *mohallahs* (neighbourhoods) and inhabited on the basis of clan, ethnicity or trade. These neighbourhoods had a well-defined hierarchy of public and private space, with the *bazaars* (markets) and thoroughfares clearly delineated. Today, the city is a vibrant centre with the principal wholesale markets, small-scale labour-intensive manufacturing industries and warehousing spread throughout the city and encroaching on the older residential neighbourhoods and public space. The vast majority of the residents have low-income levels, as those

PHOTO: Map of Lahore, showing the location of the Walled City
© Centre for Conservation and Restoration Studies

with higher incomes moved out to the suburbs in the decade after Independence in 1947 and were replaced by poor tenants, poorer relatives of the original owners, or immigrants who came to the city at the moment of Independence and the partition of the sub-continent. Land titles are unclear; ownership is often disputed and multiple due to inheritance or allotments/settlement following the 1947 events. A large percentage of the current residents are shopkeepers or manufacturing unit workers, serving the rapidly expanding manufacturing and commerce establishments. The daytime population is estimated to be 0.4 to 0.5 million while the night-time population is about half of that. The residential density of about 400 persons per acre is about six times the average of the city as a whole — keeping in mind that, according to the latest available figures from 1998, the annual decrease in population is 4.2% against the Lahore city's increase of 3.5%.

The Walled City, faced with an ageing 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. The heritage properties are rapidly disappearing: they are either demolished to make room for markets and manufacturing units or crudely adapted to serve these new commercial purposes. Electricity wires criss-cross the narrow streets, creating a safety hazard, compounded with severe traffic problems and pollution. Garbage heaps are a source of pestilence. A lack of general municipal administration adds to the state of dereliction. The low income level of the residents and their social patterns display all

the accompanying ills of poverty. The Walled City of Lahore thus exhibits a dichotomy — a vibrant area, rich in cultural value yet poor in terms of quality of life.

The derelict city is nevertheless home to the traditional culture of the Punjab and still offers an amazing array of traditional crafts sold in the speciality bazaars such as the *Suhah* (gold) bazaar, *Kesara* (utensil) bazaar and such others. The smell of spices in the Akbari Market vies with the aromas of the various food shops dotting the city. The storytellers in the Hazuri Bagh and the musical instrument makers compete for attention with the *Akaras*, the traditional wrestling and training establishments. The Punjab's most important cultural festival of *Basant* is celebrated with zeal every spring when the city opens its doors to the numerous visitors and its age-old speciality food continues to serve as a great attraction. The Walled City embodies a living culture where the tangible

PHOTO: Haveli Nau Nihal Singh, a Sikh period mansion converted to the Victoria School during the British Colonial period and restored in 1992. Note the new interventions in about 2000 on the right.
© Centre for Conservation and Restoration Studies

and intangible heritage of urban Punjab can still be enjoyed. The challenge, then, is how to address the numerous problems without destroying the living culture and dislocating the very people who are its custodians?

Interventions over time

The British Colonial interventions in the Walled City include the demolition of the fortification walls and their replacement with a Circular Garden in 1849, the provision of waterworks for the city, electrification and some buildings of no great architectural significance. Post-Independence interventions, following the fire and the upheaval of 1947, were incongruous with the original urban pattern of labyrinthine narrow streets and closely packed three- to four-storey buildings on small lots. These interventions, which carry on unabated, included large markets (Shahalami and Azam cloth markets) on a wide avenue, thus setting the tone of insensitivity towards the architectural and social design that make up the rich heritage of the Walled City.

Efforts to improve the conditions in the Walled City in recent years include the 1970s infrastructure improvements, which mainly consisted of street paving, drainage, piped water supply and gas supply lines. These changes resulted in substantial land speculation, the destruction of heritage properties, and the residential displacement of the urban poor. The Conservation Plan of 1986 made no significant improvement in the Walled City either, aside from the conservation of a few heritage buildings in public ownership. Markedly absent from the Conservation Plan of 1986 — and indeed the major flaw of the plan — was a concern for the voice of the population.

PHOTO: A crumbling *haveli* with a recently built house on the left; an example of the rapidly deteriorating state of heritage buildings and the new architectural vocabulary
© Centre for Conservation and Restoration Studies

PHOTO: Akbari Mandi, typical street in Lahore
© Centre for Conservation and Restoration Studies

The plan did not provide any mechanism for encouraging the participation of the people, nor did it appear to understand the aspirations of the greater population. The plan instead suggested gentrification as a solution. Mercifully, the implementation process was weak and none of the proposed actions, which would have dramatically changed the city, were carried out. However, market forces continued to take their toll, and the Walled City was rapidly deteriorating into an industrial estate aided by its proximity to the major bus terminal, ease of business and lack of government control over tax collection. Residential buildings continue to be rapidly converted into manufacturing units and warehouses or replaced by incongruous new buildings to accommodate commercial use. Rampant commercialization has resulted in both a weakened quality of life for residents and visitors, as well as an erosion of the city's heritage buildings and premises.

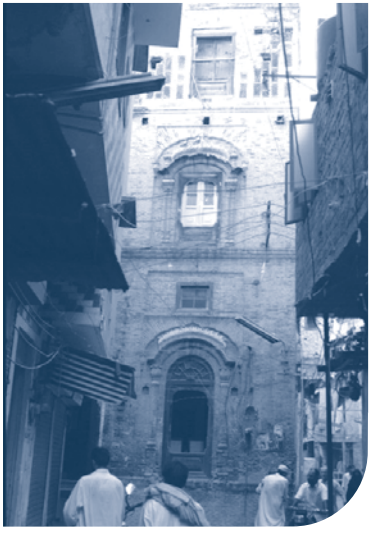

PHOTO: The Centre for Conservation and Restoration Studies – Skafti Batik, Koocha Pir Shirazi, inside Lohari Gate, in the Walled City of Lahore
© Centre for Conservation and Restoration Studies

Additionally, hazardous industries such as chemicals, fireworks and shoe-making have created yet another set of problems.

The many problems and issues faced by the residents of the Walled City are symptomatic of one basic disease — the decay of the underlying urban and social fabric. Efforts in the past have enjoyed little success. Both the Lahore Urban Traffic Study of the 1970s and the Walled City Conservation Plan of 1986 have been largely unsuccessful in changing the lives of the poor residents, addressing the city's major issues or safeguarding the heritage of the historical core of Lahore. A new vision needs to be developed that encompasses the aspirations of the local community, provides employment opportunities and improves the access to basic needs.

The *Skafti Batik* or Open House

Seeking an innovative way to address the issues faced by the historical core of Lahore, the National College of Arts (NCA) in Lahore, the premiere and oldest art institution in the country, worked to establish close links among the occupants and owners of heritage property, local organizations and practitioners, professionals, and art and architecture students. It was hoped that these relations had the potential to enable positive intervention in the Walled city, which would in turn lead to an improved quality of life for the residents, as well as the preservation and conservation of prime heritage property. It was deemed important to create opportunities for an interactive learning process. The objectives of the NCA's project 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. These objectives fell within the overall mission of the institution, which

included the need to set up educational opportunities for training professionals in conservation and restoration. The NCA approached the Endowment Trust of the College to purchase a property inside the Walled City. It was envisaged that eventually this property would provide the basis for instituting post graduate degrees in Conservation and Restoration — a degree that is not currently available in the country — in such a way that the realities of the Pakistani situation, in which most heritage areas are occupied by the poor segments of society, would be recognized.

Laying the foundation In June 2003, a heritage house located in Chowk Matti, Kucha Pir Shirazi, a neighbourhood of the Walled City, built in circa 1860, was purchased by the NCA Endowment Trust, thus establishing the 'Open House'. The House was named *SKAFTI BATIK*, the Centre for Conservation and Restoration Studies *(CCRS-Skafti Batik)*. The local name signifies that the house would be a place for dialogue and debate on culture, thus the 'openness' of the house. The Trustees had agreed to support the project on the condition that the operational expenses would be borne by NCA alone. Hence, the initial efforts to raise funds through discussions and presentations to potential donors began. The College was successful in creating a close association with UNESCO-Pakistan and was given the initial support to start work within the framework of UNESCO's 'Urban Poor, Socioeconomic Revitalization of Urban Centres' initiative. Later a project-specific endowment of PKR 10 million (US $200,000) was created to ensure the sustainability of the *CCRS-Skafti Batik*.

PHOTO: Akbari Mandi— transformation of a residential street © Centre for Conservation and Restoration Studies

One of the primary objects for establishing the *CCRS-Skafti Batik* was that it would act as a meeting ground for the people to discuss and debate their needs and establish priorities. The Centre would develop as a repository of information and be able to offer advice and technical assistance. Given the low economic status of the resident population and their inability to seek professional advice, this aspect was envisaged to be a key function and required staff training, the development of maintenance manuals and the safeguarding of an ongoing link with the local community. There was also a need to attend to the endangered traditional crafts and the intangible heritage; thus began the process to document these trades and identify skilled craftsmen. This led to the realization that specific units or cells should be set up to accommodate such initiatives, such as the Interactive Information and Documentation Cell (IDIC), the Advisory Cell and the Training Cell.

During the first year of the project in the summer of 2003, the work focused on collecting materials and computerizing available drawings to enable the installation of the IDIC. In just two months of summer vacation, a total of 374 books, pamphlets,

maps and other documents were listed by the NCA student interns. The ongoing documentation process will continue with two months of every summer devoted to this activity. Additionally, 150 heritage buildings for which drawings were available were computerized, as was a map of the Walled City. A Study of 'Best Practices' was also carried out documenting and analysing the best means to rehabilitate old structures and identifying problems in maintenance. This knowledge, combined with discussions and the participation of local masons and building craftsmen, has led to the development of a Conservation and Maintenance Manual, currently in preparation. It was felt that connections should be simultaneously established with the community so as to build a relationship of trust. To this end, an exhibition of the 'Best Practices' study was mounted at the Centre and CDs were distributed to owners of the houses. With the limited funds available, the restoration of the Centre itself commenced, which was viewed as an opportunity for dialogue with the local community and as a potential practical model for future urban rehabilitation projects. Additionally, a survey of the surrounding neighbourhood was carried out to gain a better understanding of the immediate environs of the *Skafti Batik*.

To further the aim of the Centre, it was important to establish partnerships by working with some easily identifiable and organized groups. The local primary and secondary schools offered the best possibilities. Through orientation workshops, visits to the schools, art workshops with schoolchildren and guided visits to the Lahore Fort, it is hoped that a network of schools attached to the Centre will emerge. A survey of schools, which included 34 government and 11 private schools, was carried out in 2004 with the objective of identifying facility conditions and needs, special interests and abilities of teachers. These surveys were followed by discussions on how the schools perceive the road ahead. The study has revealed the deplorable condition of several government schools and the need for awareness-building initiatives directed at the schoolchildren.

Bringing in the municipality After the preliminary work of over a year, the Centre was then ready to seek collaboration with the Mayor and bring the municipal offices on board as important stakeholders. Discussions with the Mayor led to the development of a conceptual framework and the identification of potential areas for collaboration. The Mayor was of the view that the Walled City should be developed as an area for cultural tourism, consistent with the recommendations of UNESCO's report on 'Cultural Tourism: Lahore and Peshawar' and the 'Master Plan of the Lahore Fort'. In order to create a sustainable internal balance, enhancement and improvement of civic amenities and basic needs, commercial activity in the Walled City would have to be reduced, mechanisms for public-private partnership with local organizations and the NGO sector would have to be established and the participation of the people would have to be a top priority. The first step would be to develop a strategic plan to help achieve the goals and objectives and to ensure that areas identified for cultural tourism were consistent with the cultural use of space within the city so that interventions did not result in gentrification and dislocation. The municipal government proposed that while the strategic plan was being developed, commercial activity could begin to be phased out and commercial encroachments could be removed. This is, however, a complex and political issue, as the traders unions in the Walled City are a strong force and all previous attempts to curtail or remove commercial activity has had no success. As a first

step, the Mayor plans to remove encroachments from the Wazir Khan Mosque forecourt, a Mughal period monument and a popular visitor destination, which may in fact be possible since the premises are public property. However, none of these measures can be successful without the participation of the people, given the low social capital of the government.

The recommendations of UNESCO's report on 'Cultural Tourism: Lahore and Peshawar' and the 'Master Plan of the Lahore Fort' are both explicit in their recommendations that the physical link of the Walled City to the Citadel should be re-established so that residents benefit from the most frequently visited archaeological sites, too. The street establishing this link was traditionally the public sphere of the city. The CCRS has offered to carry out a study of the street and propose potential solutions; the Centre currently awaits the interest of the municipal government.

Given the importance of establishing a partnership with the Mayor's office, an attainable entry point for collaboration should be established which can demonstrate the potential fruitfulness of such a partnership for all stakeholders. The areas of collaboration agreed upon by the CCRS and the Mayor are easily attainable goals and include measures to deal with solid waste management, which has been identified as a priority of the local community. Several community-based NGOs are active in this endeavour. The CCRS would take responsibility for public awareness and motivational measures and, in collaboration with all stakeholders, establish a system of garbage collection and disposal. Additionally, the conservation and improvement of heritage school buildings would be taken up, with the CCRS providing technical advice. 'Heritage Education for Schoolchildren' is the third programme that has been proposed, which would be carried out with the NCA faculty and the CCRS-School network partnership.

The Open House has been given a permanent base in the ancient quarters of the Walled City of Lahore. The three cells, the IDIC, the Advisory Cell and the Training Cell, require consistent work to be fully functional. The clarity of objectives, the vision of the Centre and its acceptance by the local community and the willingness of all stakeholders will, ultimately, determine its success.

PHOTO: An aerial view of the Walled City of Lahore, with the Wazir Kahn Mosque in the foreground
© Centre for Conservation and Restoration Studies

Arif Hasan

Visiting Professor of Architecture / NED University, Karachi (Pakistan)
Representative of the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR)

LAS CIUDADES INTERIORES EN ASIA – Las inquietudes de la Coalición Asiática para los Derechos de Vivienda (ACHR)

LAS MALAS NOTICIAS: *Mientras a Europa le tomó siglos urbanizarse y ponerse a tono con la urbanización, en Asia la urbanización ha sido acelerada. En tan sólo unas cuantas décadas, asentamientos coloniales adormecidos, pueblos pintorescos y modestos puertos se convirtieron en rugientes mega-ciudades y su población se disparó de miles a millones de habitantes. Si bien este cambio explosivo ha traído crecimiento económico y oportunidades de trabajo, se ha pagado a cambio un precio muy alto. Enfrentamos con frecuencia no sólo problemas de vivienda e infraestructura fruto de la falta de planeación y de una urbanización desigual, sino igualmente la pérdida de los centros urbanos históricos de Asia. Al mismo tiempo, barrios enteros, plazas de mercado y vastas extensiones de viviendas tradicionales desaparecen rápidamente, llevándose con ellas numerosas viviendas de bajo costo y lugares de trabajo. En el norte, la revitalización de los distritos históricos ha implicado en la mayoría de los casos la expulsión de los pobres, ya sea directamente por medio del desalojo o indirectamente a raíz de las fuerzas del mercado, pues áreas caracterizadas por bajos costos de alquiler suben de categoría produciéndose así el reemplazo de los habitantes de escasos recursos por residentes adinerados y franquicias de Starbucks.*

LAS BUENAS NOTICIAS: *Varias ciudades de Asia están explorando novedosas iniciativas destinadas a preservar lo antiguo sin desalojar a los pobres. Zonas de interés histórico y personas reales pueden coexistir felizmente; en efecto, varios casos demuestran que la rehabilitación de ciudades, barrios y edificios históricos puede llevarse a cabo sin necesidad de expulsar a su componente humano. Lo anterior demuestra que arraigar la preservación del patrimonio histórico en los procesos comunitarios locales puede hacer de los habitantes locales, incluso si son de escasos recursos, los mejores conservacionistas.*

Arif Hasan is an architect and planner in private practice in Karachi. He studied architecture at the Oxford Polytechnic. On his return to Karachi in 1968, he established an independent practice that slowly evolved into dealing with urban planning and development issues in Asia, particularly in Pakistan. He has been a consultant and adviser to many local and foreign CBOs, national and international NGOs and bilateral and multilateral donor agencies. Since 1982, he has been involved with the Orangi Pilot Project (OPP) and is the founder Chairman of the Urban Resource Centre (URC) in Karachi since its inception in 1989. Mr Hasan has taught at Pakistani and European universities, served on juries of international architectural and development competitions and is the author of a number of books on development and planning dealing with Asian cities in general and Karachi in particular. He has received a number of awards for his work (which spans many countries), including the UN Award for the Shelterless Memorial of the Japanese Government (1990), the Prince Claus Award of the Netherlands Government (2000) and the Hilal-i-Imtiaz of the Government of Pakistan (2001). Recently, he was given a Lifetime Achievement Award by the Institute of Architects in Pakistan (2003).

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Concerns of the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR)

In almost all cases, the inner cities of Asia's large urban centres consist of old walled settlements and the expansion around them from colonial times. By 1940, few of these cities boasted a population larger than 400,000, although by the 1920s they contained major transport and cargo terminals (railway stations, ports and related functions), in addition to wholesale markets and storage spaces.

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, as did trade, commerce and industry. Many urban centres have since 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 — not to mention the requirements of the transport sector that services such activities — were not planned and implemented. As a result, these activities expanded within the inner cities, to eventually engulf them completely. Most of the elite and merchant classes — and the retail activity that catered to these classes — 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 numbers 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 communities that built and managed them are no longer there to ensure their upkeep.

Government plans for the inner cities normally consist of shifting wholesaling and small-scale industry to locations outside the city, removing the hawkers and

PHOTO: Lyari Expressway Karachi affectees: almost half are residents of settlements dating back to the 19th century (and in some cases to the 18th century), and whose inhabitants are the descents of the artisans and laborers who built colonial Karachi © Urban Resource Centre, Karachi

gentrifying the areas that have been vacated. This type of process has occurred in Jakarta, Manila, Karachi and Bangkok. With the shifting of markets and industry, the inner city population loses its jobs. None of the new market and industrial relocations has made provisions for offering a housing option to the affected population in 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 kind 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, again without offering any alternatives to the affected populations. In most cases (Bangkok, Manila), even the traffic problems have not been solved by the construction of this infrastructure.

Reasons for insensitive planning

The ACHR cites the following reasons for this insensitive government planning:

- The solutions that Asian governments are proposing and implementing are not a part of a larger city planning exercise. These projects are being implemented at different places without any coordination with other cities or with other projects in the same city.
- Even when they are a part of a larger city plan, a powerful land-hungry politician-bureaucrat-developer nexus sees to it that land value — 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 organizations do not challenge these insensitive plans because their individual members and consulting firms are also major beneficiaries of such projects. 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.

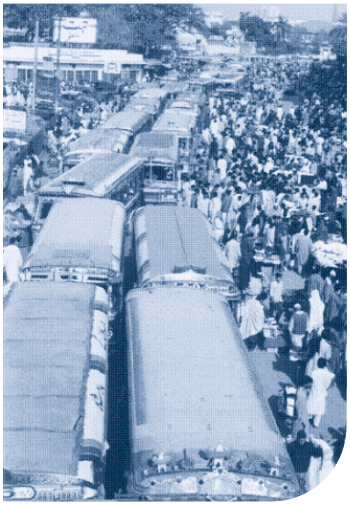


PHOTO: Transport congestion and hawkers in the inner city. The URC has developed a plan for their rehabilitation.
© Urban Resource Centre, Karachi

URC objectives

In the case of Karachi, the Urban Resource Centre (URC), established by teachers of architecture and city planning, NGOs involved in development and CBOs, has made a difference. The objectives of the URC are:

- To collect information regarding the city and its plans and to disseminate these results to the media, NGOs, CBOs, concerned citizens and formal and informal interest groups.
- To analyse local and federal government plans for the city from the point of view of communities (especially poor ones), interest groups, academia and NGOs.
- To hold forums on the basis of these analyses in which all interest groups are present so that a broad consensus may be achieved.
- To identify and promote research and documentation on major issues in Karachi and to monitor developments and processes.
- To create professionals and activists in the NGO, CBO and government sector who understand planning issues from the point of view of local communities, especially poor ones.

URC activities

The URC has a Governor Council consisting of well-known professionals, academics, NGO and CBO representatives and grass-roots social and political activists, in addition to a five-member full-time staff. To achieve its objectives, the URC carries out the following activities:

- Maintaining files of news clippings of all major Karachi issues, which are then made available to researchers, students and the media.
- Issuing a monthly 'Facts and Figures' publication based on these journal articles, which is sent to over 1,600 individuals and organizations.
- Analysing Karachi's development plans and projects and providing a space for interest groups to discuss the projects and to make recommendations. These debates are documented and published in the media, lending to future debates and discussions. Critical issues are developed into pamphlets and books.
- Arranging lectures by eminent professionals and experts on national and international development-related issues, which are attended by grass-roots activists, NGOs, government officials, academia and representatives of interest groups. This helps organizations and individuals relate their work to larger national and international issues.
- Operating a Youth Training Programme (YTP) whereby it gives one-year fellowships to young university graduates and community activists, who help with research, documentation and interaction with communities and interest groups. Through

PHOTO: Communities and their civil society supporters have consistently protested against the Lyari Expressway project, calling upon the government to improve its plans for relocation. Despite these efforts, the Expressway, which will dislocate an estimated 25,000 families, is currently under construction. © Urban Resource Centre, Karachi

these fellowships, the URC seeks to broaden its base in society as a whole.

- Promoting and supporting a network of CBOs and NGOs for networking on major Karachi-related development issues and projects.
- Monitoring and documenting evictions, identifying vulnerable communities and informing them of possible threats, and publishing articles on eviction issues which in turn get taken up by the print and electronic media.

Impact of URC

The URC aims to create a space for informed discussion on Karachi-related development issues for its various interest groups, and through this space it seeks to promote environmentally friendly and pro-poor development. So far, URC's work has had the following impact:

- The Karachi Mass Transit Project (KMTP) was modified as a result of pressure from citizen's groups to become more environment- and cost-friendly. The movement was initiated by the URC.
- The URC's movement for the revitalization and extension of the Karachi Circular Railway (KCR), which had been abandoned by government planners, has led to an acceptance of URC proposals. Plans for KCR's development are currently under way.
- The Lyari Expressway Project, which was to displace 25,000 families and businesses, was shelved a number of times due to a movement against it by local communities supported by the URC. It is currently being built but opposition to it is fierce and is headed by information and lobbying by the URC. The government's improved rehabilitation plan for the affectees is the result of this opposition.
- The Northern Bypass Project, which had been shelved, was pushed by the URC and is now under construction.
- URC's research, negotiations, forums and support to the Karachi transporters have led to a greater understanding of their problems in the media and in relevant government agencies.
- URC has developed plans (in collaboration with hawkers and the city government's Traffic Engineering Bureau) for the rehabilitation of over 3,000 hawkers who are periodically evicted from the centre of the city. These plans are being discussed with the city government. Similar plans for other areas are being researched.
- URC's research on solid waste management (which was carried out in collaboration with scavengers and solid waste recyclers) has led to the informal recycling industry being accepted as an important interest group in this sector. The research and related forums have documented the positive role of the industry, its problems, its economics and developed plans for its future.
- The URC has been a promoter of the Orangi Pilot Project — Research and Training Institute's (OPP-RTI) alternative sewage disposal plans for Karachi around which the URC has created a CBO-NGO network supported by professionals and local communities. This networks lobbying has led to the cancellation of

PHOTO: Hawkers and buses in the inner city
© Urban Resource Centre, Karachi

a one million dollar ADB sewage project-related loan for Karachi and the adoption of a cheaper OPP-RTI proposal. The network has also successfully helped in opposing the privatization of water in Karachi.

- Thirty young graduates and community activists have so far worked with the URC YTP project. Twenty of them have joined other organizations both in the NGO and government sector, taking with them the knowledge of the relationship between plans and poor communities. As a result, links between the URC and these community organizations have been created.
- The media and the government (even if it does not agree with the URC analysis of its plans) consult with the URC. This has generated discussion and debate on issues that were never before discussed in the media and in government planning institutions.

Lessons learned

Numerous lessons have been learned from the URC experience, which are of relevance to planning and policy issues for Karachi, such as:

- Government plans are too often insensitive to environmental and social issues and are not cost-effective because they do not consult with relevant interest groups regarding them. These kinds of consultations do not currently exist in government agencies.
- Government planners, academic institutions, professional bodies and the media do not have knowledge or understanding of the informal processes which provide services to the vast majority of low-income Karachi communities. When these urban professionals interact with informal community groups, their responses are positive.
- Among young, educated Karachiites, there is an immense longing to address the problems facing their city and its inhabitants, but they do not know how they can become a part of a process for improving the physical and social environment of Karachi.
- A powerful nexus of politicians, bureaucrats, developers, contractors, consultants (local and international) and international financial institutions opposes the promotion of transparency, accountability and cost effectiveness for development programmes in Karachi.

The URC model is being replicated with ACHR support in Phnom Penh, Colombo, Kathmandu, Cape Town and in the Punjab province of Pakistan. A number of other cities in the country have also approached the URC for help in replicating this model.

The URC collects information regarding the city and its plans and disseminates its findings to the media, NGOs, CBOs, concerned citizens and formal and informal interest groups. It analyses 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 achieved. The print and electronic media take up these issues. URC's involvement has brought about many changes in plans for the inner city, although

PHOTO: What we inherited … and what we are building next door.
© Urban Resource Centre, Karachi

it has not yet brought about a major shift in the planning process itself.

The secret to URC's success

The success of URC 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. Among these changes, in the final year of study, 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 given a problem-ridden area of the city to explore. Each group had to identify the actors of its area and, through interaction with the community, understand the causes of the conditions in the area. The four groups then came together in a workshop and synthesized 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 practising planning and architecture emerged as a result.

Many of the graduates of this programme are now important professionals. 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 diagram on the following page.

Groups working with URC in Karachi

NGOs
Orangi Pilot Project-Research & Training Institute
Orangi Charitable Trust
Aurat Foundation
Shirkatgah
Citizen's Committee for Civic Problems
Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
Urban Working Group
Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research
Shehri
Saiban
Urban Resource Centre

38 CBOs

National Institute of Public Administration

Media Organizations
Jung Forum
ICN
Press Club
Geo Television

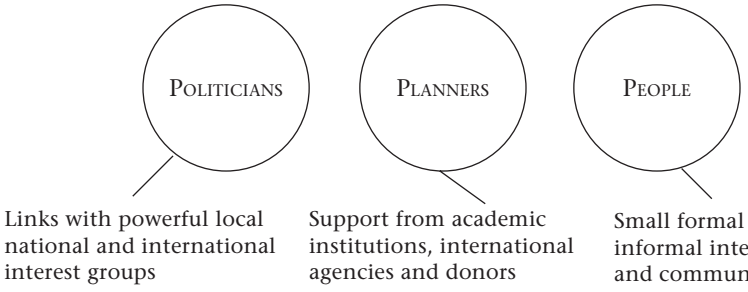
Interest Groups
Minibus Drivers Associations
Transport Ittehad
Tanker Owners Association
Karachi Bus Owners Association
Solid Waste Recyclers Associations (6)
Hawkers Associations (8)
Kabari Welfare Anjuman
Scavengers Associations

Government Departments
Sindh Katchi Abadi Authority
City Government Mass Transit Cell
Karachi Public Transport Society
Sindh Cultural Heritage Committee
Karachi Master Plan Department

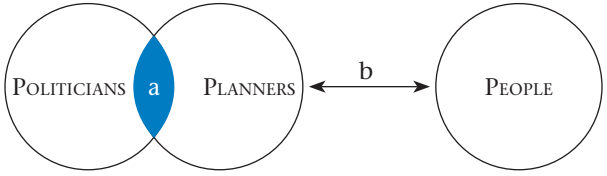
Academic Institutions
Dawood College, Dept. of Architecture and Planning
NED University, Dept. of Architecture and Planning
Karachi University:
-Department of Architecture and Planning
-Social Works Department

The URC Reform Agenda

1. The Three Main Players and Their Present Links

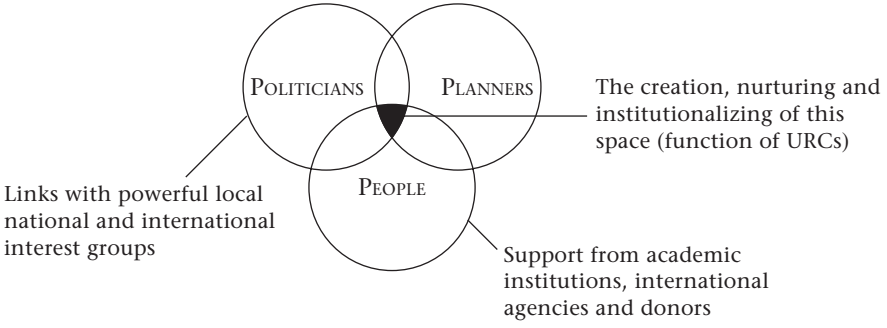


2. Development Delivery: The Present Situation



'a' is directly proportional to 'b'

3. As it should be



Dmitry Kataev
Deputy of Moscow City Council

Reconstrucción en la metrópoli de Moscú: Causas objetivas, conflictos de interés y la necesidad de una discusión internacional

El crecimiento económico de Rusia durante los últimos cinco años, está relacionado con los resultados a largo plazo de reformas liberales y democráticas; a los rebotes de la recesión; a condiciones favorables en el mercado de fuentes de energía; y, según algunos, a la estabilización política. Hoy en día, Moscú se enfrenta a la intensificación de los conflictos sociales dentro de un sector de la ciudad en donde se ha venido reconstruyendo a gran escala. En comparación con otras regiones de Rusia, Moscú es la más democrática, educada y comercialmente activa. Anticipamos que las demás regiones se enfrentarán en un futuro a la reconstrucción municipal y sus respectivas consecuencias.

Por un lado, la reconstrucción de la ciudad es una necesidad. De otro lado, destruye la originalidad de los lugares históricos y distorsiona el equilibrio social existente, forzando a los habitantes a dejar sus lugares de residencia. *Los problemas de la reconstrucción de Moscú y, en un futuro próximo, de otras grandes ciudades, están estrechamente ligados a cuestiones de propiedad, a cuestiones sociales, al desarrollo de vivienda y al desarrollo de un gobierno local público y autónomo en Rusia. Es un asunto enteramente político. Asimismo, es uno de los aspectos importantes para la construcción de una sociedad civil. Sugiero a los participantes desarrollar un proyecto sobre una convención internacional similar a la Carta europea del gobierno local autónomo, relativa a las garantías conferidas a los habitantes de zonas en reconstrucción.*

Dmitry Kataev has been the Deputy of the Moscow City Council since 1990. In this capacity, he has been responsible for the reform of local self-government and science and innovative infrastructure. He has also acted as Chairman of the Public Council on Housing Policy. He has been a member of the following Council committees: state and self-government, housing policy, legal issues of prospective urban development, legal issues of land and property and science and technology. He is a member of the political council of the Moscow branch of the political party "Union of Right Forces". He has a Ph.D. in Chemistry.

Objective causes, conflicts of interest and the need for international discussion

In the last few years, the Russian economy has been experiencing exceptional growth due to the following three reasons:

- Long-term results of liberal and democratic reforms of the late 1980s early 1990s;
- A natural post-crisis rebound;
- Favourable conditions on the energy supply market.

Political stability is often thought to be the cause of economic growth. But behind the apparent stabilization lies bureaucratic domination and the suppression of civil society movements. Companies favoured by bureaucrats are displacing independent entrepreneurship. Free market competition is overshadowed by favouritism in the political milieu. The right of private ownership is perpetually abused, and the bureaucracy has almost complete control over elections and media. Separation of power has become a myth. Corruption is spreading. All of this impedes economic progress and aggravates social conflicts.

Moscow is ahead of other regions in Russia in its development. Compared with the populations of other Russian cities, the inhabitants of Moscow tend to be the most educated, democratically inclined and politically active. The average personal income of Muscovites and the per capita revenue of the city government are a few times larger than in all other regions of Russia. Therefore, the above-listed causes of economic growth in Moscow are most evident, especially amidst the reconstruction of the city. Hence this growth causes antagonisms and conflicts. It is quite possible that in the near future, other regions of Russia will face the same problems that are currently most pressing in Moscow.

With the growth of the economy, the demand for housing is exceeding the supply. This demand is perpetuated by, first of all, a natural desire of Muscovites to ameliorate living conditions. Secondly, among prospering inhabitants of other regions, owning an apartment in Moscow is considered prestigious. Thirdly, due to the fast growth of housing prices and a low real estate tax, the purchase of a house has become a profitable and reliable investment. Meanwhile, the number of square metres of housing per capita in Moscow is almost three times smaller than that in formerly socialist Warsaw. Moreover, the time-limits on the reconstruction of housing and municipal utilities have long expired, and as their conditions are ever worsening, the city is progressively dilapidated.

The possibilities of Moscow's territorial expansion are almost exhausted because Moscow is surrounded by the Moscow Region, which is another independent subject of the Russian Federation. Construction of suburban homes is an alternative but is limited by the carrying capacity of highways and the need for forest conservation. The only solution is increasing the construction density in Moscow. Unsatisfied demand and overpriced office space impede the development of small businesses. Because of the growing number of cars, traffic jams, street parking and air pollution have become urgent issues. The widening of freeways and the construction of road

junctions and garages are essential actions to be taken. The retail space in Moscow has increased significantly since 1990, but many districts lack accessible grocery stores. Therefore, the reconstruction of the city is a necessity — primarily the augmentation of housing supply and the replacement of decrepit dwellings.

This concerns the central historical part of the city, the buildings of the 1950s and 1970s, which have both architectural and historical value, as well as relatively modern districts. Reconstruction has so far impacted six or seven million out of ten million Muscovites, and will affect the rest of Moscow's inhabitants within five to ten years. The problem is not whether reconstruction is needed in Moscow or whether it will take place, but how to minimize and compensate for its negative impacts.

The destruction of decrepit housing and the countering increase of construction density are linked to difficult social issues. Therefore, the amount of construction is only about a half of a metre per capita per year and cannot be significantly augmented in the current social and political state. As a result, the real estate market supply is much smaller than the demand. The prices for housing in Moscow have doubled in the past three to four years. The profit from housing construction can be more than 200 percent of the invested capital. Currently, this is surplus profit (ground rent from the use of Moscow land), similar to a rent in kind extracted from the exploitation of oil deposits. It is thus not possible to decrease the market price of housing in Moscow by any economic, administrative or political means. However, it is possible and necessary to redistribute surplus profits to the current city housing owners and to the city budget. The city budget would then subsidize housing construction by home loans to young couples and underprivileged societal groups. It is even possible to extract part of the profit from the construction industry and use it for other pressing social needs of the city.

As of right now, about half of the profit goes to the investors. The other half of the profit goes to the city, as the exclusive owner of the land. But simultaneously, the city is spending budget money to create an infrastructure in the reconstructed districts. The bottom line is that the city is losing money. The money from the ground rent and the money from the city budget are added to the surplus profit of the investors.

When there is no real competition, surplus profits cause corruption. Experts believe that about half of investors' profits go to government officials. The race for surplus profits causes investors and the city government to resort to unlawful activity. It is a common practice that construction starts without complete paperwork, consent from local self-government institutions or notification or compensation to the owners of demolished property. According to federal law, owners of housing have first priority over privatization of the land occupied by their homes and can become investors of reconstruction and receive the profits themselves. In reality, this right is sabotaged by city authorities and courts of diverse levels. For example, for inhabitants to begin the reconstruction of their own apartment building, they have to first create a legal entity that represents a condominium with the land and establish an association of the housing owners. To privatize the land of the condominium, the law requires a land survey of the district to be conducted. The city government is doing everything possible to impede these processes. In order to receive a permit to build, a construction company does not need to perform a land survey.

One example: In my electoral district, the local administration refused to register the land rights of

a garage co-op that has existed for two decades. In 2003, the company SU-155 (which had an intimate relationship with the Moscow government) obtained a plot of land for construction and demolished the garages, ignoring the certificate of ownership by the member of the co-op and the civil code. Here is what the chairman of the co-op, a handicapped veteran of World War the Second, wrote in his statement to the wronged citizens:

'The bureaucrats, like Cerberus, insisted on the garage's being registered as temporary construction. It seems as though they don't feel the country under them and are stupefied by the smell of highly profitable earth, like cats on valerian. My observations also tell me that our unsuccessful attempts to oppose the government are caused by our fear of it. We were taught to fear back in the harsh Soviet times. It will go away slowly'.

The district police department has refused to file a criminal case regarding the destruction of the garages:

'The destruction of the garages... happened as a result of the owners' fault, because they ignored the offering of compensation for the garages'.

The veteran has died. Construction continues.

A second example: The Krilatskoe district, located on the tall green riverbank of Moscow River, is new, beautiful and comfortable. It would be a tasty morsel for investors. In Krilatskoe in March 2004, a group that has for years energetically and skilfully defended the interests of the inhabitants won in the deputy election to the institution of local governing. But the election committee broke the rules for storing ballots and then declared the election illegitimate because the results could not be checked. In the second election in May, the same group of people won. And the committee has again declared the election illegitimate, this time based on thirty-two petitions claiming violations during the election (the petitions have not been officially registered according to the law, and their authors are mainly the employees of the district administration and municipality). This is the only district out of one hundred and twenty-five in Moscow where the majority vote was cast for candidates independent of the Putin administration and the Edinaya Rossiya party. It is natural to suppose that if similar election results were documented in other districts, their fate would be analogous.

Almost every case of destruction, reconstruction or construction in living districts is accompanied by a conflict between those inhabitants who are being relocated and those who are forced to live for years more or less on a construction site — only to then receive less sun, air and room in the hospitals and day care centres. In every such case, the administration, police and courts with qualified lawyers and a big budget end up on one side, while on the other side are the defenders of the right to preserve owners' homes and receive good terms of relocation, the defenders of green areas and historical architectural monuments — generally, inhabitants who are just beginning to organize and do not have the necessary qualifications or money to pay lawyers. The forces are very unequal, to say the least. The citizens are practically left with only 'street politics' — meetings, acts of civil protest, etc. So far, the press has not been able to ignore such manifestations of activity, so sometimes the administration is forced to compromise, mostly temporarily.

During reconstruction of any district, a complex set of problems and questions appears: how to preserve the historical appearance, the architectural monuments and trees? Where and on what terms should the current inhabitants of destroyed houses be relocated? How should housing for the needy be

financed out of commercial construction profits? How to supply the growing population with public utilities and municipal infrastructure (of which there is not enough, even now)? How to preserve a possibility to build objects in the future for which the construction is too expensive right now (pools, for example)? It is impossible to resolve all of these issues on the scale of a micro-district with a population of ten thousand people. An optimal scale would be a district with a population of about a hundred thousand people. In 2003, a law in Moscow was adopted regarding 'the procedure of city planning and territory development of administrative districts of Moscow'. However, the city government of Moscow categorically refutes the development of city building plans because such plans would impede investors from grabbing up nice plots of land.

The main contradiction of reconstruction is that more than half of the housing in Moscow belongs to private citizens. The rest is occupied by renters who as consumers also have a concrete set of rights — but the land is mainly owned by the city that allocates it, mostly in the interests of privileged construction corporations. In 1998, a law was adopted which made certain guarantees to citizens who are being relocated, but the law does not give enough warranties. Recently, the mayor of Moscow has proposed changes to this law, which would further lessen these warranties. Mainly, despite the Civil Code, the priority right of citizens to invest their real estate in reconstruction, to participate in the decision-making process and to receive the corresponding profit is being 'wiped out' of the law.

In the near future, the activists of the housing movement and local government will form a single organization. They are receiving organizational aid from almost all opposition political parties.

Thereby, the problems of reconstruction in Moscow — and, in the near future, of other big cities — are very tightly linked to issues of ownership, social issues, the development of housing and public and local self-government in Russia. All of it is politics. And it is one of the important aspects of the construction of a civil society.

I am grateful to Professor Shomina, who informed me of this Round Table and who helped to prepare the report and contact the organizers. I was very interested in learning from the other reports presented at the Round Table discussion that many megalopolises in the world run into the same problems as Moscow during the reconstruction process. In some cases, the issues are just as salient and no less pressing than in Moscow. I hope to continue the cooperation with the participants of the Round Table. I suggest to the participants to create a project of an international convention about the warranties given to occupants of territory that is subject to reconstruction — an analogue of the European Charter of Local Self-government (although this Charter is not followed in Moscow, it would have been worse without it).

Yelena Shomina
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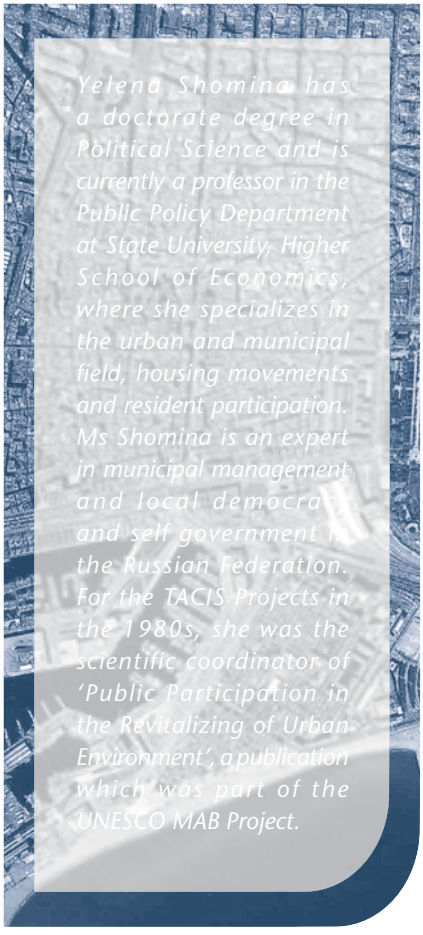
State University / Higher School of Economics / Moscow (Russia)

El centro urbano de Moscú
Reconstrucción y participación pública

El auge de la propiedad inmobiliaria en Moscú ha transformado el centro urbano de la ciudad, anteriormente la residencia de moscovitas comunes, en un área de élite semejante al centro de Londres o de París. La reconstrucción del centro de la ciudad ha venido ocurriendo a gran escala y se ha visto acompañada de innumerables escándalos. Tres dimensiones cruciales, los aspectos histórico, financiero y residencial, se entrecruzan en el proceso de reconstrucción. El Gobierno de Moscú ha reubicado a los habitantes del centro de la ciudad sin enfrentar ningún tipo de responsabilidad pública. Este proceso de gentrificación, entendido como el aumento de categoría de una zona debido a la llegada de personas adineradas, produciéndose así el desplazamiento de personas de bajos ingresos, es un proceso común tanto en Moscú como en muchas otras ciudades del mundo. La gentrificación conduce también al deterioro del nivel de vida de aquellos que permanecen en las áreas rehabilitadas. Debido a la gentrificación, no sólo se pierden numerosos comercios locales, parques infantiles, jardines y zonas verdes, sino que además cualquier demanda de propiedad inmobiliaria resulta en la transformación de un espacio libre de la ciudad en área de construcción. Uno de los resultados positivos de los cambios ha sido el aumento de los grupos de protesta civil, si bien el éxito por ellos alcanzado ha sido poco.



Yelena Shomina has a doctorate degree in Political Science and is currently a professor in the Public Policy Department at State University, Higher School of Economics, where she specializes in the urban and municipal field, housing movements and resident participation. Ms Shomina is an expert in municipal management and local democracy and self government in the Russian Federation. For the TACIS Projects in the 1980s, she was the scientific coordinator of 'Public Participation in the Revitalizing of Urban Environment', a publication which was part of the UNESCO MAB Project.

Reconstruction and Public Participation

Moscow is indeed a unique, vibrant city, with wonderful examples of local activity, struggle and collaboration, conflicts and negotiations. Current local activism in Moscow provides us with unique patterns, models and lessons.

Reconstruction of the city centre

Reconstruction of the city centre has been occurring on a very large scale — and has been accompanied by non-stop scandals. Three of the crucial interrelated dimensions of this reconstruction process include the historical, financial and residential aspects.

Moscow is changing every day (and night!). You can hardly recognize different corners of Moscow, not only in the vast outskirts of the city — in the former suburbs, fully converted into new large-scale urban neighbourhoods with five- to twelve-storey prefabricated buildings which were constructed in the 1970s and 1980s, and sixteen-, twenty-two- and thirty-three-storey buildings which were constructed after the mid-90s — but also in the city centre, the real 'heart' of Moscow.

Russians from many cities enjoy numerous places in this new Moscow, where now you can find a variety of flowers, fountains, renovated old buildings and high-tech new ones. Foreign visitors often marvel at how Moscow has broken its grey, Soviet-era mould and blossomed into a dynamic city of skyscrapers, five-star hotels and bustling business centres in just a few years.

But this process has many 'underwater stones', not an altogether atypical characteristic of countless great cities.

In the past decade, more than 400 historical buildings, many listed as under the protection of federal law, have been razed and replaced by 'replicas', which are often many times larger than the original structure (and to which the new building bears little resemblance). Many well-known historical buildings have disappeared.

Near the entrance to Red Square, the Hotel *Moskva* has already been demolished. It was the first hotel built in the Soviet Union and was also a protected national monument. However, Moscow Mayor Luzhkov arranged to have it torn down and replaced with an 'exact replica' — in the form of a five-star hotel. One day an object is protected State property, and the next time you look, it belongs to some company or individual, and we are met with these new buildings.

Critics say Moscow's property boom, in which prices have doubled to near-world records in the past four years, has been fuelled by greed, incompetence and corruption. The fight for Moscow land is accompanied by a great amount of arson cases: in 2003 alone, 1287 cases of arson were registered in the Central Administrative Prefecture of Moscow. This is considered the best tool to procure empty pieces of land in the city centre.[40]

40 Andre Stenin Elvira Ashirova, http://www.rg.ru/2004/03/19/pozhar.html//19/03/04

In addition to the significant amount of publications in many Moscow and national newspapers critical of the current methods towards urban renewal, a special website created specifically for the cause became an organizer of different public campaigns against uncivilized — and often illegal — processes of reconstruction and gentrification.[41]

Professor of the International Academy of Architecture, Ilia Utkin delivered a special address to the Union of Architects of Moscow, in which he posed very acute questions about the reconstruction of Moscow. He said that during the ten years of Moscow's construction boom:

- A huge part of the environmental architecture of the 18th and 19th centuries, which until then formed the historical character of Moscow, has been crushed;
- Russian constructive architecture of the 1920s has been demolished;
- The classical examples of 'Stalin classicism' (outstanding Russian architects Zholtovsky, Shusev and Dushkin) are in the process of disappearing;
- Barbarian reconstruction, which kills historical monuments, is taking the place of thoughtful, careful restoration and rehabilitation;
- Architectural compositions and ensembles, as well as the harmony of the historical urban environment, have been destroyed by the intervention of modern buildings;
- Outstanding Moscow mansions with all their rich interiors have been sold to private owners…

Utkin composed his letter just before a special Round Table on the preservation of architectural heritage from 1930 to 1950 was organized in the Moscow Museum of Architecture on 13 April 2004.[42]

At this Round Table, many well-known specialists in urban development signed an open letter in which they assert that today's practice of construction politics **is anti-social and anti-state, and as a result, future generations of Russian citizens will have no historical memory. The preservation of the cultural legacy should be the base for the national revival of Russia.**[43]

The reconstruction of the city centre has another dimension — it has not only ruined buildings, but also the destinies of people. Central Moscow has been transformed by the real estate boom of the last few years from an area designed for ordinary Muscovites to live in, complete with the necessary infrastructure, to an elite area that is closer to central London or Paris. The Moscow government has relocated the inhabitants from the city centre with no public accountability whatsoever.

PHOTO: New 23-storey building
© Yelena Shomina and Viatcheslav Sedmovsky

41 http://moskva.kotoroy.net/guop.php (which no longer exists)

42 http://www.architektor.ru/ai/2004_1/utkin.htm

43 http://www.rg.ru/2004/03/19/pozhar.html

This process of gentrification, defined as the upgrading of the 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 gentrification process also leads to the deterioration of the standard of living for those who remain in the reconstructed areas. Apart from the loss of many local shops, gentrification also sees new real estate demands turn every spare space in the city centre into a construction site, and the loss of many children's playgrounds, courtyards and green areas.

Grigory Rezvin, a columnist with the *Liberal Daily Kommersant,* notes: 'This is a typical story of downtown development in Moscow over the past decade. Luzhkov is remaking the city according to his own design. He tears down landmarks, redevelops whole sections of the city and relocates the inhabitants, with no public accountability at all'.[44]

PHOTO: Newly constructed buildings in Moscow
© Yelena Shomina and Viatcheslav Sedmovsky

44 How Moscow's reconstruction is putting profit before preservation', http://News.independent.co.uk/Europe/ 26.04.2004

Although individual flats were privatized when the USSR collapsed, the city still owns most buildings and land. Construction firms connected to the city hall have been granted 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 the potentially valuable flats they obtained in Soviet times to relatively cheap, concrete-slab housing in the outskirts of the city.

Moscow's reconstruction programme for old five-storey buildings started in 1999. The programme called for six million square metres of old housing stock (constructed in the 1960s) to be demolished and about 135 thousand families 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 metres of housing stock which needs urgent repair, and these residents will also be relocated.

The Moscow government identifies the improvement of Muscovites' housing conditions as one of its top priorities. According to Mosinform, Alexander Maksimenko, the deputy head of the Department of Urban Policy, Development and Reconstruction for the Moscow government, declared 40% of the programme complete on 18 July 2004, during the 'Adam Smith Conferences: Real Estate and Construction in Russia'. There are, however, a number of serious problems occurring in the course of housing construction:

- Imbalance between the volume of housing stock and social infrastructure;
- Huge bureaucratic barriers;

- A lack of needed plots of land on Moscow territory.

According to Maksimenko, the central part of Moscow should be 'mainly administrative, not residential'. At the same time, about 300 to 350 thousand square metres of old dilapidated residential housing stock should be demolished, and 800 thousand square metres of new buildings will be constructed. He added that this segment of new construction is the most complicated from a technical and a bureaucratic point of view, but is at the same time the most attractive for investment.[45]

It is commonly known that the cost of construction of mid-quality housing stock is about US$ 300 to 350 per square metre, while real estate companies sell it for US$ 1,500 — which comes out to about 500% profit for the real estate companies.

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 on the outskirts of the city, causing many new problems for families; and **b) residents who are not relocated,** as they suffer from long-lasting housing construction in front of their windows (noise and dirtiness), become isolated from their social infrastructure and 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.

Resident activity

One of the positive signs of the rapidly changing scene in Moscow is the growth of civil protest groups, even if little real success has been achieved. Currently, about 200 groups of Muscovites disagree with the housing policy of the Moscow government and try to defend their housing rights.

This is not the first sign of residential protest activity in Moscow or in Russia. At the beginning of the 1990s, about 200 construction projects were fully blocked by local residents, and about 250 different community groups came into life in different corners of Moscow. At least eight housing and community NGOs in Moscow started their activity at that time, and almost all of them are still active in defending local residents' housing rights. Their activities were supported by widespread scientific discussion, which was strongly connected to the research project 'Public Participation in the Revitalization of the Urban Environment', funded by UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Programme (MAB) in the mid-1980s. This project greatly stimulated the processes of participation and the dissemination of 'Best Practices'. The results of the project were published in an outstanding

PHOTO: New construction alongside old buildings © Yelena Shomina

45 http://www.mosinform.ru/

collective monograph.[46] This research project greatly encouraged the ideals of public participation, and the researchers, by becoming the first bridges between local residents and local authorities, helped both local people and officials begin to identify joint objectives and potential future activities. Round tables, joint committees and public discussions represented new tools of collaboration and participation. These efforts did not occur without struggle and conflict.

The community development process in Russia has a 'housing face', as activity of local residents is concentrated on different housing issues, such as the fight for a better urban environment and the preservation of old neighbourhoods in the city centre.[47]

Currently, both residents and local authorities are actively participating in attempts to reach a compromise; the process, however, is very slow and painful for both sides.

In 2004, about 200 groups of Muscovites disagreed with the housing policies of the Moscow government and tried to defend their housing rights.[48] One of the most respected experts in the field, Director of the Art Research Institute, a well-known historian and one of the active fighters for the preservation of historical heritage, Alexei Komech, noted that currently about fifty local movements in different areas of Moscow (mainly in the city centre: for example, Sretenka Street, Neskuchni Sad, etc.) are actively fighting for the reconstruction and conservation — not the demolition — of different historical micro-regions (neighbourhoods).[49] Already, these groups have benefited from a few favourable court decisions, which have only encouraged them in their struggle.

9 June, 2004 Twenty initiative groups applied to Russian Ombudsman, Vladimir Lukin, requesting to discuss the rights of people in reconstructed areas. Representatives of well-known NGOs — such as the Union of Consumers, the Socio-Ecological Union and 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;
- Lack of adequate social infrastructure.

PHOTO: New construction, with its landscaping
© Yelena Shomina and Viatcheslav Sedmovsky

46 T. Deelstra and O. Yanitsky, *The Public's Role in Shaping the Urban Environment,* Moscow, 1991.
47 Kolossov V., Y. Shomina and V. Shukhat, 'Local Activism and the Prospects for Civil Society in Moscow', *Post-Soviet Geography,* no. 2, 2002.
48 www.soprotivlenie.info
49 www.rambler.ru/db/news/msg.html?mid=4567004&s=2

15 June, 2004 A 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 fifty different groups of inhabitants. The committee created a special monitoring team to give information about different unauthorized construction cases, or as they say 'criminal' construction, when the rights, interests and freedom of the residents are ignored by the authorities.

The committee's weekly bulletins give an interesting picture of its activities. They also encourage the Moscow government to create a team of experts for conflict resolution with respect to the Moscow construction field.

Comments on the short film, 'Reconstruction of Khovrino', documented between 2000-2004 by local activist Viatcheslay Sedmovsky Moscow is divided into ten prefectures and 125 areas. Area *Khovrino,* near the northern border of Moscow, was constructed in the mid-1960s. The main housing stock consists of five-storey buildings, a few nine- and twelve- storey buildings (more or less the same quality of housing stock as five-storey buildings, but with lifts). The total population is about 70 thousand people. In my neighbourhood micro-region N19, part of the area (with a population of 15,000 people) was planned according to the idea of the 'garden-city'. In 1966, it was awarded a special prize for design and planning at the International Architectural Exhibition in Paris. At the time, it was one of the best neighbourhoods in Moscow: convenient public transport, easy access to the Underground (five minutes by public transport), twenty minutes 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), a vast park-forest — all within walking distance. In addition, the entire necessary social infrastructure (schools for children, gardens, local clinics, shops, etc.) was nearby. Local residents also took special care of their environment, and by the beginning of the 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 organize public discussion with local residents regarding reconstruction plans. The plan was located at the local library, but no one knew about the exhibition and very few people took part in the discussion. Everybody forgot about it, as nothing happened in the area up until the very end of the 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 would violate the existing norms of insulation, density, etc. This 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 the 1990s, more than 200 different construction projects were blocked in Moscow by the protest actions of residents. Massive reconstruction of our neighbourhood started in 2000. According to the plans of the Moscow government, sixty-two buildings were to be demolished (270,000 square metres), 7,045 families (13,950 people) to be relocated, and eighty-two new residential buildings to be built in Khovrino, of which 80% would be in my neighbourhood.

Residents hardly knew about these plans and did not know their rights or laws. Neither construction workers nor local authorities took into account the interests of the local residents. Already, thirty-six buildings have been demolished in my neighbourhood and forty new ones have been constructed.

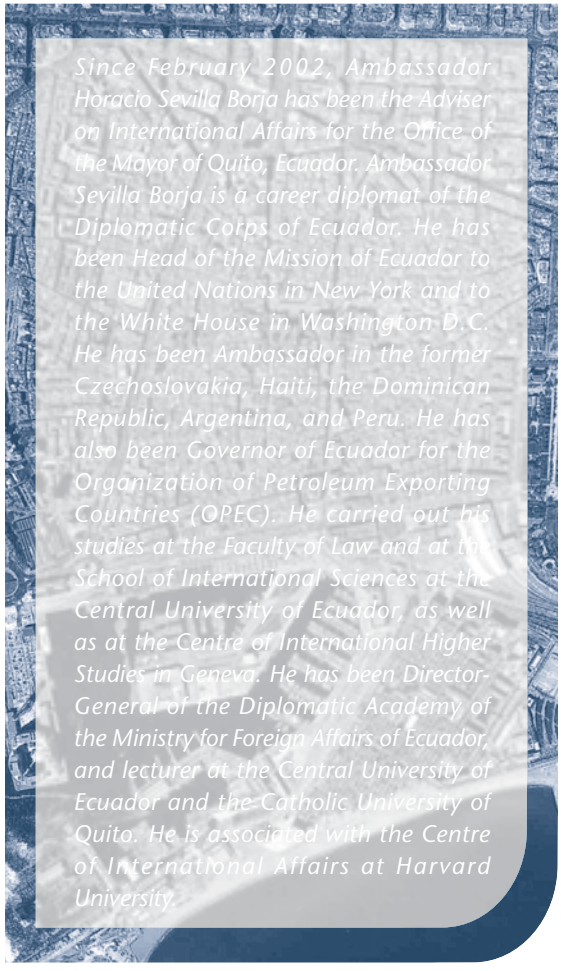
We live in a nine-storey building and have suffered terribly from the noise and dirtiness of construction sites all around our buildings for four years. New high-rise buildings brought five times more residents, hundreds of new cars, many transport problems (it takes twenty minutes to get to the metro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

This film relates only part of the different activities of a small voluntary group of residents, the 'Staircase Association', of a nine-storey building. Video recording began in 2000 by Viacheslav Sedmovsky, a member of the group. At that time, only one high-rise building was constructed; we didn't know anything in particular about future plans for reconstruction. Now Mr Sedmovsky records every one to two months.

In the film:

- Overview of the neighbourhood in 2000, from the 16th floor;
- Old houses before demolition;
- Demolition process;
- New construction;
- View of new houses and yards;
- Overview of the neighbourhood in 2004, from the same 16th floor of a 22-storey building.

Embajador Horacio Sevilla Borja
Asesor de Asuntos Internacionales de la Alcaldía de Quito



Since February 2002, Ambassador Horacio Sevilla Borja has been the Adviser on International Affairs for the Office of the Mayor of Quito, Ecuador. Ambassador Sevilla Borja is a career diplomat of the Diplomatic Corps of Ecuador. He has been Head of the Mission of Ecuador to the United Nations in New York and to the White House in Washington D.C. He has been Ambassador in the former Czechoslovakia, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Argentina, and Peru. He has also been Governor of Ecuador for the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). He carried out his studies at the Faculty of Law and at the School of International Sciences at the Central University of Ecuador, as well as at the Centre of International Higher Studies in Geneva. He has been Director-General of the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Ecuador, and lecturer at the Central University of Ecuador and the Catholic University of Quito. He is associated with the Centre of International Affairs at Harvard University.

Recovery of a historical district: the case of Quito, capital of the Republic of Ecuador

KEY POINTS

- Heritage value of the historical centre of Quito, first city included in UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites
- A deterioration of circumstances in the last 40 years — the appropriation of public space by informal trade
- A firm political will: the fundamental premise
- Process of negotiation and 'concentration'
- International financial cooperation
- Social repercussions

Recuperación de un distrito histórico

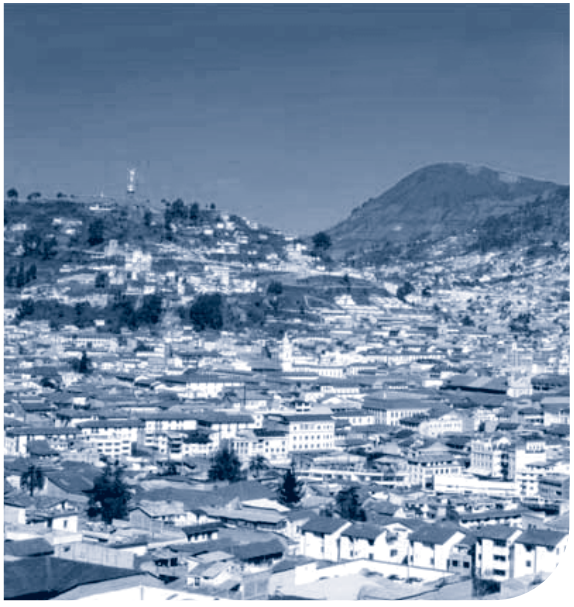
El caso de Quito, capital de la República del Ecuador

Valor del centro historico de Quito, Patrimonio Cultural de la Humanidad

La ciudad de Quito, capital de la República del Ecuador, se asienta en un entorno geográfico espectacular y mágico. Ubicada en una meseta plana de dos niveles, en el medio de dos ramales de la Cordillera de los Andes, a 2.800 metros de altura sobre el nivel del mar, está rodeada de nevados de blancura permanente, de montañas y colinas, en una zona que conjuga todos los matices del color verde. Además, la ciudad está localizada en el centro del mundo, cruzada por la línea equinoccial, en donde el sol perpendicular es el referente vital esencial, y la luz diáfana y transparente está presente todos los días del año.

En ese incomparable entorno geográfico se desarrolló una milenaria historia que arranca desde hace seis o siete mil años atrás. Allí se asentó una serie sucesiva de comunidades, etnias, pueblos, señoríos, reinos legendarios como el de los Shiris y los Quitus-Cara, posteriormente fusionados poco antes de la conquista y dominación europea por el Imperio de los Incas que vino desde el sur del continente, y que tuvo en Cuzco y en Quito sus centros administrativos y poblacionales principales.

Los conquistadores europeos provenientes del Reino de España llegaron a Quito, y en el año 1563 erigieron una nueva ciudad sobre los fundamentos y estructuras arquitectónicas edificadas desde hace milenios. Esa nueva ciudad cuya construcción arrancó en el siglo XVI, tiene las características de una sociedad



que en los templos y conventos reflejó la nueva religión cristiana importada, y que en las casas de vivienda, plazas, y callejuelas se trasplantaron las concepciones arquitectónicas y urbanísticas medievales de la metrópoli.

La población mestiza de Quito y la indígena autóctona que proporcionó la mano de obra para la edificación de esta nueva ciudad no se limitó a copiar exactamente los modelos del barroco tardío que prevalecía entonces en Europa como le pedían

FOTO: Vista panoramica de Sevilla © Municipio de Quito

los conquistadores, sino que con su cultura, tradición, destrezas artísticas milenarias, con su imaginería, su manierismo, crearon el maravilloso sincretismo original que dio origen a la llamada 'Escuela Colonial Barroca Quiteña', con sus zaquizamíes dorados, estípites, mudéjares, arquitrabes, alfarjes y ménsulas.

El actual Centro Histórico de la ciudad de Quito que, hace 26 años fue la primera ciudad del mundo en ser declarada por la UNESCO como Patrimonio Cultural de la Humanidad, es el producto de la diversidad cultural de tres épocas históricas: indígena autóctona milenaria, la europea-española de tres siglos de dominación colonial, y la mestiza republicana a partir del siglo XVIII.

La estructura urbana de lo que hoy denominamos Centro o Distrito Histórico de Quito está constituído por un área total de 376 hectáreas, de las cuales 112 son espacio público e infraestructura vial, y 264 hectáreas de construcción. Se trata de un total de 284 manzanas que contienen 5.000 inmuebles de carácter patrimonial, 130 edificios monumentales, principalmente iglesias y conventos con casi cinco siglos de antigüedad, constituyéndose así en el Distrito Histórico más amplio, valioso, y mejor conservado de América Latina.

FOTO: Plaza y Convento la Merced, Quito (el siglo XVII) © Municipio de Quito

Situación de deterioro en los ultimos cuarenta años: el comercio informal adueño del espacio publico

En los últimos 40 años se produjo un grave proceso de deterioro del Distrito Histórico de Quito, debido a varias causas. En primer lugar, el desarrollo de proyectos urbanísticos atractivos en nuevas zonas de la ciudad, hizo que los dueños de las casonas del Centro Histórico las abandonaran, y que éstas fueran ocupadas masivamente, bien sea por inmigrantes campesinos que venían del interior del país en busca de un sitio donde alojarse, o por comerciantes de baratijas que convirtieron las solariegas mansiones en depósitos de los productos que se comercializaban en calles y plazas. Por otro lado, la crisis económica del Ecuador en las últimas décadas, con un peligroso incremento de los índices de pobreza y falta de trabajo, hizo que se multiplique el comercio informal de venta callejera de productos baratos que se apropió progresiva y paulatinamente, primero de calles, luego de plazas y parques, llegando a deteriorar la ciudad entera, incluso los más importantes edificios patrimoniales, en cuyas paredes se colgaron carpas de plásticos e instalaciones clandestinas, que no sólo obstruían su contemplación sino que amenazaban peligrosamente sus estructuras fundacionales.

FOTO: Iglesia y Convento de San Francisco, Quito (el siglo XVI)
© Municipio de Quito

Esta situación incidió en el tema de la seguridad ciudadana: el Centro Histórico era un antro de robo y delincuencia, que ahuyentó completamente el turismo interno y externo. En las últimas cuatro décadas, por tanto, el Centro Histórico de Quito perdió su encanto y belleza estética, su extraordinaria riqueza patrimonial corría serios riesgos de desaparecer, los vecinos tradicionales de la vieja ciudad la abandonaban, la presencia del turismo era prácticamente inexistente, la actividad cultural ancestral desapareció, las autoridades habían desistido de sus obligaciones de dictar adecuadas regulaciones para frenar la apropiación indiscriminada de los espacios públicos que estaban a punto de colapsar.

El inicio de la recuperación: premisas fundamentales

Las últimas autoridades municipales de la ciudad entendieron la catástrofe potencial y sentaron las bases de la recuperación. Pero fue la elección del actual Alcalde, Paco Moncayo Gallegos, que inició su mandato hace cuatro años, el hecho que dio inicio al proceso real de recuperación del Centro Histórico de Quito, con un proyecto político e institucional claramente delineado en el llamado 'Plan Quito Siglo XXI'.

Hoy que tenemos una exitosa experiencia de recuperación de un Distrito Histórico, podemos resumir las tres premisas básicas que hicieron posible tal proceso:

- Firme decisión política;
- Proceso de negociación y concertación;
- Creación de infraestructuras alternativas (modernos mercados populares).

Firme decisión política En el pasado la existencia de alrededor de 10.000 comerciantes informales hizo que quienes debían tomar las decisiones apropiadas formularan cálculos políticos equivocados que los mantuvieron rehenes de su error durante demasiado tiempo. Se creía que los 10.000 informales, más sus familiares y allegados, constituían un potencial alrededor de 60.000 o 70.000 votos, fundamentales para cualesquier elección municipal.

Se requería por tanto una decisión política en firme, alejada de cálculos electorales, que constituyera un compromiso histórico con todos los habitantes de la ciudad. La urbe es de todos los vecinos, no únicamente de los comerciantes y su radio de acción. Este compromiso político indeclinable es el factor clave indispensable que aportó el Alcalde Moncayo y su 'Plan Quito Siglo XXI'.

Proceso de negociación y concertación

La experiencia demuestra que en este tipo de soluciones a problemas estructurales de la sociedad, ningún arreglo es permanente y valedero si no cuenta con la participación conciente y activa de todos los actores del proceso.

La desocupación y desalojo de los 10.000 comerciantes informales que en Quito habían ocupado permanentemente los espacios públicos por más de 40 años — en lo que constituía ya una forma de vida y una praxis de trabajo para ellos y sus familiares — se concretó y tuvo éxito porque fue la culminación de un paciente y armónico proceso de negociación y concertación, individual y colectivo, con las múltiples organizaciones sindicales involucradas. El Alcalde y sus inmediatos colaboradores mantuvieron un estimado de 1.710 reuniones con comerciantes pertenecientes a no menos de 96 organizaciones.

La desocupación de los espacios públicos de la Ciudad Antigua se concretó sin ninguna imposición, sin ningún acto de violencia, ni siquiera un empujón a nadie.

Creación de infraestructuras alternativas: modernos mercados populares

La alternativa que se ofreció al comercio informal y al ambulante fue desocupar el espacio público y trasladarse a modernos mercados populares con espacios para todos que, aunque con importante subsidio municipal, implicaba también un esfuerzo de financiamiento a largo plazo a cargo de los involucrados. La alternativa que se les ofrecía, si bien implicaba un cambio radical del modo de vida y de trabajo al que se habían acostumbrado por décadas y al cual

FOTO: Calle la Ronda, Quito (el siglo XVII) © Municipio de Quito

se aferraban denodadamente, los liberaba de laborar en condiciones precarias y con las inclemencias del tiempo: lluvia, viento, sol, polvo, y les independizaba de las mafias que se habían formado para 'alquilarles el espacio público', ofrecerles protección de seguridad, y proveer la mercadería.

Con este propósito, durante la fase de planificación y negociación, se construyeron 10 centros comerciales populares con más de 7.000 locales de trabajo, a un costo de aproximadamente 10 millones de dólares, de los cuales 4.1 millones provinieron de un préstamo del Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo. De esta forma la comunidad internacional se sumó a este paso trascendental en la vida de la ciudad y en la recuperación de un Distrito Histórico declarado por la UNESCO como Patrimonio Cultural de la Humanidad.

Desde finales de mayo del año 2003 el Centro Histórico de Quito luce esplendoroso y renovado. A la recuperación del espacio público y el reordenamiento del comercio siguió un acelerado proceso de renovación urbana: mejora de calles y calzadas, modernización de plazas y parques, creación de vías peatonales, reordenamiento del tránsito, mejoramiento de fachadas, restauración de iglesias, conventos y edificios, moderna iluminación de monumentos y en general de la ciudad. Resta aún mucho por hacer por lo que se espera mayor involucramiento del gobierno central, el sector privado, así como de la cooperación internacional.

La sustentabilidad social del proyecto

La Convención para la Protección del Patrimonio Cultural y Natural de la UNESCO considera que el concepto actual de patrimonio es el resultado de un proceso unido al desarrollo de la sociedad contemporánea, sus valores y necesidades. La tendencia es la de entender el patrimonio cultural en su sentido más amplio, abarcando todos los signos que documenten las actividades y logros de los seres humanos a lo largo del tiempo.

Estas consideraciones nos permiten concebir a las tareas de recuperación y puesta en valor del Distrito Histórico de Quito, no como una acción dirigida solamente a satisfacer nuestra necesidad de contemplar elementos con destacadas características estéticas, sino que existe una relación más profunda y de implicaciones más diversificadas entre los ciudadanos y su bien patrimonial. En efecto muchos valores, no solamente estéticos, están implicados en la salvaguardia del patrimonio: valores de identidad vinculados a las vivencias y emociones de la sociedad, que desde la memoria dan sentido al presente y esperanza al futuro, valor funcional, valor educativo, valor social, valor económico. Por esto la recuperación y puesta en valor de un bien patrimonial es tarea fundamental para la colectividad. Nuestra generación tiene la obligación de trasmitir a las futuras un legado cultural en mejores condiciones de las que recibió. Mediante ese patrimonio la sociedad constituye su identidad. Consideramos por tanto que el gran valor que tiene el patrimonio del Distrito Histórico de Quito debe constituirse en factor generador o estimulador de actividades económicas, en un mecanismo de redistribución de beneficios, por tanto en factor real de mejoramiento de las condiciones de vida de la población.

El proceso de recuperación del Centro Histórico de Quito no culmina con la reubicación de los comerciantes informales. Prosigue la nueva etapa que busca la sustentabilidad social del mismo mediante la creación de microempresas, la generación de nuevos puestos de trabajo, el desarrollo del turismo, la renovación de viviendas, y la auto-gerencia de los

Ciro Caraballo
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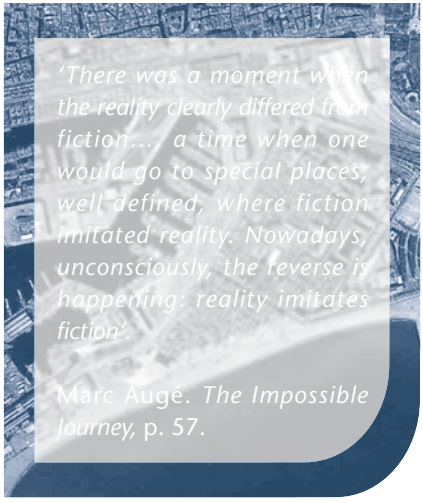
San Francisco de Quito
Globalización y cultura local: ¿una ecuación sostenible en ciudades y centros históricos?

Los resultados de los programas centralizados de planeación destinados a la conservación y rehabilitación de los centros y asentamientos históricos en América Latina desarrollados en años recientes por organizaciones nacionales, sumado a las inversiones públicas y privadas y a un elevado nivel técnico, nos dejan una desagradable sensación de insatisfacción. De un lado, no podemos negar los avances en cuanto al rescate de monumentos, la renovación de redes e infraestructura y los aspectos de imagen e iluminación; sin embargo, la conciencia pública sobre el valor cultural inmaterial de ciudades y centros históricos, es decir, sobre el capital social y cultural existente, sigue ausente. Para algunos de los países latinoamericanos, la experiencia de la UNESCO es pionera. El proyecto "Sostenibilidad social del centro histórico de Quito" (1998-2000), promovido por el MOST, el sector de ciencias sociales y humanas y el sector de cultura de la UNESCO, brindó una oportunidad de examinar nuevas posibilidades, particularmente en la construcción de redes de participación fundamentadas en estructuras sociales existentes. Se desarrollaron programas para la apropiación social, así como para la implementación de planes de vivienda con fines no-lucrativos y no-especulativos. Este documento discute algunos de los componentes esenciales de este exitoso programa de participación social.

Ciro Caraballo became an architect in 1974 and received a degree in History in 1985 and a Master's Degree in Historical Heritage and Tourism in 1991. He has been a consultant to UNESCO on plans of participatory management: Xochimilco, Mexico, 2004; Lima, 2001-2003; Quito, 1999-2000. He has also been a consultant to the Getty Conservation Institute on Programmes of Preventive Conservation of Museums and Collections of Latin America, 1993-1995. He was Adviser to the Council of Preservation and Development of the 'University City of Caracas World Heritage', 2001-2004.

Globalization and Local Culture: a sustainable equation in historical towns and centres?



'There was a moment when the reality clearly differed from fiction... a time when one would go to special places, well defined, where fiction imitated reality. Nowadays, unconsciously, the reverse is happening: reality imitates fiction'.

Marc Augé. *The Impossible Journey*, p. 57.

In Latin America, the results of the centralized planning of programmes for the conservation and rehabilitation of historical centres and settlements that have been developed by national organizations in recent years, combined with public and private investments and a high technical level, leave us with an unpleasant feeling of sad satisfaction. On the one hand, it is obvious that much has been done in terms of the rescue actions of monuments, network and infrastructure renovation, and image and lighting aspects; however, public awareness of immaterial cultural values of historical town centres — that is, the existing social and cultural capital — is still lacking.

Perhaps we have been too optimistic in thinking that saving the container was a synonym for saving the contents, and that the programmes were only aimed at restoration and new construction. The planning and investment of historical centres have been left in the hands of existing social actors and local dynamics. Most of the time, the issues seem to be minor and even folkloric, facing the real anxiety of the 'tourism growth' or strengthening 'housing investments'. The projects for infrastructure, the restoration of monuments and the construction of new buildings play an important role in the final destiny of urban spaces whose central value is its living character as a 'historical' container. Social actors are left out of the picture, since they are mostly concerned with today's rather than yesterday's issues. Furthermore, considering that most of these social actors did not actively engage in any sort of political or social participation as migrants, they are even less interested in a 'tomorrow', which barely means 'the next day' for some of them.

In the democratic process, when discourse turns to demonstration, social management plans can be the best tools for maintaining the processes of valuation, rescue and conservation of heritage sites. These management plans can anchor strategic lines of action for the various actors, big and small, avoiding the continuous and eventual battles caused by changes in the political climate. It is imperative that such plans have a strong technical base, especially

in regard to material support for the heritage site. However, keeping in mind that the creation of the minimum foundation for developing short-term agreements is neither a simple nor a rapid process, we must insist that social management plans be filtered through technical proposals regarding the local culture. This procedure would establish the acting framework, the priorities and the identification of opportunities, as well as the understanding of the meaning and the design of mechanisms of ownership and participation.

The creation of this type of process is only possible if we open spaces and give credibility to the proposals that flow from the local actors who, in the end, are the ones who live daily with the cultural site and who will continue sharing it once the technicians — and some frustrated investors — return home.

A few basic principles should be taken into consideration:

PHOTO: *La Casa de los 7 patios* in the old district of Quito (Ecuador). Photographer: Guillermo Tealdi © UNESCO

- It is necessary to identify all social actors involved in the process, as well as their motivations, and not only actors with authority, power or economic resources.
- It is necessary to understand and accept that conflicts are an essential part of the process of participatory planning.
- It is necessary to create spaces of dialogue in which people can express themselves — and vent their (even temporarily) — with regard to future conflicts.
- It is necessary to establish an operative proposal for collateral action and multiple impacts, with some proven actions for the short run.
- The final goal is the construction of a management plan and an administrative organization with greater possible participation and representation, which, in turn, would assure the stability of the programmes.

Project on the Social Sustainability of the Historical Centre of Quito

In certain Latin American countries, UNESCO's experience is of a pioneering character. The project 'Social Sustainability of the Historical Centre of Quito (1998-2000)' was jointly implemented with the *Empresa del Centro Histórico de Quito* (Historical Centre of Quito Enterprise) and the Inter-American Development Bank. Promoted by UNESCO through the MOST Programme and the Social and Human Sciences and Culture Sectors, this pilot programme created an opportunity to test new possibilities, particularly in the construction of participation networks based on existing social structures. Programmes were developed for social appropriation as well as the integration of housing plans for non-lucrative, non-speculative purposes.

The following key components were at the heart of this successful social participation programme.

Communication with citizens The project's aim was to establish relation and information channels among organizations participating in the rehabilitation process of the historical centre and among the citizens in general. The goals were to provide information on the improvement endeavours and programmes for the heritage of the site, to trigger the interest of the country's inhabitants for the current heritage of the historical centre of Quito and, finally, to identify important opportunities for economic investment created by the rehabilitation process.

Suitable actors The main objective was to create a citizen mobilization that would be both aware and proud of living and working in the historical centre.

PHOTO: The city of Quito (Ecuador). Photographer: Andes/CZAP/ASA
© UNESCO

There are programmes currently being developed for youngsters and children who will pass the heritage torch on to new generations, along with the preparation of workshops directed at the beneficiaries of new housing units so that they may become suitable owners of their environment.

New employment to improve existing services The development of lasting promotional and training programmes for micro-entrepreneurs and the service sector aimed to consolidate the medium and small traditional enterprises in the historical centre (food, handicrafts, small department stores), and to create a group of new cultural and service enterprises related to tourism to be sponsored in the sector.

Inserting new housing / forging new relationships The project built on the success of ECH and Pact Arim, two organizations which had already seen the construction of new subsidized houses with state programmes, the ownership of new users of the goods of their new environment and timely knowledge of their neighbours and traditions.

Sharing information, methods and experience All pilot projects in the field of sustainable development were required to contribute to the democracy of information, the discussion of methods and action tools, as well as the creation of categories of analysis and assessment.

At the same time, other issues were addressed. Concerns regarding the problem of street vendors in the historical centres (relating to housing, services and land usage) were discussed in open seminars. Statistics on urban management, which allowed for the study of the vitality of the historical centre and the analysis of the impact of actions and investments, were developed.

From this experience followed the proposal for the 'Plan of Social Sustainability of the Historical Centre of Lima (2001-2002)', which was jointly undertaken with the UNESCO Office in Lima, the Municipality of Metropolitan Lima and the Inter-American Development Bank. In this case, the idea remained a paper proposal, due to changes 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', a joint project 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 has been to relate cultural heritage conservation to 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 to projects with limited resources.

PHOTO: Group of pupils in an elementary school, Quito (Ecuador).
Photographer: Andes/CZAP/ASA © UNESCO

The experience ongoing today is the elaboration of a plan of participatory management for the site of Xochimilco in Mexico City. Here, the programme began with the detailed knowledge of the social actors and their assessment and expectations of the destiny of their heritage, as well as the construction of political agreements encouraging democratic participation through the establishment of priorities and proposals.

To illustrate the difference between the participatory planning method and the previously defined elitist versions of intervention in historical centres, consider the distinction between conserving a tiger in a museum or in a zoo. Both cases provide imperfect options for the conservation of a heritage specimen. The tiger in the museum is only 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. Only its stuffed skin reminds us of what was once one of the most powerful animals in the feline world. In the latter 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 such risks.

Nowadays, many historical centres remind us of these specimens. In the second case described above, that of the zoo, the animal remains alive albeit limited in its natural development. The animal is limited in its actions; it is necessary to feed it daily, take care of it when ill and observe its behaviour attentively. Nevertheless, the animal would be able to roar and even to reproduce, to transmit a certain feeling

of strength and even of danger. Unfortunately for some... the tiger will also smell. In fact, this is more like the aim that we pursue, namely that of a living historical centre.

PHOTO: The city of Quito (Ecuador). Photographer: Andes/CZAP/ASA
© UNESCO

Salvador Moreno Peralta

Architect and City Planner
Responsible for Rehabilitation Areas in the Historical Centre of Malaga

Voyage to the Centre of the Earth

The city of Malaga, 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 1960s, spreading out from the narrow confines of its historical centre. This growth process has increased in recent years due to globalization-related phenomena, mobility, an increase in residential tourism (national and Central European) and the new real estate market boom, which is linked to the drop in interest rates, among other diverse factors. Malaga is thus a city with deep peripheral connotations, while its central nature is practically limited to the core of its historical centre, a very small part in comparison to the total urban area covered. As was widespread practice in other cities during the 1960s and 1970s, 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. Hence, at the beginning of the 1980s, the central area was a geographic map of physical and demographic decrepitude. The long experience of Malaga over the last twenty years, through a series of plans and programmes perfected in a continuous system of trial and error, has consisted of halting the decadent trend of that process. The goal is to turn the present day historical centre into a stage for greater opportunities and expectations for the city. The experience of Malaga has been the long journey of the citizen of Malaga 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 — diversity that is, in turn, the essence of the urban, 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.

Salvador Moreno Peralta graduated from the School of Architecture at Madrid's Universidad Politécnica in 1972. He has worked mostly in Malaga, where he developed and conducted the urban rehabilitation plans for the districts of La Trinidad and El Perchel and the General Plan for the City of Malaga (National Urban Planning Award, 1985); urban plans for the towns of Vélez and Mijas; as well as the Tourist Improvement plans of coastal resorts Torremolinos and Benalmádena. He has received the Malaga Architecture Award twice. His most well-known works include the Law School, the Larios Shopping Mall, the Torremolinos City Hall and the site of the Andalusian State Government's Public Tourism Corporation. Outside Malaga, he has conducted the rehabilitation of the four fortified grounds of the city of Melilla (Europa Nostra Award, 1999). He has served for ten years as Coordinator of Cooperation between the Andalusian State Government and Argentina. He has also served as Malaga's Manager of City Planning (1983-1985), and as President of the Social Council of the University of Malaga (1997-2001). He has recently been awarded the development of a business and social centre at Andalusia's Technological Park, and is currently developing the master plan for its expansion. He is also currently developing the Costa del Sol's Centre for Tourism Industry and Leisure Education, Malaga University's new Industrial Engineering and Polytechnic schools, and several other projects in the private sector.

Juan Ramón Casero Dominguez

Deputy Mayor for Urbanism, Public Works and Territorial Development Malaga (Spain)

Juan Ramón Casero Domínguez, an industrial technical engineer, received diplomas in Industrial Sociology, Management of Social Initiative Centres and Business Management and Administration. He has been Town Councillor in Almuñecar (1987-1995) and a Deputy in the Andalusian Parliament (Granada, 1990-2000; Malaga, 2000-2003). He has been a spokesman for Public Works, Housing and Transport (1990-1995) and Economy and Treasury (1995-1996). From 1996-2003, he was the Deputy-Spokesman for the Parliament Group, Treasury and Budget Spokesman and Member of the Management Council of the Parliament Group. From 2000-2003, he was Vice President of the European Affairs Commission. He has held the post of Deputy Mayor for Urbanism, Public Works and Territorial Development on the Malaga Town Council since 2003.

Andrés Gutiérrez Istria

Municipal Director of Town Planning, Malaga (Spain)

From 1975 to 1982, Andrés Gutiérrez Istria was a Senior Architect, specializing in Town Planning and Building at the Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid (E.T.S.A.M.). He has been responsible for plans for the delimitation of urban land and subsidiary planning norms (26 municipalities) for the Malaga Town Council, for public promotion housing in San Pedro de Alcántara, and for a residential complex in the city of Aali-Bahrain (Arab Emirates) (1984-85). He has also been responsible for plans for public schools in Istán, Gaucín, Coín, Frigiliana, Canillas de Aceituno and for the Casa de Culture in Benahavís y Casares (Malaga). From 1988 to 1994, he served as the Manager of KRATA (Valuation Company # 23). From January 1983 to June 1995, as an architect in private practice, he realized architecture and urbanism plans for both public and private promotion and participated in competitions (more than 2000 houses built). From 1995 to 2001, he was the Director and Manager of the Municipal Institute of Housing for the Malaga Town Council. Since 2001, he has been the Municipal Director of Town Planning for the Malaga Town Council.

Viaje a la Tierra del Centro

Salvador Moreno Peralta

La ciudad de Málaga (España), capital de la región turística de la Costa del Sol, experimentó a lo largo de los años 60-80 del pasado siglo uno de los más espectaculares procesos de crecimiento urbano del país, a partir del pequeño círculo de su centro histórico, según una dinámica que se ha acrecentado incluso en los últimos años como consecuencia de los fenómenos derivados de la globalización, la movilidad, el auge del turismo residencial — nacional y centroeuropeo — fenómenos favorecidos por un clima privilegiado, sus comunicaciones (está prevista la ampliación de su aeropuerto internacional y la llegada del tren de Alta Velocidad en el 2007), su desarrollo tecnológico, su posición geográfica, etc…factores que han hecho de la ciudad la capital económica de Andalusia.

Como consecuencia de esta explosión territorial y demográfica, Málaga quedó configurada como una ciudad de profundas connotaciones periféricas, toda vez que la centralidad era algo circunscrito al perímetro de su centro histórico, un núcleo muy pequeño en comparación con el ámbito del suelo urbano y del área metropolitana.

Como ocurrió en otras ciudades del litoral mediterráneo consagradas al turismo, el nuevo modelo económico del país a partir de los años 60, tras el período de aislamiento político y económico al que la comunidad internacional sometió al régimen franquista, exigía hacer crecer la ciudad para acumular riqueza, para obtener, de la explotación abusiva del activo suelo, los recursos necesarios para la modernización del país y salir del subdesarrollo. Y así, al amparo de esta coartada económica, se levantó una ciudad inconexa, fragmentada y periférica, en la que la construcción fue siempre por delante de la planificación y la infraestructura.

Esto afectó también al Centro Histórico, en el que, identificando transformación urbana con modernidad, se construyeron en tramas históricas edificios en altura más propios de la periferia, sin tener para nada en cuenta las condiciones del lugar aunque, al no disponer de las facilidades de acceso al tráfico rodado, realmente lo que ocurrió fue que el centro quedó sumido en un estado creciente de abandono urbanístico y administrativo, con una pérdida de la consideración pública de su valor patrimonial y con

FOTO: Vista aérea del centro de Málaga © Salvador Moreno Peralta

IMAGEN: Crecimiento 1950-2000 © Salvador Moreno Peralta

una acelerado proceso de despoblamiento de forma que, a principios de los ochenta, el área central de Málaga era la geografía de la decrepitud física y demográfica. El centro, en definitiva, era el lugar del que había que huir.

La larga experiencia de Málaga a lo largo de los últimos veinte años, mediante un continuo sistema de verificación-error ha consistido, precisamente, en frenar el signo decadente de ese proceso. Por eso hemos titulado esta ponencia como **un viaje de los malagueños a la tierra del centro,** con permiso de Julio Verne, pues no se trata sólo de un plan de rehabilitación del área central, haciendo frente a una serie de problemas que son bastante comunes a todas las ciudades, sino del reencuentro con una idea de centralidad perdida, del centro como máxima representación de la diversidad — de funciones, de relaciones, de usos, de intercambios, de encuentros, de culturas, etc. — diversidad que es, a su vez, la esencia de lo urbano — es decir, de la CIUDAD — frente a la unifuncionalidad de la periferia y del gueto. El centro, pues, no sólo como un concepto geográfico, sino como una opción urbana, una manera de entender la vida en sociedad y, a la postre, no nos costaría mucho concluir dialécticamente en la idea de la centralidad como una opción moral.

En relación con el tema central de esta mesa redonda, la *gentrificación,* hemos de decir que Málaga parte de una situación ventajosa: nosotros sufrimos una tan traumática como genuina experiencia de *gentrificación* con un arrabal del centro histórico: el barrio histórico del Perchel, que fue literalmente partido en dos con la prolongación de la principal arteria de la ciudad, La Alameda, eje que sustentaba el gran desarrollo de la ciudad hacia el oeste y el desdoblamiento del centro administrativo al otro lado del río Guadalmedina. La operación urbanística, promovida por la propia administración pública, supuso una enorme revalorización de los terrenos, la construcción de un barrio moderno para las clases medias-altas y la erradicación de los anteriores moradores a unos barrios de la periferia expresamente construidos para su realojo.

FOTO: Abandono del centro © Salvador Moreno Peralta

FOTO: Protesta ciudadana contra la demolición del barrio y la erradicación de la población © Salvador Moreno Peralta

Al poco tiempo se pretendió hacer lo mismo con el vecino barrio de la Trinidad. Barrio de profundas raíces populares, con sus costumbres propias, depositario de buena parte de las señas de identidad de la ciudad y con unas tipologías residenciales específicas — la casa patio o corralón, heredero de la casa arábigo-romana — ligada a unas particulares formas de convivencia. En este caso el móvil, la palanca para la erradicación volvía a ser la apertura al tráfico rodado de la calle central del barrio. Pero con el precedente de la operación de El Perchel, la ciudad había quedado advertida y, en cierto modo, **vacunada** contra los estragos de la gentrificación; además el momento coincide con la transición política hacia la democracia y el auge de los movimientos vecinales, que emprendieron una enorme campaña de protesta que dió como resultado la redacción de un Plan conjunto del gobierno local y el regional consistente en la regeneración residencial

FOTO: Fragmentación del barrio histórico de El Perchel para la construcción de la prolongación de la Alameda © Salvador Moreno Peralta

de los barrios, con una fuerte financiación pública para viviendas en régimen de alquiler, bien como rehabilitación de las viviendas existentes, o como una reinterpretación, mediante obras de nueva planta, de las tipologías tradicionales, garantizando el derecho de sus moradores a permanecer en sus lugares de origen y a beneficiarse de las plusvalías generadas de su posición de centralidad. De esta forma se construyeron 600 viviendas en régimen de alquiler, fuertemente repartidas estratégicamente por el barrio, y diversos equipamientos públicos.

Pero en Trinidad-Perchel se cometieron errores: la especialización residencial, la falta de diversidad, la ruptura de la estructura comercial tradicional, la tardanza en la regeneración del espacio público, que impedía visualizar los efectos positivos de la rehabilitación... Era mucho más potente el efecto negativo de la degradación del espacio publico que el efecto optimizador de las casas rehabilitadas.

Posteriormente, a principios de los noventa se empezó a llevar a cabo el Plan de Rehabilitación del Centro Histórico, creándose una Oficina específica para su desarrollo, ubicada en una hermosa casa

FOTO: El barrio periférico construido para alojar a la población erradicada © Salvador Moreno Peralta

barroca previamente rehabilitada y otros organismos con campo de actividad específicos, como la Sociedad de Aparcamientos y una Empresa Municipal para el fomento de actividades empresariales (PROMÁLAGA). La actividad de estos organismos ha sido notable, desplegada en múltiples líneas de actuación: la regeneración del espacio público, mediante la reurbanización y, en muchos casos, peatonalización de las calles de mayor tránsito; fomento la accesibilidad al Centro, mediante la construcción de una red de aparcamientos periféricos e importantes obras públicas como el túnel de la Alcazaba, la gestión, supervisión y adjudicación de las subvenciones a fondo perdido para la rehabilitación de edificios en sus fachadas, cubiertas y elementos comunes, utilizando para ello fondos municipales complementados con fondos europeos (Programa URBAN). Al mismo tiempo se desarrollaron campañas para el fomento de la actividad comercial y la modernización de los comercios existentes.

FOTOS: Imágenes de las casas rehabilitadas en Trinidad Perchel
© Salvador Moreno Peralta

El éxito de este programa fue espectacular como da idea el hecho de que los 18 millones de euros invertidos (entre los 3 millones del URBAN y los 15 del Ayuntamiento) hayan movido 100 millones de inversión privada (es decir, que la inversión de 1 euro público mueve 5 euros de la economía privada).

La consecuencia urbana y social fue palpable: se cambió el signo negativo del centro, se frenó el despoblamiento, las empresas y despachos profesionales volvieron a instalarse allí y, lo más importante, con la restauración de los inmuebles (cerca de 400) la gente empezó a tener conciencia de algo a lo que hasta el momento no le había dado un gran valor: la riqueza de la arquitectura doméstica del siglo XIX que, junto con un buen número de casas barrocas, le confería al Centro de Málaga una singular personalidad en la sobria elegancia y en la sutil unidad de estilo de sus manifestaciones concretas.

Otra parte importante del patrimonio arquitectónico lo constituía, lógicamente, el patrimonio eclesiástico, aunque tampoco era ajeno al deterioro general del centro. Por eso la Oficina de Rehabilitación suscribió un convenio con el Obispado y otras entidades religiosas fruto del cual ha sido la restauración de las principales iglesias y cofradías.

Pero el aumento de valor del centro provocado por estas iniciativas volvía a hacer resurgir la amenaza

de la *gentrificación*. Por esta razón en terrenos muy degradados y prácticamente abandonados del borde superior del Centro, entre el gobierno local y el regional se acometió otra importante operación de repoblamiento — Lagunillas y Cruz Verde — con viviendas públicas de nueva planta fuertemente subvencionadas en régimen de alquiler para familias de escasos recursos económicos. Más de 700 familias fueron alojadas en la centralidad por esta operación.

Uno de los objetivos fundamentales del concepto de rehabilitación integral, si no el más sustancial de ellos, es la posibilidad de **lograr la integración de rentas y capas sociales dentro de una misma área.** Desde posiciones bienintencionadas se ha cometido el frecuente error de utilizar la rehabilitación de áreas centrales como campo de maniobra para acometer una política social de viviendas en términos exclusivamente cuantitativos, es decir, como escenario para la construcción del mayor número posible de alojamientos para familias de renta bajas cuyo poder adquisitivo las aparta del mercado inmobiliario. El componente eminentemente social de la rehabilitación pública y el principio incuestionable de que la regeneración funcional de las zonas históricas y centrales sólo es concebible mediante la recuperación del uso residencial que frene los procesos de terciarización no debe hacernos olvidar el carácter mixto, diverso y esencialmente interclasista que tienen estos barrios. La obsesión exclusiva por el uso residencial en detrimento de todos los otros que, amalgamados, configuran la rica diversidad de lo urbano, ha dado lugar a **guetos** en los que la existencia de viviendas dignas no logran, sin embargo, alcanzar el objetivo último de la rehabilitación integral de la zona, quedando expuesta, si cabe, a una mayor degradación física y social que la de la situación de partida. No obstante sus evidentes logros, éste ha sido, precisamente, el problema fundamental de la rehabilitación de los barrios locales de Trinidad-Perchel y aquí han vuelto a repetirse esos errores.

Pero con todos los errores y problemas, la dinámica desatada en el centro continuó imparable y otras de sus más importantes consecuencias fue que la ciudad de Málaga, la llamada Capital de la Costa del Sol, volvía a ser contemplada desde una

FOTO: Centro de Arte Contemporáneo © Salvador Moreno Peralta

FOTO: El fomento de la actividad comercial y la modernización de los comercios existentes © Salvador Moreno Peralta

óptica turística. Como es sabido, el efecto más beneficioso que ha podido tener el comúnmente denostado turismo de masas a lo largo de su desarrollo, ha sido la valoración del patrimonio, a pesar de lo que sus detractores pudieran pensar. El Turismo no sólo ha contribuído a aproximar el disfrute del patrimonio artístico y cultural a las masas, sino que ha dado lugar al descubrimiento, identificación y valoración de aspectos hasta el momento inéditos de cada lugar, hoy transformados en productos turísticos con cuya explotación han conseguido en muchos casos estabilizar sus economías. En esa línea cabe inscribir una serie de realizaciones de carácter urbano y cultural realizadas en los últimos años que sin duda respondía a exigencias objetivas de una población de medio millón de habitantes, pero no cabe duda también que fueron impulsadas por esa necesidad de lanzar una oferta de turismo cultural como estrategia de regeneración del centro, desde el punto de vista económico y urbano.

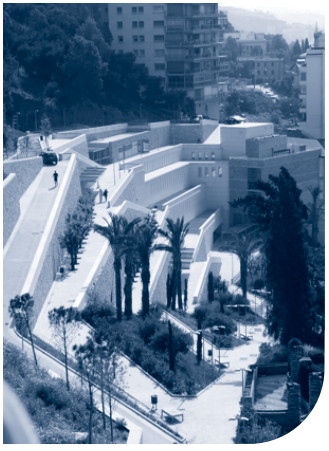


FOTO: Museo Municipal y Jardines de la Coracha
© Salvador Moreno Peralta

Por último la etapa que ahora se aborda es la intervención — llevada a cabo por el gobierno regional — en las llamadas **Areas de Rehabilitación Concertada** situadas al norte de la traza de la muralla musulmana. Se trata de extender el ámbito de la centralidad histórica a unas zonas que lo son de hecho — unos barrios configurados en el siglo XVIII — pero que hasta ahora no habían sido objeto de atención administrativa. Pero realmente lo que se quiere hacer es volcar en ellos todo lo que se ha aprendido durante estos años y no cometer los mismos errores. Es como volver a Trinidad-Perchel, pero veinte años más viejos y experimentados. El Plan consiste en simultanear una serie de líneas de actuación que van desde unas fuertes inversiones públicas en vivienda, para obras de nueva planta o rehabilitación, reurbanización del espacio público, construcción de equipamientos públicos, restauración de las últimas casas del período barroco,

FOTO: Peatonalización de calle Larios y su entorno
© Salvador Moreno Peralta

creación de centros polivalentes de carácter asistencial y cultural, atención específica a la inmigración,etc. Pero lo más singular es la experimentación de unos conjuntos de vivienda pública, en régimen de alquiler, específicamente concebidas para ancianos y para jóvenes. Para estos últimos se ha creado el concepto de 'vivienda incubadora', con espacios anexos para el trabajo, en régimen de alquiler con una estancia máxima de siete años. Se trata de introducir en el barrio a un segmento de la población — los jóvenes — que, en su conjunto, es un colectivo dramáticamente necesitado de vivienda al haber quedado centrifugados del mercado inmobiliario.

Por otra parte, en estos barrios subsisten grandes espacios que durante el siglo XIX y principios del XX fueron ocupados por industrias manufactureras, hoy abandonadas. Se pretende ahora que lo que fueron espacios productivos centrales en la etapa post-industrial lo sigan siendo hoy, en el siglo XXI. Es decir, se trata de no resignarse a que las áreas centrales se limiten a ejercer el papel de referente simbólico y cultural de la ciudad, como si se tratase de un 'Parque Temático' de la Historia; ni siquiera, en el mejor de los casos, como el campo de maniobra para una política de regeneración residencial, por mucho mérito que esto tenga. Se trata de continuar viendo a la ciudad como espacio productivo, pero éste, hoy día y en el contexto de la ciudad global, no puede ser otro que el espacio de la innovación, de la multifuncionalidad y el intercambio.

En esta operación se propone que algunas de estas viejas fábricas en desuso se conviertan en 'clusters' de empresas de innovación sobre los que coexistan — en una provechosa amalgama que obtenga las ventajas propias de las economías de aglomeración — el concepto de 'incubadora de empresas' con el de 'vivienda incubadora', dando respuesta a la necesidad de espacios mixtos para la residencia y el trabajo que demanda una población joven y desprejuiciada, capaz de integrarse con otros colectivos sociales, como los ancianos y los inmigrantes, de cuya implantación se esperan obtener los más seguros efectos rehabilitadores.

FOTO: Incorporación del Puerto a la ciudad
© Salvador Moreno Peralta

FOTO: Regeneración del espacio público
© Salvador Moreno Peralta

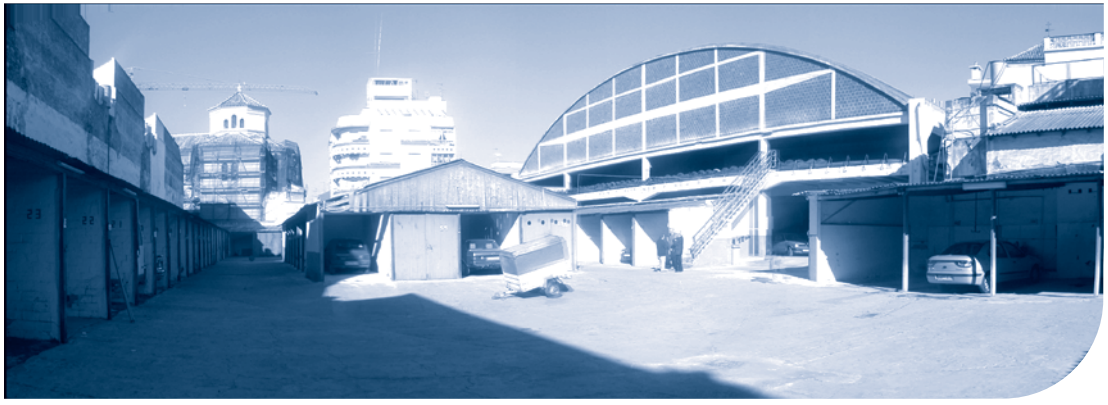


FOTO: Antiguos espacios industriales utilizados para 'clusters' de innovación © Salvador Moreno Peralta

Carles Martí
Councillor of Ciutat Vella

Ciutat Vella 1988-2007: Distrito histórico y centro de Barcelona

El proceso de perdida de valor y de centralidad urbana

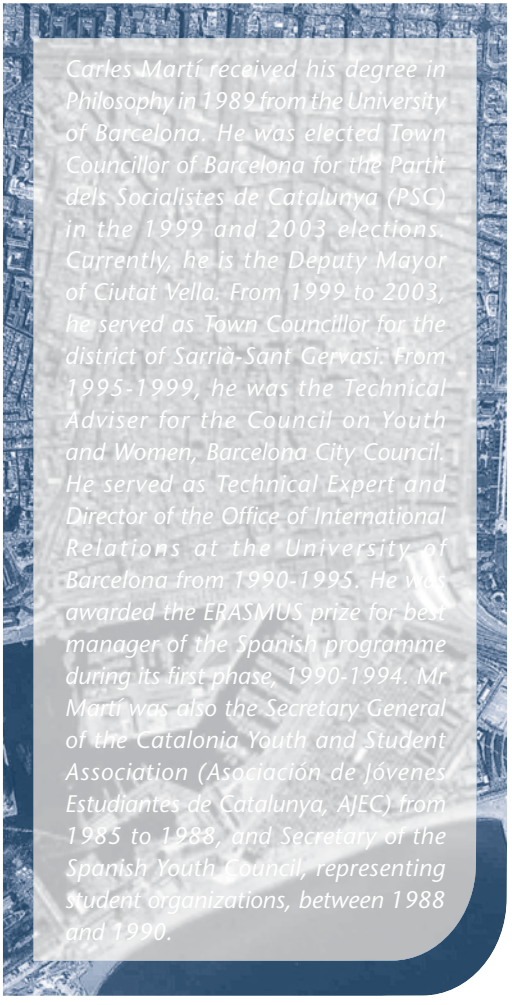
- 1854/1859 Derribo de las murallas/Inicio del Eixample
- Emigración de las clases acomodadas
- Grandes vías entre Eixample-puerto
- Edificación envejecidas
- Pérdida de valor comercial
- Envejecimiento de la población
- Marginalidad/inseguridad/prostitución/droga

El proyecto de revitalización

- Objetivos estratégicos
- Lineas de actuación
- El modelo de gestión

Situación actual – Retos presente y futuro

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



Carles Martí received his degree in Philosophy in 1989 from the University of Barcelona. He was elected Town Councillor of Barcelona for the Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya (PSC) in the 1999 and 2003 elections. Currently, he is the Deputy Mayor of Ciutat Vella. From 1999 to 2003, he served as Town Councillor for the district of Sarrià-Sant Gervasi. From 1995-1999, he was the Technical Adviser for the Council on Youth and Women, Barcelona City Council. He served as Technical Expert and Director of the Office of International Relations at the University of Barcelona from 1990-1995. He was awarded the ERASMUS prize for best manager of the Spanish programme during its first phase, 1990-1994. Mr Martí was also the Secretary General of the Catalonia Youth and Student Association (Asociación de Jóvenes Estudiantes de Catalunya, AJEC) from 1985 to 1988, and Secretary of the Spanish Youth Council, representing student organizations, between 1988 and 1990.

1988-2007: Historical District and Centre of Barcelona

Barcelona is a modern city and the chief link of a conurbation network made up of 27 municipal areas, covering 585 square kilometres with a population of 3 million. The Barcelona municipal area is strictly defined as a surface area of 99 square kilometres with 1,582,738 inhabitants. Administratively, the city is divided into 10 districts, which provides decentralization of municipal government and management functions.

Ciutat Vella, district number one, covers a surface area of 4.3 square kilometres and has a population of 106,000. The original nucleus of the Roman settlement in Barcelona is still evident among the old streets of the district, as are numerous archaeological and architectural reminders of the different historical periods that the city has experienced.

Loss of Value and Urban Centrality

In the middle of the 19th century, Barcelona demolished the medieval city walls (1854) which had impeded its growth, and the old historical centre began to be cornered off by the powerful residential and economic dynamics of the emerging city (1859), which offered the comfort, habitability and functionality demanded by the citizens.

Many buildings fell empty, marking the beginning of a series of cycles of abandonment and the arrival of new residents. Each cycle resulted in greater impoverishment of the area, an increase in the precariousness of the residents' social situation and the rootlessness of the new inhabitants from the neighbourhood. The negative effects of this exodus ran alongside the insecurity which accompanied projects to open up new fast road networks and other urban plans. The Via Laietana, which was opened between 1908 and 1915, is an example of this effect.

Throughout history, the heart of Barcelona has suffered major strategic losses: the central railway station, the commercial port, the central market, the centres of political power and the university. Trade,

PHOTO: The Ciutat Vella district defined by the alignments of the medieval walls and clearly differentiated from the modern Eixample
© Foment Ciutat Vella

alongside other economic activities, weakened and lost much of its dynamism for prolonged periods, which resulted in the 1970s and 1980s in a generalized process of the closure of businesses and other activities.

Problems accumulated, such as the ageing of buildings, a lack of infrastructure and difficult adaptability of many of the narrow streets to the new requirements. All of this was worsened by an explosion in population density (an average of 237 people per hectare), an ageing population (26% over the age of 65) and the existence of concentrated pockets of poverty, marginalized populations, delinquency and prostitution. Finally, the impact of the circulation and consumption of drugs made living conditions in the worst areas of the district even harsher.

Looking to become once again the nerve centre of Barcelona, Ciutat Vella had little bargaining power. Residential values weakened between the structural insecurity of the buildings and the lack of reasonable living conditions, and the economic role of the area faded away with the lack of renovation, street problems and poverty of the inhabitants.

The Revitalization Project

Strategic aims Among the goals of the revitalization project:

- To recover the former strength and vitality of the historical centre, and return the district to its original central position with respect to the rest of the city;
- To return to Ciutat Vella the value of its architectural heritage and culture, assigning value to the character, the people, the physical space: in short, the fruits of a long period of history in which it played a central role;
- To rediscover the economic vitality through structural improvements;

- To facilitate the introduction of new commercial, tourist, leisure and local craft activities.

The ancient city had always benefited from its openness to the world, a summary of ideas, races, activities and cultures. It was thus a question of recovering that characteristic — not by placing all the eggs in one basket, but by diversifying options for the future through conservation and preservation, revitalization and strengthening, avoiding the departure of the current population and preparing to welcome newcomers.

Along these lines, political and technical decisions were made in favour of the following aims: when Catalonia became once again an autonomous government, the major governmental institutions were situated in the district, the public university returned to Ciutat Vella, the port substituted the long-gone loading and unloading activities with entertainment and shopping centres and has recently become a base

PHOTO: The creation of new public spaces such as the Rambla del Raval is a fundamental objective of urban renovation
© Foment Ciutat Vella

for large cruise liners. Ciutat Vella is on the right track again, but it has had to do its homework and undertake a difficult renovation process, during which the most important priority has been the population.

Lines of action The backbone of the renovation process has been a large number of urban planning operations of differing scales and influences (the original plans forecast 236 operations, and to date 343 have been calculated, either completed or in their final phases).

The revitalization of Ciutat Vella began with the preparation and approval of neighbourhood planning projects between 1980 and 1985.

Urban renewal has affected 500 buildings and 4,500 dwellings (of which more than 20% were empty). The imperative condition before the process began was to relocate the affected population in the same neighbourhoods as they already lived, in public housing. Between 1985 and 2003, a total of 2,800 council homes were built.

The urban regeneration process has brought 79 new streets, squares and public spaces to Ciutat Vella, and the creation of 43 neighbourhood facilities for social, educational, health, sports and cultural purposes. These include major cultural centres such as the MACBA, the CCCB and the Museum of the History of Catalonia, as well as the Hospital del Mar. In order to obtain these results, more than 10 hectares of built-up land were transformed. The investment made by the different official bodies in the period from 1988 to 2003 has exceeded €1,237m.

Renovation has also meant changes and improvements in the existing services networks (water, electricity, gas and telephone) and the creation of 40 large car parks (public and private), either underground or in ad hoc buildings, with a total capacity of more than 12,000 automobiles.

Finally, the government-led initiative on national, regional and local levels to renovate the aged Ciutat Vella housing stock through the provision of technical support, grants and loans should be emphasized (2,787 buildings renovated and 36,270 dwellings and shops from 1988 to 2003).

The availability of new equipment has enabled the Catalan autonomous government *(Generalitat)* and the City Council *(Ajuntament)* to develop specific teams and programmes to address social, health and education problems.

From the beginning of the project, the City Council, traders associations and other economic agencies have worked together towards the improvement of urban infrastructures, the development of economic activities and the improvement of the general image of the district in order to make the commercial, leisure and tourist areas more attractive. A sense of resident security was of great concern, based especially on the concentration of marginalized populations in certain areas, and made any initiative more complicated.

Specific action was taken in this respect, both in the control of certain bars and restaurants which had been identified as trouble spots and the closure of some illegal hostels. Framework for coordination among policing bodies was created, along with other measures to increase the efficiency of the fight against delinquency.

Finally, the creation of an appropriate ruling enabled all kinds of economic activity to be regularized and channeled in order to prevent the concentration or proliferation of certain specific uses.

The Management Model It was anticipated that it would be difficult to manage the complex process of urban renewal in Ciutat Vella. The only possibility for success demanded that it should include

the full involvement of the local people who would have to endure the changes. The urban projects from the 1980s included the people's wish to overcome the effects of the model of large roadways which divided up the district. The second challenge faced by urban planners was to bring to the old historical centre sufficient public space to be able to live and breathe — the necessary facilities to improve the quality of life for the local residents — and the replacement housing that would guarantee that the long-term residents would be able to remain in the neighbourhood. Every urban project was carried out according to these premises. Therefore, in spite of the harshness of the transformation, the local population viewed the projects with the hope of improving their own precarious situations.

Before commencing the project, the Management Commission of the ARI was created to ensure these social considerations. The Commission convened three monthly meetings of the highest-level representatives of the municipal and autonomous governments and neighbourhood associations.

The District Urban Planning Commission provided information and assured the contribution of local people in the technical projects drawn up by the City Council.

Such an ambitious project could only be carried out with the complete understanding and cooperation among the different government bodies. The *Generalitat* contributed to the creation of social housing and some of the necessary facilities. The main contribution of national government was in supporting the renovation of private housing. The European Union also provided key support to some areas of the project, with the contribution of capital from the Cohesion Fund. Finally, the City Council has provided the true driving power of the project, both on an economic and human level, and especially in terms of its political implication, taking on all the challenges and difficulties of such a long and costly endeavour.

In 1988, the City Council created an instrument for the management of the Ciutat Vella action plan. It took the form of a mixed capital company and was given considerable scope for management and investment. With *Promoció Ciutat Vella, SA,* the revitalization process of Ciutat Vella was given the impulse necessary for its materialization.

The Ciutat Vella Urban Model

The renewal process has meant putting back on the living map of the city an area that, in previous decades, had stood by as new opportunities were concentrated elsewhere in more modern and better-equipped areas for the development of activities or simply for living. But this revaluation of the historical centre has brought with it both positive and negative consequences.

The existing buildings and the few existing land sites have returned to the property market, with sale values similar to those in the rest of the city, within

PHOTO: The new Plaça dels Àngels and the Museum of Contemporary Art form part of the new cultural complex created in the Raval Nord © Foment Ciutat Vella

the general context of rocketing house prices. High property prices have the positive effect of increasing the chances of full-scale renovation of buildings (and therefore their conservation). The main negative effect of rising house prices is the selection (and limitation) of the people who are able to opt for such high rental and purchase prices.

In order to counter undesirable consequences of the improvement of the historical centre, governments are developing active policies aimed at ensuring that the least favoured sectors of the population are able to remain in the neighbourhood and are encouraging young families to inhabit the area.

The current lines of action are:

- Continuous creation of public housing for young people and for elderly people living in unsuitable or substandard conditions;
- Strengthening of the cooperation between the City Council and citizens' housing cooperatives;
- Maintenance of grants and loans, and the necessary motivation to renovate buildings and individual homes;
- Continued efforts to ensure that the law is complied with in contractual relations between owners and tenants (to avoid storming of the market by property agencies or any other kind of abuse);
- Establishment of measures to encourage renting and the creation of promotions in this respect.

The aim is to guarantee the maintenance of the maximum possible variety of resident types: young families, the elderly, welfare claimants, the middle class, the underprivileged, the native population, the immigrant population, professionals, workers, artists, students, etc.

This objective, based on the rich and varied presence of different, complementary sectors may be defined as **mixticity**, or social mix — the antithesis of exclusion or exclusivity.

The strategy of promoting **mixticity** is not restricted to the residential sphere, but is also present in the dynamics embraced by the economic, social and cultural activities in Ciutat Vella.

In terms of economic activity, there is an effort to strengthen both traditional commerce that has

PHOTOS: In the upper corner of the aerial photo (above), the building where the new Humanities Faculty has been built. Next to it (right), a parking area for bicycles. Two aspects of the new Ciutat Vella, more lively and sustainable. Both photos © Foment Ciutat Vella

resulted from years of contrasting experiences, and also the search for new lines, both in commercial areas and new areas of activity by re-establishing former streets and generating new points of attraction. In the tourist sector, the areas of hotels, restaurants, souvenirs and cultural tours have taken on a special importance. There is no more heavy industry in Ciutat Vella, but artisan products and their sales receive the support of the City Council.

Culture in Ciutat Vella is the sum of a rich heritage, a special character and a large number of facilities of all kinds. Theatres, auditoriums, cinemas, museums, cultural associations, churches, libraries, fashion bars, restaurants, etc. are found in all the streets and squares of the historical centre. The recent location of large universities (Pompeu Fabra, Ramon Llull, Politècnica, Universitat de Barcelona) has brought even more vitality to the restored historical centre.

Currently included in the district census are 36.1% of residents from a wide range of countries: there are 100 or more entries on the municipal register for people from 34 different countries. These arrivals have taken place in a very short period, and have placed great demands on the local and incoming population for mutual respect, recognition and acceptance. The City Council promotes and enables interaction between communities, while working for public recognition of all those who have come from afar for their contributions to Barcelona society. Human **mixticity** forms part of the new Ciutat Vella which is currently being forged, and counts on the help of organizations formed by the immigrants themselves which can act as a bridge between the new arrivals and the society that welcomes them.

The new situation requires the adaptation or creation of better infrastructure for education, health, religion, food, housing, etc. — a need that is fortunately easier to resolve when the previous shortfalls experienced by the existing population can now be considered resolved. The majority of the facilities generated over the past fifteen years are equally available to all the present residents of Ciutat Vella.

PHOTO: In the new Rambla del Raval area, the human castle constructions symbolize the force behind the revitalization of the historical centre © Foment Ciutat Vella

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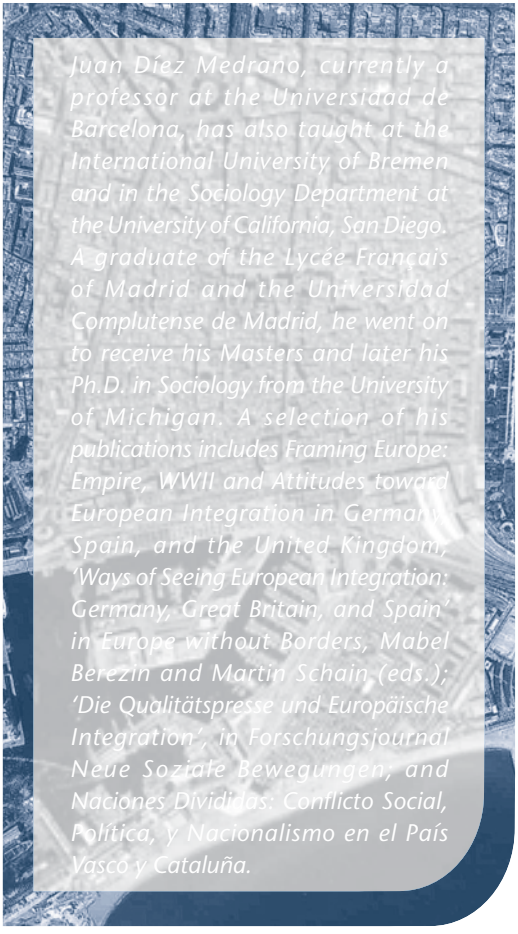
Ciutat Vella
Ilustración contra mercado

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.



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Enlightenment against the market

The rehabilitation of the historical district of Ciutat Vella in Barcelona dates back to the democratic transition in the mid-1970s and belongs to an urban renewal trend witnessed in numerous cities around the world. The contemporary literature rightfully emphasizes the role that globalization has played in the transformation of cities (see Friedmann and Wolff, 1982; Harvey, 1982). The worldwide removal of the barriers restricting the movement of goods and capital, along with communications and transportation revolutions, have led to a reorganization of urban space and to increased efforts by cities to attract both investment and the revenues from visitors. Public authorities trying to meet the challenge of a global world and struggling to attract private capital both big and small have contributed to the transformation of central city districts.

Scholars emphasizing the role of globalization in these transformations often forget, however, that the new era of globalization follows rather than precedes the movement toward the rehabilitation and changed economic profile of old city centres. True, experts recognize that in the 1970s regional and local governments became proactive in addressing urban problems in response to the world economic crisis and the state's fiscal crisis. These scholars have treated these efforts as largely following the Fordist/Keynesian logic that characterized the post-Second World War era rather than the globalization logic that began to characterize the 1980s (Brenner, 1999, 2003). The 1970s, however, were not only about local unemployment and welfare policies. Neither were they only about regional and municipal governments replacing the State in the task of revitalizing urban economies. This period marks the beginning of a reorientation of urban policy priorities, one of whose main characteristics was the effort to beautify cities by improving their natural environment and by revitalizing historical neighbourhoods. This is not an altogether surprising phenomenon, for this is the time when the 1968 generation, carrier of post-materialist values that would spread throughout society in coming decades, was beginning to shape political agendas around the Western world (Inglehart, 1979).

To explain the early efforts to rehabilitate historical districts we must therefore examine the social context within which these efforts were undertaken. One should particularly consider the tensions of the unfolding suburbanization process during this period in many large European cities (e.g. poor transportation networks, lifeless suburban areas). Some time in the mid-1970s, segments of the bourgeoisie, permeated by post-materialist values, culturally sensitive and in relative terms economically deprived, turned their attention away from the suburbs and toward historical city centres. Their relative access to power, facilitated by their young age and their social and cultural capital, made it possible for their ideas to be heard by city planners. Consequently, a gradual and uneven process of urban renewal and gentrification was set in motion in many cities' historical districts. From the beginning, Barcelona, like Madrid and many other

Spanish cities, was impacted by what heretofore had been an atypical alliance of municipal power with the progressive intelligentsia, which was made possible by the democratization of public life that followed Franco's death in 1975.

Stages in the urban renewal process of Ciutat Vella

Major institutional moments in the transformation of Barcelona's historical district, Ciutat Vella, were:

- The approval of the *Plan General Metropolitano* (General Metropolitan Plan) in 1976;
- 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 between 1979 and 1983;
- The PERI and *Plan de Acción Integral* (PAI) for Ciutat Vella between 1983 and 1986, focused on the recovery of declining areas in Ciutat Vella;
- From 1986-1992, the creation of the *Sección de Rehabilitación Integrada en Ciutat Vella* (Section of Integrated Rehabilitation in Ciutat Vella) (ARI) and of the private-public organization *Promoción de Ciutat Vella* (PROCIVESA), charged with liberating spaces in Ciutat Vella and managing the process of urban transformation within the historical centre;
- The recovery of declining areas in Ciutat Vella in the period around the Olympic Games of Barcelona;
- The focus on the implementation of large infrastructure projects, on the reorganization of public space and on the transformation of the uses of public space between 1992 and 1999; and
- The *Programa de Acción para Ciutat Vella* (Action Programme for Ciutat Vella), has focused on urban renewal, housing restoration and social sustainability in the 2000-2007 period, which is managed by PROCIVESA'S successor organization, Foment de Ciutat Vella S.A.

Rehabilitation of Ciutat Vella in the 1990s

At a more visible level, the post-Olympic Games period witnessed the implementation of large urban projects. These included the transformation of the old harbour area through the development of a modern shopping mall, the opening of giant screen cinemas, and the building of office buildings (i.e. World Trade Centre and Maremagnum Centre). 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 Pompéu Fabra, fitness clubs and expensive housing.

All in all, the rehabilitation and restructuring of Ciutat Vella has involved a considerable process of expropriation and destruction of poorly 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 through the construction of open spaces such as squares, parks and wide streets (e.g. 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) in a crowded urban area.

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

Multiple social forces at work

The transformation of Ciutat Vella in the last decade has resulted from a complex interaction between multiple social forces. Among the leading actors, one should mention:

- Private actors representing and responding to the gentrification forces that have followed the crisis of the suburbanization model and the process of globalization;
- Enlightened public actors, concerned with reconciling the need for urban renewal with, on the one hand, their duty to enhance the appeal of Barcelona to worldwide private investors and visitors, and, on the other hand, their proclaimed goal of ensuring the sustainable growth of Ciutat Vella — that is, one that guarantees a lieable physical and urban environment and the social and cultural diversity of Ciutat Vella;
- 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 can barely 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, and the divisions within the groups themselves, has sometimes resulted in open conflict. One example of this was a clash in autumn 2002 between a group of residents and security forces that represented the municipality. The clash resulted from disagreement about the uses of an empty space in what is known as the *Casc Antíc* (Old Quarter), near the old market of *Santa Caterina* in the Northwest section of Ciutat Vella.

Another example is the emergence of magazines and resident associations highly critical of municipal urban policy. The municipality and the public-private organizations 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 mobilization 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.

Looking ahead

The fate of 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 pressures of globalization and suburban crisis. 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 of 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: the optimists who trust the municipality's will and capacity to fulfil its promise of a sustainable form of urban development, or the skeptics who do not trust the administration and predict massive social exclusion at the end of the road.

The big challenge ahead is the coordination of the rehabilitation programme with social and economic policy aimed at increasing the resident population's standards of living. Ciutat Vella still contains significant pockets of below-average standards of living and marginality. This problem has worsened following the sudden arrival of a large number of immigrants to the district since the mid-1990s. In this

sense, the need to prevent the gentrification forces at work in the neighbourhood must not divert from the need to overcome social and cultural exclusion. The success of the rehabilitation process of Ciutat Vella hinges decisively on the coordination of urban and social policy. Otherwise, the funds invested today in beautifying the district and on creating more public spaces and infrastructure will be wasted. Unless the residents have the means and motivation to care for what has been done so far, the City of Barcelona could be bound sooner or later to create a new management organization that would again develop a rehabilitation plan for this historical district.

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Conclusion

Conclusión

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Brigitte Colin has worked in the Urban Development Section (URB) of the Division of Social Sciences Research and Policies (Social and Human Sciences Sector, UNESCO) since April 1995, after 13 years in the Division of Cultural Heritage of UNESCO. She is an architect certified by the French Government and a member of the French National Order of Architects, the International Union of Architects and the International Council of Museums. She joined the Cultural Heritage Division of UNESCO in 1982, where she was in charge of museums, archaeological sites in North Africa and the preservation of historical cities. Since 1995, she has been responsible for 'Cities and Architecture', a MOST programme and for UNESCO prizes in architecture and landscape architecture. As a specialist in architecture and city and regional planning in the Arab region, she has been responsible for, inter alia: the intersectoral project, 'Urban Development and Water Resources: Small Historical Coastal Cities'; the preparation of guidelines and observatories in old cities through 'Social Sustainability in Historical Districts'; research on urbanization in Western Africa ('Social challenges of urbanization in Africa', with the UNESCO Dakar office); supporting the creation of the UNESCO Chair, 'Landscape and Environment', launched by a Forum in October 2003 with Montreal University; and the current URB research-action area on 'Urban Public Policies towards the Right to the City'.

At its creation in 1987, the ICOMOS *Charter on the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas* set a precedent in sustainable development by including a specific mention that all actors, and in particular the local population, should be given the opportunity to take part in the revitalization of historical districts in every phase of the process. Yet on a practical level, the involvement of these urban actors is no simple task. It requires a strong coordination between an array of urban actors, from city professionals to town planners and from architects to municipal authorities. Focusing on the institutional aspects of this coordination effort is precisely where UNESCO, in cooperation with UN-HABITAT, can play a key role, both as a public forum and a laboratory for political innovation.

UNESCO's Round Table of Experts on 'Social Sustainability in Historical Districts' was able to provide insights on a number of levels, particularly with regard to the changing role of urban professionals. These discussions were linked to the 2003 New Athens Charter and edited by the European Council of Town Planners which lays down the most effective strategies for coordinating global efforts to ensure socially sustainable revitalization. The presentation of the diverse case studies throughout the conference, which highlighted both successful and unsuccessful examples of revitalization efforts in historical districts, underscored the need to strengthen these kinds of international interdisciplinary exchanges, as well as to disseminate 'Best Practices' and legal instruments through city networks and university-city partnerships, as most cities lack the capacity to develop innovative tools.

Analyses of Spanish cities like Aranjuez, Malaga and Barcelona showed that mass exodus from a historical district following a prolonged period of architectural and socio-economic deterioration could be reverted. Social funds, usually reserved for subsidizing access to public housing for low income families, have in some cases been allocated to the restoration and rehabilitation of old housing in the historical centre of these cities. Other innovative revitalization strategies included the implementation of professional training modules for residents and commercial inhabitants, incentives for contractors and builders, and technical assistance to low-income families provided by the municipality. This proactive and socially sustainable approach has stimulated private investment in converting and restoring old housing stock, prevented the further decay of cultural heritage, revived old city centres, and promoted social integration. Meanwhile, a presentation by Yoon-Jae Yang, Vice-Mayor of Administrative Affairs in Seoul (Republic of Korea), demonstrated how the Cheonggye-Cheon revitalization project in Seoul is unique in its approach of restoring the city to its historical natural landscape. The project proposes reviving the historical and natural heritage of inner Seoul by dismantling the highway over the Cheon River that crosses the city.

While these innovative strategies for urban revitalization projects are both instructive and promising, they can at times lead to further complications. Renovated city centres attract large numbers of tourists, which can in turn tax public services and compromise local culture. Most alarming in both its impact on the local level and its prevalence on the global scale, however, is the increasing gentrification of historical centres. Several Round Table participants testified to the threat gentrification poses to social cohesion, spatial integration of the existing populations and inclusiveness in cities worldwide. Forced evictions, observed Jean du Plessis, representative of the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE, South Africa), occur 'in both developing and developed countries, and in democracies and dictatorships alike'. Cesare Ottolini, Coordinator of the International Alliance of Inhabitants (IAI, Italy), pointed out that this form of 'housing apartheid' particularly affects immigrants, nomads and refugees, as well as lower income segments of the population who often lack the resources and the authority to develop any kind of effective counter-movement.

In many instances, inhabitants, local associations and international NGOs have joined forces across the globe to initiate resident movements aimed at reclaiming the city. For example, when municipal authorities served eviction notices to residents of the Pom Mahakan community of central Bangkok threatening to expel in some cases sixth-generation neighbourhood residents, the community took a proactive approach. Assisted by urban and human rights specialists like COHRE, residents developed an alternative land-sharing plan that proposed renovation of older buildings and integration of the housing into a historical park located next to the Mahakan Fort. For the moment, evictions have not been carried out, yet the future of the culturally and architecturally rich community remains uncertain.

On a much larger scale, widespread reconstruction in Moscow has changed the face of the Russian capital. Driven by a municipal decision to increase the construction density in Moscow, the massive renovation project has thus far impacted 6 or 7 million Muscovites and promises to affect the rest of the city's inhabitants within the next ten years. In an effort to combat the controversial mass-relocation of residents, a committee for defending the rights of

Muscovites was created in June 2004. This committee established a special monitoring team to disseminate information about various unauthorized, or 'criminal', construction cases, where the rights, interests and freedom of the residents were being ignored by the authorities. The consequences of the renovation project, for both the architectural and cultural heritage of the city as well as the resident population, have generated much controversy. More than 400 historical buildings have been razed and replaced by 'replicas' bearing little resemblance to the original structures, and a huge part of the environmental architecture of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries has been destroyed – not to mention the tens of thousands of Muscovites who have been relocated from potentially valuable central flats to less desirable housing on the outskirts of the city.

Finally, following in the steps of Sydney and Barcelona, Beijing is the most recent example of a city transformed in preparation for the Olympic Games. Mass evictions and demolition projects in the Xicheng district of Old Beijing were directly linked to urban revitalization and the construction of infrastructure in preparation for the international mega-event in 2008. The unlawful evictions prompted UNESCO's Beijing Office to launch a research-action project proposing the creation of new renovation models with the participation of low-income families, in conjunction with Tsinghua University and the Xicheng district. However, demolitions have thus far not been deterred.

Regardless of the success of some of these resident movements, Cesare Ottolini (IAI), points out that 'in some ways, the fight against gentrification and expropriation has also shed a positive light on the collective problem-solving potential of the inhabitants of the city'. **This 'human potential' has been further explored in several Asian cities, with the establishment of urban training and resource centres to serve the local population and to coordinate more sensitive planning strategies among the municipality, city professionals and long-time residents.** In the case of Karachi (Pakistan), the Urban Resource Centre (URC) has been established by teachers of architecture and city planning and development NGOs in response to the increasing degradation of the inner city and repeated insensitive planning projects initiated without consultation of the population. Among its chief objectives is the collection of information regarding city plans and the dissemination of the results to the media, NGOs, CBOs, concerned citizens and formal and informal interest groups. Concretely, the URC has successfully brought about modifications to the Karachi Mass Transit Project and the rehabilitation plan of the Lyari Expressway and is currently working to protect the rights of several thousand hawkers in the city centre. It has also been responsible for creating a new dynamic in which the media and the Government consult the URC on urban issues. This success story, presented by Professor Arif Hasan, is linked to the fact that architecture and planning students have followed a final year of study on a 'Comprehensive Environmental Design Project' at Dawood College in Karachi.

Following a series of relatively unsuccessful revitalization plans in Lahore (Pakistan), and in response to the deteriorating state of the historical core of the city, the National College of Arts (NCA) decided it was time for a new urban vision. This vision would, above all, encompass the aspirations of the local community, provide employment opportunities, and improve access to basic needs. Through the establishment of close links among occupants and owners of heritage property, local organizations, urban practitioners, professionals and art and architecture

students, the NCA has worked to develop opportunities for an interactive learning process. The result is the conversion of a heritage house located in Chowk Matti, Kucha Pir Shirazi into an 'Open House', named *Skafti Batik,* which will serve as the new headquarters of the Centre for Conservation and Restoration Studies (CCRS). CCRS was created with the aim of opening dialogue and debate on culture, with the support of UNESCO's Islamabad Office and within the framework of UNESCO's initiative on 'Urban Poor, Socio-economic Revitalization of Urban Centres'. At the Centre, low-income residents can seek professional advice or consult the newly-developed maintenance manuals. A special focus has been given to endangered traditional crafts and intangible heritage. CCRS is now in the process of bringing the municipality into the project as an active partner.

The need to maintain historical districts as socially-inclusive living spaces was widely recognized among Round Table participants. However, it was also established that the capacity of local governments must be increased in order to deal with an expanding and ever-changing mandate in many thematic areas. Moreover, it is necessary to include adequate financial and human resources in addition to the appropriate awareness-building of the diverse partners in relation to the value of certain laws and policies. Round Table participants concurred that strengthened partnerships among the range of crucial urban actors and stakeholders, a wide dissemination of 'Best Practices', and the development of innovative toolkits for use by municipal authorities and urban practitioners were among the most crucial next steps.

Time and again, experts cited the greatest problems arising from urban reconstruction plans that ignored both the voice and the valuable cultural, human capital of the local residents and commercial inhabitants. Much of the conference's focus centred on *how* to achieve sustainability, for, as Dmitry Kataev, Deputy Mayor of the Moscow City Council (Russia), pointed out in the case of the Russian capital, **the question is 'not whether reconstruction is needed in Moscow or whether it will take place, but how to minimize and compensate for its negative impacts'.** Drawing from his own experiences in Latin American cities, Yves Cabannes, lecturer at the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University (USA) and Deputy Director of the Centre for Urban Development Studies, emphasized **the need to maintain a 'social perspective' in revitalization projects, stressing the importance of actively taking into account the assets and the potentialities of residents living and working in historical centres. This approach is necessary in order 'to avoid a situation where revitalization is synonymous with gentrification and the eviction of poor renters and owners'.** Moreover, socially sustainable projects call for a satisfactory balance between three conflicting logics: the need to preserve historical sites and buildings, economic interests and the need for economic generation, and the needs and values of the district's current residential and commercial inhabitants. According to Ciro Caraballo, a UNESCO expert on historical cities in Latin America, **social management plans can be the best tools for maintaining the processes of valuation, rescue and conservation of heritage sites, so long as they are filtered through technical proposals regarding the local culture.** Carles Martí, Deputy Mayor of Ciutat Vella in Barcelona (Spain), underscored **the importance of the creation of a socially mixed environment in sustainability efforts. The renovation process in Ciutat Vella was driven by the central objective of mixicity, or social**

mix, which sought to maintain the rich and varied presence of different, complementary sectors. This strategy, according to Martí, is 'not restricted to the residential sphere, but is also present in the dynamics embraced by the economic, social and cultural activities' of the district.

Several contributors to the Round Table provided important methodological insights in relation to the changing role that architects, planners and municipal authorities must embrace in the development of more socially sustainable cities and historical centres. Dr Alfonso Vegara, President of ISoCaRP and of the *Fundación Metrópoli,* has established the 'Proyecto CITIES' methodology: a global investigation of twenty cities on five continents. The model seeks to identify the singularities and competitive advantages of various cities and to discover each city's 'cluster of excellence'. Dr Vegara used the model to develop a collective vision for the city of Aranjuez through an analysis of the city's natural, cultural, environmental, economic and structural strengths. A participatory questionnaire, filled out by 100 local institutions, helped to identify the components of excellence, key priority areas and shortfalls for improvement perceived by the local institutions involved in the future growth of the city.

In his reflection on the potential consequences of massive technological innovations, Greg Andonian, Professor at Carleton University in Ottawa (Canada), proposed a four-part strategy based on a systems design viewpoint. He divided his proposed design of the citizen-corporate dynamic into four stages: design vision, design mission, design actualization and design comprehension, each of which calls for the participation of the public. Meanwhile, Yves Cabannes identified a potential strategy for the success of revitalization projects. An initial Consultation process with all concerned stakeholders should lead to the design of an Action Plan with a social perspective and a Priority Action Programme that is based upon actual resources. Next, it is necessary to devise an operational structure that will shape the implementation of the proposed Action Plan and Priority Action Programme.

Josep-Maria Llop Torné, Director of the International Union of Architects (UIA), brought the question of scale to the forefront of the debate with his focus on intermediate cities. His meso approach is not only a sound statistical choice, as intermediate cities house the majority of the world's urban population; it can also be considered an important tool for urban professionals in their approach to urban issues and revitalization projects in cities. These medium-sized cities serve as intermediaries between globalization on a planetary scale and smaller urban and rural territories, making them of immediate interest to all scales of urban research. Many of the problems occurring in these smaller urban environments are also to be found in large metropolises. Studying the structure and mechanisms of intermediate cities can help isolate individual problems and permit researchers to approach each aspect individually — at times a formidable undertaking in the analysis of international capitals and mega-cities. **The model of the intermediate city, and the concrete conditions of its cultural landscapes, monuments, historical ensembles and of their times and places, can enable architects and planners to better formulate and more easily adjust their professional proposals.** Approaching cities and urban issues from this 'intermediate scale' is thus not only useful for a better understanding of cities of medium size: it also offers great insight to the study of cities of any scale, large or small. The question of scale helps identify new parameters with which to define an ever-evolving role for urban professionals towards more socially sustainable development.

UNESCO's Round Table of Experts has generated several important directions for launching international and comparative research projects. Firstly, UNESCO plans to organize a research network in cooperation with UN-HABITAT towards the creation of a 'Best Practices' website or publication on revitalization projects, which is inclusive of social perspectives and the 'Right to the City' agenda. Secondly, UNESCO is looking to support the creation of a UNESCO Chair on 'Social Perspectives in Revitalization Projects in Historical Districts' and the elaboration of an orientation guide for mayors to improve their selection and management of revitalization projects in historical districts. Working in collaboration with Carleton University in Ottawa (Canada), UNESCO seeks to develop an international competition for students of architecture on 'Social Sustainability in Historical Districts', which will be launched in January 2006. A research project on social sustainability is being carried out by Dr Enyedi at the University of Budapest. Finally, UNESCO intends to strengthen the association with the existing network of RehabiMed (Rehabilitation of Traditional Mediterranean Architecture), coordinated by the *Collegi d'Aparelladors i Arquitectes Tècnics de Barcelona* (CAATB) and financed by the European Union. As architect and city planner Salvador Moreno Peralta demonstrated in his work in Malaga (Spain), revitalized historical districts must be 'mixed' spaces; diverse in terms of their generational, cultural and socio-economic make-up, as well as in their functions and uses. This *mixicity* of young couples, immigrants and the elderly, of residential and commercial roles, is the only way to ensure truly sustainable social environments for today's – and future – generations in historical districts.

During the World Urban Forum in Vancouver, 2006, UNESCO plans to present the results of these initiatives, in cooperation with UN-HABITAT. In order to facilitate the realization of these projects, UNESCO will continue to forge links between different and sometimes conflicting urban actors to ensure that urban stakeholders at every level, in cities of every scale, can enjoy the fruits of an urban, diverse, socially mixed and culturally rich environment.

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Brigitte Colin ha trabajado en la Sección de Desarrollo Urbano (URB) de la División de investigación de Ciencias Sociales y Políticas (Sector de Ciencias Sociales y Humanas, UNESCO), desde Abril de 1995, después de haber trabajado durante 13 años en la División de Patrimonio Cultural de la UNESCO. Arquitecta certificada por el Gobierno Francés y miembro de la Orden Nacional Francesa de Arquitectos, de la unión Internacional de Arquitectos y del Consejo Internacional de museos. Ingresó a la División de Patrimonio Cultural de la UNESCO en 1982, en la cual ella era resposable de los museos, sitios arqueológicos al Norte de Africa y de la preservación de ciudades históricas. Desde 1995, ha sido responsable de 'Ciudades y Arquitectura', un programa del MOST y para los premios de la UNESCO en arquitectura y arquitectura de paisajes. En tanto que especialista en arquitectura y planeación regional en la región Arabe, ha sido responsible de, entre otros: proyecto inter-sectorial 'Desarrollo Urbano y Recursos Hídricos: Pequeñas ciudades costeras históricas'; La preparación de los principios y observatories en ciudades antiguas a través de 'la sostenibilidad social en Distritos Históricos; la investigación sobre la urbanización en Africa Occidental ('retos Sociales de urbanización en Africa', Con la oficina Dakar de la UNESCO), apoyando la creación de la Cátedra en la UNESCO, 'Paisaje y Medio Ambiente', lanzado en el Foro en el mes de octubre de 2003 en conjunto con la Universidad de Montreal y la actual area de acción investigativa sobre 'Políticas Públicas Urbanas hacia el derecho a la ciudad'.

En su creación, en 1987, la *Carta para la Conservación de Ciudades Históricas y Áreas Urbanas Históricas* del ICOMOS sentó un precedente en materia de desarrollo sostenible al incluir una mención específica en el sentido de que a todos los actores, y en particular a la población local, se les debe dar la oportunidad de tomar parte en la revitalización de los barrios históricos en cada fase del proceso. Pero, en la práctica, la participación de esos actores urbanos no es tarea sencilla. Requiere una sólida coordinación entre un conjunto de actores urbanos, desde los profesionales de las cuestiones urbanas en general a los urbanistas, y desde los arquitectos a las autoridades municipales. Centrándose en los aspectos institucionales de ese esfuerzo de coordinación es, precisamente, como la UNESCO, en cooperación con UN-HABITAT, puede desempeñar un papel clave, tanto de foro público como de laboratorio de innovación política.

La Mesa Redonda de Expertos de la UNESCO sobre "Sostenibilidad social en los barrios históricos" permitió comprender mejor varios aspectos, en particular el relativo al papel cambiante que desempeñan los profesionales de la cuestión urbana. Estos debates guardaban relación con la Nueva Carta de Atenas de 2003 y fueron editados por el Consejo Europeo de Urbanistas, que establece las estrategias más efectivas para los esfuerzos mundiales de coordinación destinados a lograr una revitalización socialmente sostenible. La presentación de los diversos estudios de casos en la conferencia, que destacó tanto los éxitos como los fracasos de los intentos de revitalización en los barrios históricos, subrayó la necesidad de reforzar esos tipos de intercambios interdisciplinarios internacionales, así como de difundir las "mejores

prácticas" y los instrumentos jurídicos mediante redes de ciudades y asociaciones entre universidades y ciudades, ya que estas últimas carecen, en su mayoría, de la capacidad necesaria para crear instrumentos innovadores.

El análisis de ciudades españolas como Aranjuez, Málaga y Barcelona mostró que el éxodo masivo de un barrio histórico a raíz de un prolongado período de deterioro arquitectónico y socioeconómico podía ser reversible. En algunos casos, los fondos sociales generalmente reservados para subvencionar el acceso de las familias de bajos ingresos a la vivienda de protección oficial han sido asignados a la restauración y rehabilitación de viviendas antiguas del centro histórico de esas ciudades. Otras estrategias innovadoras de rehabilitación han consistido en impartir módulos de formación profesional a los vecinos y los comerciantes de la zona, proporcionar incentivos a los contratistas y constructores y prestar asistencia técnica a las familias de bajos ingresos con cargo al municipio. Esta táctica dinámica y socialmente sostenible ha estimulado la inversión privada en la transformación y restauración de las viviendas antiguas existentes, ha evitado que se siga deteriorando el patrimonio cultural, ha revitalizado los centros urbanos antiguos y ha promovido la integración social. Por su parte, Yoon-Jae Yang, Teniente de Alcalde de Asuntos Administrativos de Seúl (República de Corea), hizo ver en su ponencia la singularidad del proyecto de revitalización de Cheonggye-Cheon, en el que se ha optado por restituir a la ciudad su paisaje histórico natural. El proyecto propone la recuperación del patrimonio histórico y natural de las zonas deprimidas de Seúl mediante la supresión de la carretera que atraviesa la ciudad por encima del Río Cheon.

Aunque estas estrategias innovadoras para los proyectos de revitalización urbana son instructivas a la vez que prometedoras, en ocasiones pueden provocar otras complicaciones. Los centros urbanos renovados atraen a numerosos turistas, que a su vez gravan los servicios públicos y comprometen la cultura local. Sin embargo, lo más alarmante, tanto por su impacto en el ámbito local como por su predominio a escala mundial, es el creciente aburguesamiento de los centros históricos. Varios participantes en la Mesa Redonda atestiguaron la amenaza que supone el aburguesamiento para la cohesión social y la integración espacial de las poblaciones existentes, y la presencia de este fenómeno en las ciudades de todo el mundo. Jean du Plessis, representante del Centro de Derechos relativos a la Vivienda y Desahucios (COHRE, Sudáfrica), indicó que los desalojos forzosos tienen lugar "tanto en los países en desarrollo como en los desarrollados, y en las democracias como en las dictaduras". Cesare Ottolini, Coordinador de la Alianza Internacional de Habitantes (AIH, Italia), señaló que esta forma de "apartheid de la vivienda" afecta en particular a los inmigrantes, los nómadas y los refugiados, así como a las capas de población de bajos ingresos, que a menudo carecen de recursos y de autoridad para emprender ningún tipo de movimiento de resistencia eficaz.

En muchos casos, los habitantes, las asociaciones locales y las ONG internacionales han aunado sus fuerzas en todo el mundo para iniciar movimientos vecinales destinados a reivindicar la ciudad. Por ejemplo, cuando las autoridades municipales expidieron avisos de desahucio a los vecinos de la comunidad de Pom Mahakan del centro de Bangkok amenazando con desalojar, en ciertos casos, a quienes vivían en la zona desde hacía seis generaciones, la comunidad adoptó una actitud combativa. Asistidos por especialistas de las cuestiones urbanas y de los derechos humanos como el COHRE, los vecinos establecieron un plan alternativo de compartición del suelo que proponía la renovación de los edificios

antiguos y la integración de las viviendas en un parque histórico situado junto al Mahakan Fort. Por el momento, no se han llevado a cabo desalojos, pero el futuro de la comunidad, cultural y arquitectónicamente rica, sigue siendo incierto.

A una escala mucho mayor, la reconstrucción generalizada en Moscú ha transformado el aspecto de la capital rusa. El proyecto de renovación masiva, motivado por una decisión municipal de aumentar la densidad de construcción en Moscú, ha producido su impacto hasta ahora sobre seis o siete millones de moscovitas y promete afectar al resto de los habitantes de la ciudad en los diez próximos años. En un intento por combatir el controvertido desplazamiento masivo de los vecinos, en junio de 2004 se creó un comité para la defensa de los derechos de los moscovitas. Este comité estableció un equipo especial de supervisión para difundir información sobre varios casos de construcción no autorizada, o "criminal", en los que las autoridades hacían caso omiso de los derechos, los intereses y la libertad de los vecinos. Las consecuencias del proyecto de renovación, tanto para el patrimonio arquitectónico y cultural de la ciudad como para la población residente, han levantado una gran polémica. Más de 400 edificios históricos han sido arrasados y sustituidos por "réplicas" que tienen escasa semejanza con las estructuras originales. Se ha destruido una enorme proporción de la arquitectura medioambiental de los siglos diecisiete y diecinueve — por no mencionar a los miles de moscovitas que han sido trasladados de pisos céntricos potencialmente valiosos a viviendas de menor categoría de las afueras de la ciudad.

Por último, siguiendo los pasos de Sydney y Barcelona, Beijing es el ejemplo más reciente de ciudad transformada en preparación de los Juegos Olímpicos. Los desalojos masivos y los proyectos de demolición en el barrio de Xicheng del Beijing antiguo estaban directamente vinculados a la revitalización urbana y la construcción de infraestructuras, en preparación del megaevento internacional de 2008. Los desalojos ilegales impulsaron a la oficina de la UNESCO en Beijing a emprender un proyecto de investigación y acción que proponía la creación de nuevos modelos de renovación con la participación de familias de bajos ingresos, conjuntamente con la Universidad de Tsinghua y el barrio de Wicheng. No obstante, hasta ahora no se ha logrado que cesen las demoliciones.

Con independencia del éxito de algunos de estos movimientos vecinales, Cesare Ottolini (AIH), señala que "en algunos aspectos, la lucha contra el aburguesamiento urbano y la expropiación ha arrojado también una luz positiva sobre el potencial colectivo de los habitantes de la ciudad para la solución de sus problemas. **Este "potencial humano" ha sido objeto de ulterior estudio en varias ciudades asiáticas, con el establecimiento de centros de formación y recursos urbanos para atender a la población local y coordinar estrategias de planificación más idóneas entre el municipio, los profesionales urbanos y los residentes de larga duración.** En el caso de Karachi (Pakistán), profesores de arquitectura y urbanismo y ONG dedicadas al desarrollo establecieron el Centro de Recursos Urbanos (CRU) en respuesta a la creciente degradación de las zonas urbanas deprimidas y los reiterados e inadecuados proyectos de planificación emprendidos sin consultar a la población. Entre sus principales objetivos figura el acopio de informaciones sobre los planes de urbanismo y la difusión de los resultados a los medios de comunicación, las ONG, los CBO, los ciudadanos interesados y los grupos de intereses formales e informales. En concreto, el CRU ha realizado con éxito modificaciones del Proyecto de Tráfico Masivo de Karachi y el plan de rehabilitación de la Vía Exprés de Lyari, en la

actualidad está actuando para proteger los derechos de miles de vendedores ambulantes en el centro de la ciudad. Al CRU se debe también la creación de una nueva dinámica, con arreglo a la cual los medios de comunicación y el gobierno consultan al Centro sobre cuestiones urbanas. El éxito de este caso, expuesto por el Profesor Arif Hasan, no es ajeno al hecho de que los estudiantes de arquitectura y urbanismo han dedicado el último año de estudio a un "Proyecto global de diseño medioambiental" en la Escuela de Dawood de Karachi.

Tras una serie de planes de revitalización relativamente infructuosos en Lahore (Pakistán), y para hacer frente al estado de deterioro del casco histórico de la ciudad, la Escuela Nacional de Artes (NCA) resolvió que había llegado el momento de adoptar una nueva visión urbana; una visión que, ante todo, atendiese las aspiraciones de la comunidad local, proporcionase oportunidades de empleo y mejorara la posibilidad de satisfacer las necesidades básicas. Mediante el establecimiento de estrechos vínculos entre los inquilinos y los propietarios de los inmuebles, organizaciones locales, urbanistas, profesionales y estudiantes de arte y de arquitectura, la NCA se ha esforzado en crear oportunidades para establecer un proceso de aprendizaje interactivo. El resultado es la conversión de un edificio público situado en Chowk Matti, Kucha Pir Shirazi en una "Casa Abierta", denominada *Skafti Batik,* que será la nueva sede del Centro de Estudios de Conservación y Restauración (CECR). Éste se creó con el fin de promover el diálogo y el debate sobre la cultura, con el apoyo de la Oficina de la UNESCO en Islamabad y en el marco de la iniciativa de la UNESCO sobre "Revitalización socioeconómica de las zonas deprimidas de los centros urbanos". En dicho Centro, los vecinos de bajos ingresos pueden solicitar asesoramiento profesional o consultar los recientes manuales de mantenimiento. Se ha prestado especial atención a la artesanía tradicional y el patrimonio intangible en peligro. El CECR intenta ahora que el municipio participe en el proyecto en calidad de socio activo.

Los participantes en la Mesa Redonda reconocieron ampliamente la necesidad de mantener los barrios históricos como espacios vivos de participación social. No obstante, también se convino en que se ha de acrecentar la capacidad de los gobiernos locales para poder abordar un mandato en expansión y continuo cambio en numerosas áreas temáticas. También es necesario contar con recursos financieros y humanos suficientes, y que los diversos asociados estén debidamente sensibilizados con respecto al valor de determinadas leyes y políticas. Los participantes en la Mesa Redonda coincidieron en que entre los próximos pasos cruciales que habrían de darse figuraban el establecimiento de una asociación reforzada entre todos los principales actores e interesados en la cuestión urbana, una amplia difusión de las "mejores prácticas" y la creación de instrumentos innovadores destinados a las autoridades municipales y los urbanistas.

Una y otra vez, los expertos citaron los mayores problemas derivados de los planes de reconstrucción urbana que hacían caso omiso de la voz de los vecinos y los comerciantes locales así como de su valioso capital cultural y humano. Gran parte del núcleo de la conferencia se centró en *cómo* lograr la sostenibilidad: **la cuestión "no es si la reconstrucción es necesaria o si se llevará a cabo, sino cómo reducir al mínimo y compensar sus efectos negativos".** Basándose en sus propias experiencias en ciudades de la América Latina, Ives Cabannes, Profesor de la Escuela de Diseño de la Universidad de Harvard (EEUU) y Subdirector del Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Urbano, hizo hincapié en **la necesidad de mantener una "perspectiva social" en los proyectos de revitalización, y subrayó la**

importancia de tomar en cuenta de manera activa el valor y la capacidad potencial de los residentes que viven y trabajan en los centros históricos. Esta actitud es necesaria para "evitar una situación en la que la revitalización sea sinónimo de aburguesamiento urbano y desalojo de los inquilinos y propietarios pobres". Por otro lado, los proyectos socialmente sostenibles requieren un equilibrio satisfactorio entre tres lógicas contrapuestas: la necesidad de preservar los sitios y edificios históricos, los intereses económicos y la necesidad de generación económica, y las necesidades y los valores de los actuales vecinos y comerciantes del barrio en cuestión. Según Ciro Caraballo, experto de la UNESCO en ciudades históricas de la América Latina, **los planes de gestión social pueden ser los mejores instrumentos para mantener los procesos de evaluación, recuperación y conservación de los sitios históricos, siempre que se establezcan con arreglo a las propuestas técnicas sobre la cultura local.** Carles Martí, Teniente de Alcalde de la Ciutat Vella de Barcelona (España), señaló **la importancia de la creación de un entorno socialmente mixto en los esfuerzos de sostenibilidad. El proceso de renovación en la Ciutat Vella atendía al objetivo central de la *mixticidad,* o mestizaje social, que pretende mantener la rica y variada presencia de sectores complementarios diferentes. Esa estrategia, según Martí, "no se limita a la esfera residencial, sino que también está presente en la dinámica que abarcan las actividades económicas, sociales y culturales del barrio".**

Varios ponentes de la Mesa Redonda hicieron importantes aclaraciones metodológicas acerca del papel cambiante que los arquitectos, urbanistas y autoridades municipales deben cumplir en el desarrollo de las ciudades y los centros históricos socialmente más sostenibles. El Dr. Alfonso Vegara, Presidente de ISoCaRP y de la *Fundación Metrópoli,* ha establecido la metodología del "Proyecto CITIES": una investigación global de veinte ciudades en cinco continentes. En el modelo se pretende precisar las singularidades y las ventajas competitivas de varias ciudades y descubrir el "grupo de excelencia" de cada ciudad. El Dr. Vegara utilizó el modelo para obtener una visión colectiva de la ciudad de Aranjuez mediante un análisis de sus valores naturales, culturales, medioambientales, económicos y estructurales. Un cuestionario de participación, cumplimentado por 100 instituciones locales, contribuyó a determinar los componentes de excelencia y los aspectos prioritarios y deficiencias más importantes, con miras a las mejoras que, en opinión de las instituciones locales interesadas, se debían lograr en el futuro crecimiento de la ciudad.

En su reflexión sobre las posibles consecuencias de las innovaciones tecnológicas masivas, Greg Andonian, Catedrático de la Universidad de Carleton de Ottawa (Canadá), propuso una estrategia en cuadro partes basada en un punto de vista de diseño de sistemas. Dividió el diseño propuesto de la dinámica ciudadano-municipio en cuatro etapas: visión del diseño, misión del diseño, actualización del diseño y comprensión del diseño, cada una de las cuales requiere la participación del público. Por su parte, Yves Cabannes expuso una estrategia potencial para el éxito de los proyectos de revitalización. Un proceso de consulta inicial con todos los interesados debería conducir al diseño de un Plan de Acción con una perspectiva social y a un Programa de Acción Prioritaria basado en los recursos reales. Seguidamente, es necesario establecer una estructura operacional que dé forma a la aplicación del Plan de Acción y el Programa de Acción Prioritaria propuestos.

Josep-María Llop Torné, Director de la Unión Internacional de Arquitectos (UIA), situó en primer

plano del debate la cuestión de la escala, centrándose en las ciudades intermedias. Su enfoque *meso* no sólo es una opción estadística acertada — puesto que las ciudades de tipo medio albergan a la mayoría de la población urbana del mundo — , sino que además puede considerarse un instrumento importante para los profesionales que abordan las cuestiones urbanas y los proyectos de revitalización en las ciudades. Esas ciudades de tamaño mediano sirven de intermediarios entre la globalización a escala planetaria y los territorios urbanos y rurales menores, lo cual confiere un interés inmediato a todas las escalas de investigación urbana. Muchos de los problemas que se plantean en esos entornos urbanos más pequeños existen también en las grandes metrópolis. El estudio de la estructura y los mecanismos de las ciudades intermedias puede contribuir a aislar problemas concretos y permitir a los investigadores abordar cada aspecto por separado — lo que a veces es una impresionante tarea en el análisis de las capitales y las megaciudades internacionales. **El modelo de la ciudad intermedia, y las condiciones concretas de sus paisajes culturales, monumentos, conjuntos históricos y de sus épocas y lugares, puede permitir a los arquitectos y urbanistas formular mejor y afinar con más facilidad sus propuestas profesionales.** Así pues, abordar las ciudades y las cuestiones urbanas según esta "escala intermedia" no sólo es útil para comprender mejor las ciudades de tamaño mediano: ofrece también una perspectiva más clara del estudio de las ciudades de cualquier escala, grandes o pequeñas. La cuestión de la escala ayuda a determinar nuevos parámetros con los que definir una función siempre evolutiva de los profesionales urbanos con miras al desarrollo socialmente sostenible.

La Mesa Redonda de Expertos de la UNESCO ha facilitado varias orientaciones importantes para el inicio de proyectos internacionales de investigación comparada. En primer lugar, los planes de la UNESCO para organizar una red de investigaciones en cooperación con UN-HABITAT a fin de crear una publicación de las "Mejores Prácticas" sobre proyectos de revitalización, que incluya perspectivas sociales y el "Derecho a la ciudad". En segundo lugar, la UNESCO pretende apoyar la creación de una Cátedra sobre "Perspectivas sociales en los proyectos de revitalización en los barrios históricos" y la elaboración de una guía de orientación para alcaldes destinada a mejorar su selección y gestión de los proyectos de revitalización en los barrios históricos. En colaboración con la Universidad de Carleton de Ottawa (Canadá), la UNESCO creará un concurso internacional para estudiantes de arquitectura sobre "sostenibilidad social en los barrios históricos", que dará comienzo en enero de 2006. El Dr. Enyedi está realizando en la Universidad de Budapest un proyecto de investigación sobre sostenibilidad social. Por último, la UNESCO se propone reforzar la asociación con la red existente de RehabiMed (Rehabilitación de la Arquitectura Mediterránea Tradicional), coordinada por el *Collegi d'Aparelladors i Arquitectes Tècnics de Barcelona* (CAATB) y financiada por la Unión Europea. Como el arquitecto y urbanista Salvador Moreno Peralta demostró en su labor en Málaga (España), los barrios históricos revitalizados deben ser "espacios mixtos"; diversos en cuanto a su composición generacional, cultural y socioeconómica, así como a sus funciones y usos. Ese *mestizaje* de parejas jóvenes, inmigrantes y personas mayores, de funciones residenciales y comerciales, es la única manera de lograr entornos sociales sostenibles para las generaciones actuales — y futuras — en los barrios históricos.

Durante el Foro Urbano Mundial de Vancouver, 2006, la UNESCO proyecta presentar los resultados de estas iniciativas, en cooperación con UN-HABITAT.

A fin de facilitar la realización de estos proyectos, la UNESCO continuará forjando vínculos entre los diferentes y a veces contrapuestos actores urbanos para conseguir que los interesados en la cuestión urbana, en todos los planos, en ciudades de cualquier escala, puedan gozar de los frutos de un entorno urbano diverso, socialmente mixto y culturalmente rico.

Annexes

Anexos

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- ***Proposed World Charter on the Right to the City*** (HIC, COHRE, FNRU and ActionAid)
  http://www.cohre.org/lbcharterframe.htm (available in English, French, Portuguese, Spanish)

- **Urban Governance Programme Information** (UN-HABITAT)
  http://www.unhabitat.org/campaigns/governance/ (available in English only)

- **The New Charter of Athens, 2003**
  (European Council of Town Planners)
  http://www.ceu-ectp.org/e/athens/ (English)
  http://www.ceu-ectp.org/f/athens/ (French)

- **Charter on the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas,** *The Washington Charter* (ICOMOS, 1987)
  http://civvih.icomos.org/ (available in English, French)

- **Management Guide: 'Safeguarding Historic Ensembles in a Time of Change',** International Symposium on World Heritage Towns (Quebec, Canada, 1992)
  Please contact the UNESCO Publishing Department for distribution information
  (available in English, French, Spanish)

- **The Salamanca Declaration: 'A Sustainable Future for Historical Cities'** (November, 1998)
  http://www.islandsonline.org/salamanca/declarat.htm (available in English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish)

- **Chronological list of relevant Charters and Declarations**
  www.epreservation.net/Resources/Articles/Detail.cfm/Article/9/

- **For further information on UNESCO/MOST programmes, please visit:**
  http://www.unesco.org/most/

Anexos

- ***Carta Mundial de Derecho a la Ciudad***
(HIC, COHRE, FNRU y ActionAid)
http://www.cohre.org/lbcharterframe.htm
(disponible en Español, Francés, Inglés y Portugués)

- **Urban Governance Programme Information**
(UN-HABITAT)
http://www.unhabitat.org/campaigns/governance/
(disponible sólo en Inglés)

- **The New Charter of Athens, 2003**
(Consejo Europeo de Urbanistas)
http://www.ceu-ectp.org/e/athens/ (Inglés)
http://www.ceu-ectp.org/f/athens/ (Francés)

- **Charter on the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas**
The Washington Charter (ICOMOS, 1987)
http://civvih.icomos.org/ (disponible en Inglés y Francés)

- **Guía de Gestión: "Salvaguardia de los conjuntos históricos en una época de cambio",** Simposio Internacional sobre Ciudades Históricas del Mundo (Quebec, Canadá, 1992)
Pueden dirigirse al Departamento de Publicaciones de la UNESCO para obtener información sobre la distribución
(disponible en Español, Francés y Inglés)

- **La Declaración de Salamanca: "Un futuro sostenible para las ciudades históricas"**
(noviembre de 1998)
http://www.islandsonline.org/salamanca/declarat.htm
(disponible en Alemán, Español, Francés, Inglés, Italiano y Portugués)

- **Lista cronológica de las cartas y declaraciones más importantes**
www.epreservation.net/Resources/Articles/Detail.cfm/Article/9/

- **Figuran más informaciones sobre los programas UNESCO/MOST en:**
http://www.unesco.org/most/

The *Human Settlements and Socio-cultural Environment* (Établissements humains et environnement socio-culturel) collection was created in 1976 by the Division of Human Settlements and Socio-cultural Environment of the Social and Human Sciences Sector, in partnership with the Man and Biosphere programme (MAB) of the Natural Sciences Sector.

This collection is intended for research institutes and schools of architecture, urbanism and geography.

The principal concerns of this collection correspond to the following themes:

- The individual-milieu interaction
- The equilibrium between urban and rural zones
- Interdisciplinary approaches on the rational use of ecosystems in relation to a better management of expanding human settlements
- Balancing the traditional habitat and the needs and aspirations of rural populations who have preserved their socio-cultural and environmental lifestyle
- The effects of the growth of human activities on the natural environment
- The correlation between successful urban renewal projects and the social, economic and cultural conditions that are favorable on all fronts of social life
- The impact of tourism on the development of traditional communities and the preservation of the environment

En 1976, la División de Asentamientos Humanos y Ambiente Socio-cultural del Sector de ciencias sociales y humanas de la UNESCO, en asociación con el programa Man and Biosphere (MAB) del Sector de ciencias naturales creó la colección Asentamientos Humanos y Ambiente Socio-cultural. La colección se dirige a institutos de investigación y escuelas de arquitectura, urbanismo y geografía.

Las principales preocupaciones de esta colección se refieren a los siguientes temas:

- La interacción individuo-medio;
- El equilibrio entre zonas rurales y urbanas;
- Enfoque interdisciplinarios sobre el uso racional de los ecosistemas con relación a una mejor gestión de asentamientos humanos en expansión;
- La adecuación entre el hábitat tradicional y las necesidades y aspiraciones de las poblaciones rurales que han preservado su estilo de vida socio-cultural y medio-ambiental;
- Los efectos del aumento de las actividades humanas en el medio-ambiente natural;
- La correlación entre proyectos exitosos de renovación urbana y las condiciones sociales, económicas y culturales favorables a todos los frentes de la vida social;

El impacto del turismo en el desarrollo de comunidades tradicionales y la preservación del medio-ambiente.