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LEISURE SPACE IN HISTORIC RECIFE, BRAZIL

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Planning Forum is an annual publication of the Community and Regional Planning Program in the School of Architecture at the University of Texas at Austin.

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Editor's Note

Planning Forum is happy to announce our complete revival. After a long delay in getting out last year's double volume 4/5, we are back on track and better than ever. This year's issue is particularly exciting because of the involvement of three of our programs brightest professionals. We are also very excited to have articles dealing with issues and planning technologies from around the world.

Our first article is a fascinating look at the process of redevelopment and community rebuilding going on in Brazil. Ilona Blanchard has lived and traveled in Brazil for many years. Her article, *Leisure Space in Historic Recife, Brazil,* goes beyond the normal academic analysis to bring out the opinions of the people who live in this wonderful city.

The next article, *Environmentally Responsible Behavior*, from Maria Lane, delves into the roots of environmental thought and action in America. Ms. Lane's research has involved mixing psychology and qualitative research to uncover the motivating factors behind our everyday environmental actions. Her research enters new territory that will be crucial to the advancement of environmental planning.

Our third article from Mark David Major, is a brief look into the exciting world of "space syntax" computer models in planning and urban development. *Designing for Context* will grab your attention and hopefully make you ask the same questions that have captivated Mr. Major and driven him to be one of the leading practicing professionals of this exciting new technique in urban growth forecasting, in Europe and around the world.

The last article, *State and Civil Society*, from Hugo Rincon, is an in-depth look at the community planning process in Maracaibo and Caracas, Venezuela. Born and raised in Venezuela, Mr. Rincon uses his background to look at barrio revitalization and the important lessons for both international planners and those working here in the U.S. on improving the situation of disadvantaged communities.

Once again, *Planning Forum* brings you our feature installments, *Point/Counterpoint* and *PF Book Reviews*. Edited by Martha Arosemena and Maria Lane, this year's *Point/Counterpoint* topic focuses on the whirlwind debate surrounding the return of urban rail in cities across America. In our *PF Book Reviews*, we have three interesting pieces: from our faculty adviser Dr. Susan Handy, and two of our best students.

Planning Forum would like to thank the Mike Hogg Endowment for so generously sponsoring this effort. Their kind support has again ensured that *Planning Forum* can continue to present timely research and important perspectives to both academic and professional planners. Our thanks also go to the School of Architecture and the *Planning Forum* Advisory Board, especially our faculty sponsor Dr. Susan Handy, who was generous with advice and encouragement. Finally, I would like to thank this year's Editorial Board for their efforts in staying focused on the production of Volume 6, making Planning Forum stronger and better than ever before. Their commitment and energy has been a driving force in producing this year's issue.

Sincerely,

David W. Danenfelzer

LEISURE SPACE IN HISTORIC RECIFE, BRAZIL:

An Exploration of Revitalization as Identity Construction

by Ilona Blanchard

Revitalization is a challenging task for any city. In this article Ilona Blanchard takes on an exploration of the motives and methods used to revitalize the historic city of Recife, Brazil.

"Where will I be able to take someone like you now so that you can understand Recife and Brazil?" demanded an irate frequenter of "Meu Refugio 52," a bar on the corner of the square (the Pátio) by the São Pedro Church. He had just seen the city's revitalization plans. "It used to be I could take someone to Bairro do Recife, but that is nothing now. Now you Americans will come to Brazil and I will only be able to show you America." We sat in the shaded narrow street with the tower of the São Pedro Church rising abruptly before us, against an intense blue sky. "McDonalds is not Recife and doesn't belong in the same place as the church, this church is us, this church is me, and this church is you too, but not with McDonalds. With McDonalds, the church isn't you, in you, it is yours." Around us the "family" of afternoon drinkers ignored his tirade, oblivious of the fact that they would be replaced with tourists and shoppers from the outlying chic and not so chic neighborhoods.

Revitalization, as an urban development movement, is public-private. It is mixed-use. Waterfronts, aquariums, McDonalds and other anchor businesses take over old urban neighborhoods. Aesthetically it is "amenities, amenities, amenities." Streets have decorative pavers; policemen have nice uniforms. Buildings are painted with eye-catching colors. Tourist-friendly services are encouraged—cafes, restaurants, bars, clubs, and stores selling local artifacts. Street performers are paid by the city to sing MPB, musica popular brasileira. At night, tables line the street and a Sunday crafts fair attracts people downtown. The waterfront is "reclaimed," public space is beautified, and "eyes" are encouraged for heightened security.

This is not new to the 1990's. In fact, many publications written in the 60s, 70s and 80s emphasize these aspects of successful public spaces. What is significant is that the local elite use international and national aesthetics, goals, methods and language to recognize and preserve local cultural resources. They compete through the local built environment on an international and national level against other cities. At stake are pride, modernity, and the local economy. The revitalization project's goal is to increase wealth, by attracting tourists, elite/middle class professionals, entrepreneurs, and business investment. Many proponents of revitalization feel that by preserving the city's structures, they are preserving the community's identity and touchstones. But by altering the community's day-to-day practices, what identity will the city be left with?

Where we live, what we drive, what we own, and the spaces that we frequent offers consumers the possibility of shaping their identity. Revitalization is a competitive survival mechanism for the modern city and has always been used as such, through bold re-development and re-use of downtown areas. These newly developed, or "revitalized," areas are used by community members and tourists to give themselves an identity as a modern urban dweller. As much as visitors to urban centers enjoy, appreciate, and use space, they also consume the spectacle and meaning it offers, the status that the symbolic power of older spaces with new amenities provide.

The competitive city also constructs a revitalization narrative. This narrative uses the language of history, local identity and pride, preservation, and economics to successfully market the project to all sectors of the elite and middle classes. Through public events the project is also marketed to a considerable section of the less economically stable classes.

Located in northeastern Brazil, Recife is the tropical capital of the state of Pernambuco. The city's population in 1997 was estimated at 1.5 million, with a regional metro area of 3.5 million.[1] Pernambuco's arid and mountainous interior specializes in cattle ranching and crafts. The coastal region of the state, where Recife is located, continues to produce sugar. The city developed an individual identity based on regional geographic primacy and economic dominance in the colonial period. Residents affirm their state pride in the popular saying "Pernambuco is so unique, it is the only state [in Brazil] with 10 letters in its name, of which not one is repeated."

Craft fair on Bom Jesus

Revitalization has been embraced internationally. It appears to be a new phenomenon in the 1990s for distressed urban cores, but models such as Baltimore and Boston originated in the 1980s. Due to the success of these models and others (in Brazil, the Pelourinho in Salvador and the historic center of Ouro Preto) aging cities and international development agencies have taken an interest. Revitalization shares many characteristics with urban renewal. Common elements between revitalization and previous interventions include displacement of the less desirable population and low rent uses and new facades for old buildings. Revitalization gives "global thinking" cities a modern face and a "positive" central identity for their residents. It is not a revolution. Planning departments and other government entities working on revitalization claim that revitalization is "entering into a public-private partnership." The public agency, which adopts the language and methods of a firm, is selecting its "partners" and a targeted "market niche."

Urban revitalization projects create an internationalized identity for middle class Recifences. But revitalization projects also interfere with many residents' ability to carry out practices that mark the city as northeastern Brazilian. Street uses make a place distinctive and interesting. Revitalization often does not recognize non-elite practices and loses important parts of what makes Recife Northeastern and historic. This aesthetic, while linked to preservation, transforms people's homes, socializing spaces, and the day to day life that territorially marks areas.

In order to contextualize practices on the street and in planning I have placed my analysis within a micro-history of the two study sites. It is particularly important to frame both planning and street use as an ongoing urban relationship. I develop my discussion of revitalization versus practice within this history in four sections: "Historical Cultural Identity," "City Planning: Active Identity Construction versus Abandoned Space," "The Northeast of Brazil or James Rouse's Festival Space," and "Memories, Places, Experiences, and People."

Built by the Dutch in the 17th century in the Capibaribe River Delta, Recife was originally an administrative and commercial center. By 1654 the Portuguese had reclaimed the area. At the end of the 19th century, numerous Catholic churches organized the booming trade center into neighborhoods. In the 20th century the process of planning the center occurred repeatedly with both spectacular and devastating results. As in many cities, swaths of real estate were expropriated, demolished, and rebuilt. During this century, the central city lost many defining characteristics, such as neighborhood gateways and lower-middle class residential communities, not to mention important churches. In the 1970s, however, city architects trained in historic preservation began focusing on projects that had both national and local importance.

This paper explores Recife in terms of people's use of space, urban identity as projected by through past urban interventions, and the identity of the city in terms of two areas of historic urban intervention. Of the two revitalization projects "Polo Bom Jesus" in the Bairro do Recife is ongoing, while the second, "Pátio São Pedro" in the bairro (neighborhood) of São José, is in the beginning stages of a second revitalization. In examining these two sites I ask how planning and use of space interact. While plans and projects critique and shape space, individual and group narratives portray and act upon space.

Both public spaces I studied are primarily leisure oriented, as they are used for socializing and drinking. They are also commercial and political. The success of these spaces, as city revitalization projects, has greatly influenced resident's opinions of the city's governing competence. It is particularly because of this juxtaposition of activities and purposes that I began to study the use of historic city centers as public space.

Recife is examined by comparing revitalized space identity construction to existing (or lower service provision) urban space identity construction. An individual's use of space allows for constitution and re-constitution of a public persona. To evaluate revitalization's interpretation of city identity is I ask: 1) Can anyone visit these places and understand Recife as a city in the Northeast of Brazil? 2) Which events and places are interpreted, and whose memories are they? 3), Whose practices are changed in a way which will affect local identity? The goal is to explore constructed space—through the narratives of planners, academics, community leaders, businessmen, informal vendors, and users. In researching this paper, I looked at configurations of space, interventions, interpretation, historical narratives, uses, and newspaper articles. This paper is also based on daily observations, and informal conversations, on the street, and in the botecos, bars, clubs, restaurants and businesses that edge the areas of study. My analysis of this material is not complete, and the argument that I will construct is preliminary and not conclusive.

REVITALIZATION AND RECIFE

Although it borrows vocabulary from all three, revitalization in Recife is distinct from preservation, history, and the real estate/services economy. Revitalization is the construction of power and identity. I examine it as a physical and social phenomena. The Recife elite, through travel, education, television, literature and ancestry are aesthetically globalized. Thus, Recife does not compare itself with regional cities, or Brazilian cities as much as American, European and Latin American cities. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was not how people from Rio would view Recife that was important, but how Europeans would see the city, and thus, how they would then judge its inhabitants. While local aesthetics exist, especially at the elite level, they are tempered by global aesthetics. Intelligence is global intelligence. Words are international words. Urban amenities are international concepts. It is on the street that a phenomenon becomes local, regional, and personal. On the street everything is more tragic, more comic, dirtier, louder, smellier, and human.

Historic revitalization in Recife has characteristics that separate it from other national and international projects. These characteristics influence the form public space takes. The model for revitalization in Recife is the public/private partnership, exemplified by Baltimore, Maryland. Only a minimal number of structures have been expropriated by the public sector. This means that private entities interpret the relationship between private space and public space. In addition, as multiple independent businesses border and occupy public space, they greatly influence the use, character, and quality of this space. The city does have a certain amount of control in terms of inducements such as tax incentives, grants and funds for events, and in some cases rent. Planning officials also have personal and familial relationships with business owners. But the city is dependent upon private investment to fund development and sponsor events. This model reduces perceptions of state paternalism, increases leverage on public funds, expands the taxable high-rent property base, and preserves the historic urban fabric.

High inflation, uncertain markets, state paternalism, and general distrust have created a local business and political culture that lacks a social conscience. In the lower-middle class businesses and informal sector, there is a no lesser sense of entitlement to state privileges than that expressed by middle and upper class businesses. Successive economic downturns have provided a disincentive to those who would maintain buildings and urban infrastructure. The greater part of the political and business cultures are based on individual gain.

Like most of the Northeast of Brazil, Recife has a budget deficit and lack of access to capital. The improved services offered in revitalized historic areas are in stark contrast to unrevitalized areas. Areas outside "poles" of revitalization have much lower services in terms of hours and quality of police services, architectural advice, marketing, events, garbage collection, street furniture, housing, sewage, drainage, and maintenance of public structures. However, some government activities are uniformly rated low throughout the city. For example, design review on projects and collection of rent from tenants of city property are both notoriously lax.

In Recife, preservation has never meant restoration. Neither is it exactly "preservation." While old facades are "restored" they are not restored to original surfaces or colors but rather adapted to current tastes and building practices. The modern latex paints and other materials used can be destructive to older facades. Even when streets are restored, city excavations and repairs create holes in the light and dark bands of cobblestone streets and Portuguese stone chip (pedra portuguesa) sidewalks.

Preservation does ensure that buildings and select spaces remain. In many cases, especially in the middle of the 20th century, it has been didactic. Preservation has focused attention on important buildings, usually churches, by demolishing area buildings. Often the city and IPHAN[2] destroyed surrounding neighborhoods to construct modern buildings that enclose non-historic plazas and parks to set off historic churches. This had significant consequences for residential and commercial activities in the center. This process (demolition of surrounding neighborhoods, creation of public space in parks and plazas, and renovating/improving urban property through the building of private modern high-rises) while significantly more destructive than "preservation" on its face shares many characteristics with 90s revitalization. Again, the rhetoric is of preserving identity through urban built property, the creation and protection of public space, and the increase in revenues through improvements in property and business types. But the purpose is to transform the physical environment to change the value of activities that occur in that space.

Bom Jesus in the Afternoon

Gentrification and revitalization are also two very different words. Gentrification means new residents and businesses establish themselves in previously vacant buildings or in areas in disrepair precipitated by private investment. It signals the advent of higher income residents and business owners in the area. Revitalization efforts are primarily city led projects that target a specific area and a specific consumer. These involve public relations, marketing, and outdoor events. On Polo Bom Jesus, for example, new uses were encouraged in high vacancy areas. In Pátio São Pedro, it means that the elite did not like the uses that occupy an area and are in the process of changing the image to attract new investment. Cities promote it as a way to: 1) preserve historic patrimony (built structures), 2) regenerate "pride" in the city center, 3) regenerate use (new use) of the city center, and, 4) create a strong economic base. Cities hope that a strong economic base will help make the local economy grow, increase property values and tax revenues, and create jobs.

Recife's current revitalization efforts differ significantly from past efforts. First, modern projects emphasize preservation of historic property rather than destruction of out of date buildings and creation of new "modern" office blocks and towers. This gains the support of many architects and historians who might object to displacement of buildings and people that occurs through standard expropriation and demolition. Second, today's public money links private investment with the preservation industry, not just the new construction industry. National and local firms gain exposure and a better image through co-sponsoring events and projects. Third, targeted areas are not bounded like a developable parcel of land, but by the stock of older buildings. And new buildings, like the Ministry of Justice in Recife can always be constructed with a historic "feel." As Recife has shown, extensive and costly expropriation need not take place, for as the new higher-rent economy gains credibility, new uses "naturally" will displace less viable uses.

Rather than the previously common expropriation practice of paying the "market" rate for buildings and forcing tenants to leave, current projects often assist local populations in making the transition. In Recife's case, social projects have as much to do with sustainable "beauty" as assisting those in need. Helping people in need ensures that their presence doesn't project an image of poverty and failure. Thus, child beggars and vendors are given breadbaskets and art lessons for attending school, and a housing project will make the nearby Favela do Rato into a "mixed use" neighborhood. This socially responsible face contrasts with other city projects, such as the national model and highly praised "ZEIS," where the city government has yet to release funds for desperately needed improvement projects in suburban favelas.

Finally, revitalization is viewed internationally as a legitimate means of encouraging tourism and boosting the economy. This gives the city access to national and international capital. In Recife, both the state and federal government contributed funds, and the Interamerican Development Bank has recognized the city's initiative and provided loans.

HISTORICAL CULTURAL IDENTITY

Recife's history has much in common with coastal cities in the Northeast of Brazil, but is not at all similar to other coastal cities more to the south such as Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, or Porto Alegre. Originally, indigenous peoples engaged in agriculture and fishing settled the coast of Pernambuco. The Portuguese colonized the area soon after the "discovery" of Brazil in 1500, constructing their captaincy seven miles north of Recife in the hills of Olinda. Protected by a coastal reef, fishing settlements inhabited the river delta islands of the Capibaribe River (the actual site of Recife). In 1537, the island of Recife had a population of 100 fishermen and seamen.[3]

The Portuguese colonized Brazil by encouraging miscegenation with the indigenous population. Indigenous families not allied with the Portuguese either retreated back up the river into the hinterland or were subject to slave labor. Due to the indigenous people's lack of immunity to western viruses and fatalistic outlook once in captivity, African slaves were imported in great quantities. For nearly 100 years the area elite prospered by dominating the sugar market.

In 1630, the Dutch invaded the Northeast of Brazil. They built Mauritania (Recife), on delta islands, including the island of Recife, that have a topography physically similar to Holland. The site was easily accessible to the Atlantic Ocean and protected by the reef that extends along the Northeast coast. In the nearly 30 years that the Dutch occupied the Northeast, the city expanded to three islands: Recife, Santo Antônio/São José, and Boa Vista. These areas form Recife's historic core. Due to Dutch engineering and construction, Mauritania was replete with drainage canals, narrow paved streets, and monumental civic buildings. Remnants of this period include two forts, various buildings, Nossa Senhora do Carmo (the site of Mauricio de Nassau's summer palace), and many streets of historic Recife.[4] When the Portuguese reclaimed the area, plantation owner re-established residences and colonial government in Olinda. Recife remained the commercial/port city.

Portuguese colonial society had four layers-the plantation owners, the professional class of priests and government officials, African and indigenous slaves, and the remainder illegitimate children, freed slaves, sailors, fortune seekers, lower and middle-class merchants, immigrants, and "civilized" indigenous. This layer was especially evident on the city streets. While internally fluid and good at absorbing transient residents, it was essentially marginal to the rest of society. One of the mythic characters from this group is the mascate.

Historians refer to Recife as the "City of Mascates." The mascate is the independent vendor, the street peddler that carries all goods on their back. During the Napoleonic Wars, when Brazil became an empire, many immigration barriers were removed. Immigrants became mascates for survival and upward social mobility. Street vending now takes many forms. Seen as an activity dominated by rural immigrants in the 70s, now most street vendors are from the suburbia-economically precarious neighborhoods such as favelas and lower-class neighborhoods. The most common vendor is the camelo. Bancas, fiteiros, and other permanent street vendors are also common. Many specialize in services such as key making, knife sharpening, or fixing eyeglasses, shoes, or cooking pots. All vendors are under city supervision, which is in a constant battle to reform this traditional practice.

Another identity of significance in Recife and Pernambuco is Judaic. Along with the first synagogue in the Americas, Recifences are proud that the Jews who left Recife with the defeated Dutch are found on the earliest documents for New Amsterdam (New York City). Jews also immigrated secretly as New Christians with the Portuguese, and today the Morono culture still exists. It has also been described as Judaism synchronized with Catholic and Candomblé beliefs. Dutch Jews were influential in financing sugar cane processing equipment. While the Portuguese Crown later invalidated these loans, many Dutch Jews moved into Morono communities in the hinterlands of Pernambuco.

Morono culture is often lower middle-class and sometimes can be associated with strong family organizations (i.e., not always involved in legal activities) as well as indigenous and African ancestry. Moronos never enjoyed the political, economic, and social status that plantation owners and professionals enjoyed. Within this century, Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe have integrated more successfully into the elite and professional circles. It is partially through efforts of their cultural organizations that Recife has embraced its unique Jewish history.

Recife has always maintained an active economically powered intelligentsia, in part due to organizations like the freemasons. Historically self-reflective and identity driven, at the very least in terms of politics, the city has withstood successive rebellions and movements for independence. In his book Recife: um historia de quatro secúlos, Leonardo Dantas Silva explores ten of the more notable armed conflicts that occurred.[5] While no political movement successfully overturned domination by the conservative (and non-representative) elite, there has always been an active, contentious political consciousness. The Imperial and Federal government removed territory from the control of Pernambuco several times, either to add to other less recalcitrant states, like Bahia, or to create entirely new states (both Alagoas and Sergipe were created from Pernambuco after insurrections).[6] This loss in state land testifies to the seriousness of these uprisings.

Intellectually motivated movements are equally prolific. Joaquim Nambuco was a noted abolitionist of the 19th century. In the 20th century, Recife produced intellectuals of national stature such as Gilberto Freyre, who recognized African and indigenous influence in the Brazilian elite. Freyre was the first Brazilian scholar to use vulgar language and a regional vocabulary to describe the everyday sexual, eating, and cleaning habits of the Northeast of Brazil. Ariano Suassuna, a poet and cultural spokesperson, introduced the Sertão, the arid mountainous region, to national consciousness and brought attention to rural place based traditions and politically caused social plights. Each of these scholars has had a profound effect on Brazil and Pernambuco's sense of itself within a local and national context.

The Sertão is a region that includes the entire Northeast, from the state of Bahia north to the state of Maranhão. Like the African heritage, the influence of the Sertão is the most visible in music (forró now gaining national popularity), carnival, and Saint John the Baptist celebrations. Sertanejos are descendants of Portuguese, African, indigenous, Morono and later immigrants to Brazil from Arab and European nations. The Sertão has richly textured communities that continue to survive cyclical droughts and extreme poverty. The Sertão culture has often been valued in the same way as the enslaved Afro-Brazilian culture, sertaneja architecture is not imposing, their practices and traditional foods while celebrated, are considered cultures of poverty. Many of the lower-middle-class business owners, vendors, and employees in the service and manufacturing industry all over Brazil have migrated from or are descendents of people from the Sertão.

Recife's history is that of a boundary city, a trading point, like the metropolis posited in "Theory of the Metropolis" by Donald Kunze.[7] Historically, the city was known as the gateway to the Northeast. It is a port city and the first stop for European ships and flights to Brazil. As such, Recife has always had as much of a global culture as local and regional. Like many cities, the majority of its population has always been marginal and precarious. It is a liminal city, absorbing influences from the more conservative interior (sertão and sugar plantations), sailors from all over the world, and the liberal mercantile and finance class necessary to the export-import economy.

The city as a port, and as a home to the American military during World War II, has associated Recife strongly with prostitution. A 1999 edition of *Veja* (a national magazine) pointed out that Recife's tourism has always been linked more strongly with the sex industry than families. This is an image the city is eager to erase.

Kunze's theory involves the creation of a sacred and civic space. His metropolis is premised on a sacrificial victim and ritual that consecrates/sanctifies the in-between (and therefore dangerous) space of the city. While Recife does not have one specific originary myth or victim, it does have patron saints, and rituals that celebrate victims, especially during saint days and carnival. For instance, during carnival all the maracatu blocos (Afro-Pernambucan drumming bands) meet in the plaza of the Igreja do Rosario, a church built for slaves, to memorialize those who died in captivity.[8]

The city has had a liberal academic tradition that reflects and comments on local identity and origins. Institutions built around intellectuals have been instrumental in exploring and spreading their ideas through conferences, libraries, social science research, film, television, radio, and music. Institutional and academic support for local traditions, however, does not necessarily mean that public space also encourages local identity. In fact, local identity is not often the same as an elite economic-survival "urban image." Recife's identity as "The City of Mascates" when faced with international norms of urban cleanliness, organization, and accountability has created conflict since the 1960s. For example, the Joaquim Nambuco Foundation Film Department documents regional techniques used by vendors to wrap food sold on the street (sweet tamales, live crabs, and cashew fruit) using natural material like cornhusks, palm fronds, and banana leaves. On the other hand, city policy does not allow street vendors to legally sell local fruits and produce on street corners allowing only "noble fruits," such as grapes, apples, and pears. These fruits come from the cooler climates of the south, but in the eyes of the city, do not spoil quickly or create as much litter in the streets. Only those who have no accountability to the city sell regional fruits in the street.

The next section addresses the images that the city government historically has chosen to represent the future character of the city in the center, and subculture identities that have evolved in these areas during both periods of revitalization and neglect.

City Planning: Active Identity Construction versus Abandoned Space

In addition to specific interventions, non-interventions have been often equally important in forming local identity in the center. Many theorists write about the metropolis as an in-between, marginal space that tolerates and mediates multiple identities. Identity is psychological, not visual. Psychogeography[9] describes the mapping of urban microclimates, the passage through which people a) become interested and b) understand better the processes and activities taking place in the city and c) experience the mystery/wonder/or sense of "being alive." This identity is a holistic, symbiotic identity formed by shape, lighting, visual, aural, olfactory signifiers and the experiences of the person walking through the urban space.

The physical relationship between the avenues, the buildings, and the light filtering through trees in the Bairro do Recife has an atmospheric effect of grandeur. Going into the side streets off the Pátio São Pedro, with their narrow confines and proliferation of vendors, smells, and sounds, can give the impression of diving into a seething mass of humanity. Nancy Clark writes that the body of spaces in an urban area, in their diversity and unique characteristics, create a specific psychological experience—not a visual one. This is particularly apt when thinking about Recife. Neighborhoods there do have a sense of space. This is true from the simultaneous perception of Tony Hiss in Bairro do Recife, to the heart stopping activity, noise, and smells of the old commercial center of São Jose.

The city has control over the physical street and some control over businesses when they choose to exercise it. Both the city and the individual businesses are instrumental in establishing the environment/atmosphere of the street. Certainly, the city's interventions have radically transformed appearance, feel, and use of Bom Jesus—often positively. Polo Bom Jesus is a street that features concentrated public and private investment. Rua Bom Jesus, the focus of the current revitalization project, has an eclectic assortment of structures dating from the colonial period to the 1970s. The word polo (pole) is derived from economic and social development rhetoric, and represents a pole of investment.

Municipal planning and political institutions interpret local identity through major projects, regulations, and coordination of services. Until the 1980s, however, existing housing had been demolished to make way for avenues, expressways, and new buildings.

1913-1970s: Bairro do Recife

In 1913-1917, a project restructured the island of Recife (Bairro do Recife) into a radiating half circle of wide avenues flanked by monumental facades. Bairro do Recife suggests a global city; the width of the avenues, monumentality, and height of the buildings evoke Haussman's Paris and Chicago's City Beautiful movement. According to Silvio Zanchetti, this had two motives: economic-to increase the taxable value thorough higher rent properties, and (more important to identity) image-to present a modern face to the rest of the world, as Recife is the gateway city from Europe to Brazil. Modernity has always been a central concern for an elite that considered themselves both European and Brazilian, but understood that they were viewed as indigenous and African (and therefore savage and uneducated) by Europeans.

Waiters in the Sertao

The monumental face in the 1917 Bairro do Recife emphasized banks, company headquarters and import/export houses, restaurants and shops edging wide tree-lined avenues. These replaced a narrow inner-city warren of tall colonial buildings that housed stores, import-export and banking houses, workshops, families, and dock workers. The desire for modernization in the 1940s also led to the construction of a central shopping district in Santo Antônio and Boa Vista: wide avenues flanked by art deco office buildings.

The Bairro do Recife became the red light district in 1930s. City policy concentrated brothels and cabarets in the neighborhood. As the port was located in the neighborhood, sailors stayed close to their ships. The quality of the nightlife "flowered" with the 1942 establishment of an American military base in Recife.[10] Some of the best restaurants, most notable bars, botequims (for their clientele, service, and conversation), bookstores, scotch establishments (due to the proximity to smuggling opportunities), and ballrooms were located on the island.

This neighborhood miniaturized the metropolis—a city as a meeting point between worlds, cultures, countries, and a place of exchange of goods and ideas. The brothel, illegal yet condoned, was as much the meeting space of foreigners, intellectuals, politicians, sailors, tradesmen, and peddlers as the botequim (Brazil's equivalent of the corner café). It was where much actual political, intellectual and academic speaking/communication occurred. The brothel was a place of leisure, but where business ties were formed and solidified. While the neighborhood's family population declined, it had a large number of pensiones-slum-like inner-city apartments rented on a monthly or weekly basis.

A cultural mecca for artists, poets and intellectuals, Bairro do Recife's bohemian nightlife faded in the 60s when shipping technology changed. In addition, European customers began arriving by airplane, not boat. With the decreased traffic in the port, the younger, more glamorous prostitutes moved to the streets and hotels of the high-rise beachside neighborhood of Boa Viagem. In addition, men in Recife no longer found prostitutes as socially acceptable or appealing. Dantas Silva describes the Bairro of the late 80s as the following:

> At night, one can't find any festive cabaret activity. Streets drown in silence, with the exception of a few bars reminiscent of past eras. It sleeps forgotten, the old port neighborhood, in the shadow of its [past] unquiet dawns.[11]

The neighborhood did maintain its character past its heyday. One architect who later worked on the revitalization project had visited the neighborhood in the 70s (illicitly with her boyfriend, daughters of important families do not go to the zona) and found it to be an exciting, colorful, bright, and stimulating environment. This visit justified the palette she would use in designing the colors for a revitalized Bom Jesus in the mid-90s. This multi-colored, in her words, "seductive" (and didactic in articulating the architectural vocabulary of the eclectic period) color scheme was the catalyst in changing the neighborhood's identity from the zona to a showcase leisure area.

The concentration of prostitution created a rich social environment, mostly for men and "unrespectable" women, and a means to accrue capital. These businesses were not noted for investing in the buildings in which they were located, but they did embellish the area with a festive spirit and aesthetic. In addition, the port-bohemian lifestyle created an identity based on political concerns and the arts that would be emulated by suburbia youth and middle class musicians during the late 80s and early 90s.

1930s-1970s: Pátio São Pedro

In the 1970's IPHAN (Brazilian National Institute of Historic and Artistic Patrimony) gave the recently expropriated Pátio São Pedro and surrounding buildings to the city. Only accessible through narrow stone streets, the pátio is edged by low buildings and dominated by the unique and spectacular Igreja São Pedro. As result of the expropriation process and changing urban transportation, most of the resident population left and the buildings were rented to bars, restaurants, services, and stores. Especially during the middle of the Brazilian military dictatorship (1964-1988), the intelligentsia frequented the historic Pátio São Pedro. The pátio was seen as radically different from the symbols of progress that the repressive military government built (bridges, highways, and modern cement buildings).

While old and working class, it was also colonial and picturesque. The area often featured music and dance traditions such as ciranda, which the city continued to sponsor after the residents left.[12] The open sociability of the many working class botequims and restaurants fit the needs of a rebellious generation. While the city maintained an office on the Pátio into the 1980's, the area has been considered more or less abandoned by architects and city administrators. The client profile is disreputable and the level of hygiene has been described by one city resident as "nauseating." Others, however, point out that the pátio was never that clean, and perhaps it is the middle class intellectuals who have changed. Intellectuals from the 70s (and forward) still visit the pátio every year the first night of Carnival.

Carnival in Recife is the most civic of rituals. Unlike Rio or São Paulo, Carnival is particularly local, place based, and participatory. All activities take place in the street, eschewing the private club celebrations and showy parades famous in other coastal Brazilian cities. Frevo and frevo-bloco songs re-affirm allegiance to, and love for, Recife. Carnival bands are sponsored by the city, businesses, or associations, and bands have neighborhood origins. "Lili doesn't always play the flute" is a frevo-bloco that has marched around São José and Santo Antônio for 70 years. "Lili" was formed in honor of the prostitute "Lili" who had the option to decide whether or not to "play the flute." "Lili" leaves Pátio São Pedro the night before Carnival starts. Everyone crowds into the Pátio to drink before hand, and then several hours later, when "Lili" is ready to leave, follow "Lili" through the dirty, smelly streets, past colonial churches and shuttered shops, piles of fetid onion skins and empty tomato boxes. Most of the revelers are middle-class. People of lower-income groups carry ice chests to hawk beer through the crowd or watch the revelers from tiny botecos. For many of the participants, this will be their only visit to Santo Antônio and São José for the year. By attending this bloco, participants who frequented the area in the 1970s also re-affirm their political ties with other participants and show their respect for the city's past. When "Lili" originated, this had been a lower middle-class merchant neighborhood, and these streets had been lined with first floor shops and second-story residences.

A description from Gilberto Freyre's guidebook of that era describes the neighborhood as the following:

> ...in all parts of São José, Recife finds itself; the life that the streets reflect is that of the petty-bourgeoisie, more sociable than the "great" people as in the night they come out to converse, seated in wicker chairs and "lazies", on the sidewalk, in doorways, and there they eat ice cream, tapioca, men in pajamas, slippers without socks. It's the neighborhood of untuned pianos, but still romantic; of love affairs of girls "of fight" with spring boxers and students. It is the neighborhood of the cheapest goods. Of stores with sentimental names... warehouses of "xarque" and coffee, with streets that

> smell of food and roasting coffee; spices; cilantro; the incense that comes from inside the churches that open onto the street; the "mungunzá" being eaten on Sunday and the "alfazema" from houses that have new babies...[13]

The bloco consecrates the streets through its revelry. Lili's brothel was eventually expelled by the city after numerous protests from the Catholic Church, which is directly across the pátio. The band celebrates the social power/transgression of a famous prostitute. It mythifies a powerless person who had limited power and respect. It acknowledges the city as obscene, while pious, and able to make choices regarding oneself, all mason, urban, and Brazilian Catholic ideals.

A wall niche vendor sells dried meat on São Pedro Alley.

Pátio frequenters in the 1970s included Ariano Suassuna, and musicians such as Zé Alenceu, Geraldo Azevedo, Nana Vasconcelos, Gilberto Gil, and Caetano Veloso. The baroque facades of the Bairro do Recife at this time were considered merely a hodgepodge of mediocre imitations of Europe and representative of a bourgeoisie ideal. The elaborate mix of architectural styles in Bairro do Recife is now categorized as Brazilian eclectic. Thus, while the demolition of São Jose and Santo Antônio to create Avenida Dantas Barreto was broadly criticized, the modern buildings that replaced baroque-eclectic buildings in the Bairro do Recife were not. The city is now targeting the Pátio in a new project; the level of cleanliness, service, and clients are considered degrading to the historical and architectural importance of the site.

1980s-1990s: BAIRRO DO RECIFE

As the zona declined, warehouses become more prevalent. Pensiones continued in their precarious position; shantytowns occupied empty lots and sidewalks in some areas. It had remained a financial and business district, although banks often covered up their facades with signs. While some banks had established branches in new neighborhoods, local bank headquarters remained on the island. Meanwhile, local, state, and federal government had become a growing presence in the neighborhood. The State Ministry of Finance and the Bank of Pernambuco (now privatized) had always been on the island. In-fill on the western shore of the island provided space for the city hall, labor court, federal police, and various other government agencies.

Beginning before the revitalization movement of the 1980s and into the early 1990s, middle-class intellectual youth and suburbia musicians and alternative youth frequented the Bairro do Recife. Closer to the rest of the city, the decaying baroque facades, wide avenues, remaining brothels, and general warehouse atmosphere gave rise to several alternative and mainstream music events, local fashion shows, and regular club parties, as well as a small and unviable artist colony. Parties for the middle and upper-class intellectuals (architects, journalists, artists, and musicians) and the lower class who identified and created with them often took place in brothels and warehouse.

Within the general neglect on the part of the city and private capital (no implementation of master plans, low residential occupancy, low rent spaces, and only a residual festive aesthetic) a self-named "underground" movement began to take hold. Recife's musical culture underwent a rebirth during this period, with Mangue-Beat artists like Chico Science gaining international stature, but little financial reward. The socially conscious mangue-beat fused local maracatu rhythms with guitar rock. It birthed "Third-Wave" or a regeneration of interest in learning, playing, writing, and dancing to area folk music. Climbing the five sets of stairs to an underground party in a decrepit brothel or warehouse only added to their "mangue-boy" and "mangue-girl" mystique, and fit the pocketbook of difficult economic conditions. This was also the generation that embraced aesthetics of lama-mud-and carangejos-crabs-symbolic of the slums built on the muddy edge of the river in the mangrove (mangue).

This underground movement began a new sound and aesthetic that would be emulated throughout the country. A significant aspect of this music is that musicians from many socio-economic backgrounds participate. While middle-class youth had money for guitars and lessons, it was the youth from the suburbia who played percussion. In the suburbias there is less opportunity to attend school, therefore, youth have time to practice and develop the technique required. Musicians from both classes write lyrics and music. While most youth in Brazil loved the music, they also loved that mangue-beat was politically vocal, anti-media, and anti-corporate Brazil. The spatial location, characteristics, relative affordability, and psychological appeal of the decrepit zona (the Bairro do Recife) were central to its use as a subculture social environment.

In 1986, the political leadership decided to revitalize the neighborhood. The effort, based on the socialist model of Bologna, Italy, soon proved to be politically and economically unfeasible. By the 1990s, a repressive approach to the proliferation of street vendors in the center won broad support, and the subsequent progressive administration (and later more conservative) turned to the Baltimore, USA model (public-private partnership) for guidance.

Unique in the history of city interventions, the Bairro do Recife revitalization is one project that has been continued through politically opposite administrations. Elected officials have recognized the importance of the neighborhood ideologically for the city as a core identity, a site of city pride, and a symbol of municipal capacity. In the 1990's other branches of government relocated onto the island of Recife due to federal and local mandates to occupy and restore historic buildings. As a direct result of the revitalization project, other important businesses have chosen to locate on the island, including "A Folha," a new sensationalist daily paper. In constructing a space where middle-class and Recife elite enjoy spending their leisure time, the city is also constructing itself as a city worth believing in economically and politically.

THE NORTHEAST OF BRAZIL OR JAMES ROUSE'S FESTIVAL SPACE?

Historic center revitalization programs must interpret, inscribe and project identities through selective emphasis. Recife projects have four goals—1) improve tax revenue and long term economic sustainability, 2) improve the quality of public space and as a byproduct, political popularity, 3) preserve historic structures so that future generations will have the material to construct and understand their cultural identities, and 4) erase the social stigma of the city's center.

The city government's need to improve or stabilize tax revenues and promote economic development often conflicts with the goal to preserve historic spaces and locally constructed identity. Not all identities improve public space and tax revenue. People often construct identities via practices that endanger historic structures or degrade public space. African and sertaneja culture have often been ones of poverty, low technology, and low access to education. Standards of cleanliness and ideals of maintenance can be radically different in impoverished traditions. Upper-class avoidance of Pátio São Pedro was related as much to fear of marginais (youths involved in criminal activity from favela/suburbia communities), as their perception of dirt (filth). On the other hand, the lower-class frequenter sees the center as significantly cleaner and better maintained than the slums. Marginal communities also find the middle-class displays of wealth and values at Polo Bom Jesus equally nauseating.

Private/public projects often "disneyfy" the experience of the city, for the benefit of a narrow segment of the population and the tourist. Revitalization along the lines of Baltimore's harbor is referred to as the creation of "festival spaces." This would not be an inaccurate term to describe the intentions and results of planning practices in Recife, especially the experience of Bom Jesus and the project planned for Pátio São Pedro.

Udo Greinacher[14] studied the phenomena of "Cannery Row," in Monterrey, California. In Monterrey, private interests demolished almost all the unclean, unpurchasable original/authentic material in order to create clean, non-threatening tourist destinations. This example illustrates the conflict between the originary (original) identity (the reason that people are attracted to the area) and the capitalization on capital rich identity (creation of bars, restaurants, hotels, shopping malls). There are two aspects of this "cleaned-up version for tourists." First, Monterrey lacks original smells, sights, and plain old dirt that have been historically accurate. Second, the city has driven "out the people, occupations, and businesses, that make a place what it is."

Areas that have a cultural identity or atmospheric identity that is seedy and low-income are particularly vulnerable. A grubbier, rougher environment in which middle class, middle-aged placeless people feel unsafe or threatened, however, may be important in the identity construction and cultural practices of others. Linen suit and fully-set table environments appear to be equally endangered as they alienate a moneyed but "liberal" clientele. While the "originary" identity of Monterrey might eventually have become obscured by other changes besides an influx of tourist dollars, in the case of festival spaces, the city is the catalyst for the move from the original sense of place to "disneyfication."

Capitalization on place does not respond to a particular place based identity, but to two other identities: first, a mythical or imagined stereotypical identity that a tourist expects upon visiting a place and second, the middle-class tourist identity. The stereotypical identity of Recife promoted by the city would be exemplified in carnival bands such as Nação Pernambuco-a prettified maracatu bloco that tours Europe every year, and performs on Bom Jesus. While technically perfect, many residents claim that for a maracatu band, they lean too far towards the tourist and foreigner, with costume changes after every song, and frequent guests. But they fulfill the desire to see dancing, happy, musical Brazilians. Cafes and bars are clean with bright colored walls and uniformed distant wait staff. They reinforce the image of a tourist or businessperson who has left his or her work to enter an affluent after work existence. The tourist sought is moneyed, respectable, has a desire to buy momentos, take graphically pleasing photos, drink alcohol in a relaxed environment, and includes children and older citizens. The tourist (regardless of their identity when not on vacation) wants to pretend that no one works, no one suffers, and that they are being waited on hand and foot. Spaces designed directly for tourists and the middle-class do not depend on social ties and long-term relationships but reinforce middle class self-images. Bom Jesus does not attract either artistic movements or a political consciousness.

Perhaps the most ironic aspect is that Bom Jesus is targeted towards the aging middle-class family man—the very same person who would have frequented it in his more bohemian youth. Both São José and Recife are commercial areas. São José was solidly lower and middle class commercial while the Bairro do Recife was a mix of elite, middle, and lower class. Socially, both areas also have strong ties to elite and professional intellectuals—many of who frequented the neighborhoods in the past and since have been involved in the revitalization movement and process. In the revitalization process, this bohemian leisure past is what is sought. A vital nightlife was private investment's most visible response to improved amenities. The zona, however, is one of the colorful aspects of history that is not discussed in marketing strategy. The revitalized area references the tawdry past only as brightly painted plywood cutouts of sailors feeling up lascivious women on the balconies of one of the clubs.

Otherwise, this is an identity that the city would like to keep hidden. While the expensive clubs in the neighborhood are frequented by "moças do programa," well-dressed prostitutes who blend in easily with other groups of single women out for a night on the town, club owners claim no knowledge of their presence. Still a popular destination for German and French men seeking young and beautiful prostitutes, the city has changed its marketing material. For example, publicity photos never feature women in bikinis.

From Marginal/Abandoned to Festival Space

The city is working to eliminate the image of crime in Pátio São Pedro. It is an image because city officials and middle class academics told me that marginais still frequent the area, but I never witnessed any criminal activity and neither did area businessmen tell me that it was particularly dangerous aside from petty theft. During a short period of time in the mid-90s there were gunshots on Saturday nights.

Current frequenters of the Pátio are lower-middle class: laborers, small businessmen, public employees, vendors, drunks, mentally ill, lower class lesbians, and possibly marginais. The Pátio and surrounding bars are often dirty and feature side streets over-run by informal commerce. Because of its negative image, the Pátio is considered unsafe and shunned, except for certain nights of the year, such as during carnival.

This must be considerably galling to Recife's professional classes for two reasons. First, it was the haunt of young intellectuals who considered themselves liberal during the military dictatorship. Second, in the past, the São Pedro Church was the most fashionable in which to be married and attend services. The area connection with elite culture ensures that the Pátio will continue to be valued, but it also ensures that revitalization will reclaim the pátio for the elite and middle-class. This process of revitalization may drive out people who have gathered there for decades and no longer feel they belong in its new prettified and sanitized identity.

THE CITY AS AGENT OF TRANSFORMATION

The creation of festival spaces often occurs in areas that previously have been supervised poorly. In the case of the Pátio, the city government owns the buildings and the Pátio. Legally, it controls their quality and character. Since the 1970s, it has neglected to raise rents (ranging from $R 16 to $R 32 per unit, but valued at $R 400-1,200 per unit per month), collect rents from many tenants, or apply many preservation controls. Current control does not mean that in future plans the city will use its power to prevent the gentrification that occurred on Polo Bom Jesus, where rent value of the buildings increased sharply. Rather, the city will inform renters what they may install in the place of current businesses, weeding out individuals seen as uncooperative or incapable of improving service to middle class standards.

Since the middle of the 90s when the city began to plan the revitalization project, officials have been in touch with current tenants. Business owners are aware they may have to change their line of business and make a costly investment in new décor, facilities, and image; thus, they are unable to upgrade or invest to maintain their locations until they know what the new business will be. One owner informed me he had been told he would have to put in a drug store. When a new market consultant's study came out, he was notified his location would be a sandwich shop. At the moment, several owners have been told their contracts will not be renewed, and business plans have been solicited from prospective tenants. Possible plans for the pátio (to be completed by February 2000) include a McDonald's, a pizza parlor, and a scotch bar, with attractive tax rebates for investors. The knife sharpeners that lined an alley leading to the Pátio already have been moved to another location. Only those who rent wall niches, technically not under the purview, of the city inspectors remain. The niche landlord and tenants are under pressure to negotiate with city planners to vend "artisan" products for tourists.

AMENITIES FOR A FESTIVAL FEEL

A significant aspect of revitalization is the capitalization on local resources using global amenities. The economic incentives and international traditions implicit in creating festival spaces often override local elite agendas such as preservation. Greinacher's opening paragraphs critiquing the Main Street movement typifies the posture adopted in Recife:

> ... although this approach has helped many town centers, it has failed to highlight the features particular to each town. Instead, the similarity of the accoutrements used in the beautification: process-banners, cast-iron benches, clocks, standardized awnings—has left us with environments devoid of any unique character.[15]

The planning department's ownership of all buildings on the pátio has given it greater control. They also have more rein to remove significant pieces of history. For example, the Pátio São Pedro was originally paved with homogeneously uneven rubble stones. In the mid-90s, the city began its revitalization project by tearing up the entire pátio and replacing it with a geometric design of square blue cobblestones and gray rubble. While the these new pavers were more in line with the 1990s public space "quality" aesthetic, it did not preserve a historical relationship that leaves Pátio humble and emphasized the visual power of the church.

Alley off São Pedro

On Bom Jesus, architects are limited to a public infrastructure scope as they only own four buildings. There, the similar aesthetic of the original 1913 construction to the 1990s decorative amenity approach has caused the restoration of the original cobblestone's pattern. Unfortunately for those who wanted to stand on the same pátio as generations of citizens, slaves, and visitors, Pátio São Pedro has already lost the rough stone that had been smoothed by centuries of traffic. Business owners, the curate, boteco customers were especially irate by the change in "their pátio." Not only do they have a strong sense of which built characteristics constitute the Pátio, but they also considered the Pátio's new paving to be inferior. While decorative, the new square has numerous sinkholes.

Revitalizing for Tourist versus Local Identity

Middle-class visitors demand a high level of service. They need clean and hygienic conditions. Tourists need "safe" and "familiar" eating options, they do not need to experience regional cuisine. They want to buy folk nick-knacks and wall hangings, not sharpen knives. Changes in daily lives, transportation, income, and communication have enabled people to value learning about others in authentic environments. As these needs are satisfied by generic market tastes, however, places lose their authenticity. Eventually a trip to Brazil may have a different cachet than to England, but be essentially the same experience. Market-driven preservation projects cater to the market identities rather than the local populous. The local identity may or may not be preserved in historically appropriate locations such as museums, books, photo albums, and people's memories.

What is never distinguished in Recife by the city is the difference between hygiene and the appearance of cleanliness, the difference between many dressy, clean waiters in white jackets and a personable, efficient staff, and the difference between quality regional food options and mediocre international food.

Despite the fact that the vast majority of Recife's tourists are Brazilians (and a large portion of these and foreign tourists are backpackers) there is a perception that "tourists" can't and do not eat regional food. It is in regional food that the three identities of Afro-Brazilian (feijoada and acarajé), indigenous (tapioca), and sertaneja (carne do sol) are clearly expressed. Because much of this food is served on the street, it can be unhygienic, unless the city more aggressively regulates and inspects food street vendors. Generally, cooked food street vendors are not found near Bom Jesus and will not be at Pátio São Pedro. This is a new attitude. A guidebook written in 1932 and updated in 1942 by Gilberto Freyre does not just comment on the regional food available on the street such as corn, tapioca, fried fish, cake, sugar cane juice, and coconuts. He distinguishes vendors by name and the street corner location.[16]

Public/Private Space and Festival Spaces

Revitalization can also dramatically change traditional relationships between public and private space. This is particularly evident on Bom Jesus. A consistent difference in class throughout Recife is air conditioning. Which houses or apartments have it, which do not. Combined with new housing forms, security features and the automobile, the way in which people communicate, circulate, and interact may have irreversibly changed.

The historic center streets catch the ocean breezes and channel them through narrow passageways shaded by two, three, and four story buildings. Colonial stores and homes were ventilated by floor to ceiling door/windows with shutters and lattices for protection and shade. At the street level were storefronts with two to five open doors. This allowed air and light to enter the interior, and odors to escape, as well as a regular flow of customers and information to pass from public to semi-private space.

According to Fernando Pio, private apartments were equally open. Until at least the 1970s, a major city newspaper ran a gossip column titled "Janela a Janela" (window to window).[17] Vegetable vendors still go from street to street shouting out their wares. Courtship and social/political relationships occurred between the public street and private household, where signals such as flowers in the window, whistles, and glances were full of meaning. Current middle-class housing preference for large apartment buildings has changed these patterns. Imagine holding a conversation from the sidewalk with a friend who lives on the 12th floor.

Buildings in historic areas are flush with the street, providing a permeable wall during the day and a semi-permeable wall at night. The permeable wall has been taken to an extreme in the lower class Santo Antônio/São José commercial neighborhood. Original doorways have been removed (this is an example of how traditional uses can be detrimental to the integrity of historic structures) and the entire ground floor of the store, restaurant, or café is open to the street.

The way the private/public spaces are socialized in has been preserved in lower-middle class commercial neighborhoods. The McDonald's in Boa Vista observes this norm, by providing a 30-ft wide doorway/store front between the commercial and public space. The doorway is a window, a passageway, a post to lean against, a meeting ground, and a place to survey the street. It is completely transparent and allows for aural and olfactory information to pass through. Small business owners lean against doorframes and watch everything and everyone on their street. A closed, sealed environment rarely attracts the lower middle-class clientele from open neighborhoods and slums. It is not an inviting or familiar environment. It sends a strong message of catering to the wealthy and not to those who are just scraping by. This more protected interior also reduces the number "eyes" on the street.

Replacing doors with iron grills or glass (as the majority of the restaurants and bars do on Bom Jesus) de-characterizes the visual, aural, and olfactory experience of the street and buildings. A street of open doorways and shadowy but visible interiors from which odors, sounds, friends, and acquaintances emerge present a higher degree of mystery and anticipation. They are an enticement to explore. The message is not exclusivity, but an invitation to potential customers.

On Bom Jesus, with the exception of two botequims and one café, each building presents two choices. One can sit in the hermetically sealed interior. Or, one can take a seat at a cheap plastic outdoor table under the wheezing, dripping, grumbling air conditioning units that have been set into the transom. Aesthetically, air conditioners in the window transoms severely de-characterize the historic buildings and the street but conform to expectations of the air-conditioned middle-class.

While these window air-conditioning units are against rehabilitation guidelines, the renter often puts them in, as any tax credit goes to the owner of the building. The difficulty is that since the city gives with one hand (attracting businesses that cater to tourists and an upper-class pleasure-seeking crowd) it has a difficult time disciplining with the other. As previously stated, little is demanded of businesses in the preservation district. The city, only after three years of unpaid rent, evicted a tenant who by all accounts was "raking it in hand over foot." Evicting tenants attracts bad publicity and may remove businesses consistent with the image that the city wants to project, in this case a European style café. The city has also been reluctant to enforce design codes on building facades.

The way these projects are implemented, outside visitors are not encouraged to experiment regional food, or see buildings unfiltered by "make pretty" city partnerships. In addition, streets outside these projects are often considered unsafe and to be frequented by pickpockets making them a less likely tourist destination. Huge tour buses drive directly onto the cobblestone street of Bom Jesus in order to drop off clients for a 1-hour photo opportunity. The image that is projected is one of middle class prosperity and worldliness. But it doesn't necessarily reflect Recife's particular local worldliness.

Will the older women who live or work near Pátio São Pedro continue to pray in the church in the morning, once it has gained its slick new image? At least for the moment, during the day when the bars and restaurants of Bom Jesus are closed, aging dockworkers and unionists still gather around park benches and botecos. This is because rents on the upper floors in buildings with no elevators cannot increase rent as dramatically as the first floor. As of yet only a few artists and European expatriates find cachet in climbing stairs to 6th floor studios and apartments.

MEMORIES, PLACES, EXPERIENCES, AND PEOPLE

The predominant historic revitalization narrative in Recife is one of civic pride. James Clifford emphasized that the construction of a historical narrative has political/action-oriented implications, and has discussed this as a critical element of redesigning cityscapes. He points out that the ability to construct a coherent narrative is fundamental for the psychological construction of individuals and culture groups.

Bom Jesus in the day

> ...the various 'inscriptions,' 'places,' or 'histories' that both empower and inhibit the construction of theoretical categories like 'women,' 'patriarchy,' or 'colonization,' categories essential to political action as well as to serious comparative knowledge.[18]

As Mitchell Schwarzer points out, the dark counter note to this is that "all too often preservationists depict cultural diversity as a celebration of the harmony of multiculturalism, a peaceful aggregation of different ethnic and religious view points. Cultural diversity has thus become an idealized preservation utopia uninformed by the politics of power, money, and persuasion in the real world."[19]

IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN RELATION TO THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT/CONSUMPTION OPPORTUNITIES ON BOM JESUS

The area around Bom Jesus reflects the stratified nature of Brazilian society and culture. The city expropriated four buildings to jumpstart the program. Streets and sidewalks were renovated. The facades on Bom Jesus have been uniformly painted to illustrate architectural structure as opposed to past uses. The people who conceptualized and worked on the project to revitalize the Bairro agree that their intention was to target middle-class families. This audience was seen as less fickle and destructive as other groups, and more likely to have money to support maintenance of the buildings over the long term.

Thus, on Bom Jesus, there are restaurants offering internationally inspired food, beer on draft, and fashionably decorated interiors. Three clubs offer live rock cover bands and DJs that play international and national popular music. In addition the street has a series of electrically amplified stages where second rate musicians cover MPB (musica popular brasiliera-Brazilian folk music).

The bars and restaurants line the buildings with plastic tables and armchairs. These tables and chairs have been a bone of contention between the city's revitalization consultants and the business owners. Most architects pictured the Baroque façades set off by small marble café tables (as in Europe). Brazilian bars tend to use logo-stamped wooden or metal outdoor tables provided by their alcohol distributor. When the police closed the street off to automobiles to accommodate the evening pedestrian traffic, businesses covered the entire street with tables, making it very difficult to walk. At first, the city told businesses that they were not allowed to place tables on the street, nor the entire sidewalk. In the resulting tension, the city painted a line on the sidewalk showing where tables could be placed. Currently, during the day, tables are allowed on two thirds of the sidewalk. After six in the evening, businesses may cover the entire sidewalk with chairs. The street becomes the parade ground, but the tables on the sidewalk are so close together that socializing between tables and establishments is difficult. Thus, once a decision is made to sit down, people rarely get up and visit friends at neighboring bars or tables as in other city leisure areas.

Bom Jesus is distinguishable from other streets not only by the décor and type of openings (glassed-over), but by the clients. Typical attire for men is chinos and dress shirt or a suit and tie. Women have loose slacks and blouses or dresses and straight hair, shiny lips, and polished nails, with fashionable purses or little back packs. People come in couples, groups and with children and elderly in the early evening. There is frequently a line of women in little black dresses waiting to get into the Calypso, a very successful club that features the same cover band every Saturday night named "Saigon."

Leaving Bom Jesus, one can walk two blocks west. On the corner is a small, but nicely and simply decorated club that features live pagode (an Afro-Brazilian variation of the samba) bands. Rather than serving beer in individual bottles and on draft, it comes in cans-less stylish ("nobre") and more common ("popular"). The sidewalk is squeezed full of tiny wooden tables and chairs (also provided by alcohol distributors). The clientele is noticeably younger, with darker skin tones and curlier hair. Rather than a cool distant gaze, people here posture differently, more aggressively, shouting to friends and acquaintances with effusive embraces. They are often in college or taking classes. From a table on this corner, one can easily pick out which group of passers by has parked near this street and must cross it to reach Bom Jesus. One can also tell who will take one stroll down Bom Jesus, turn around and come back to this animated corner. Turn the corner and there is usually a live forró band squeezed into a restaurant. Forró has a base that is regional, and associated with the impoverished countryside. Ironically, it is forró that many Brazilian tourists like. This traditionally northeastern music is very popular in São Paulo.

Third-wave alternative youth also like forró, but not in this commercialized setting. They are more apt to be up the street on the sidewalk at the Bar do Fogão, with its favela roots and aesthetic, garrafas (40-oz. beer that is dividable between friends). Customers are as likely to be members of a suburbia band, alternative clothing stylists, architects, or college students, as a truck driver on break, a prostitute, and local favela residents. Noticeably absent are the middle class families that frequent Bom Jesus.

These social divisions are visible through a series of characteristics: spatial location, class aesthetic (open windows and doors versus glass and air-conditioning, uniformed wait staff versus wait staff in casual clothes), customer age, price and container of alcohol, interior decoration, wooden or metal folding tables versus plastic stackable tables and chairs. The most diverse bar close to Bom Jesus, Bar do Fogão, is such because the alternative middle-class and favela clientele predate revitalization. And the only change to the "bar" after revitalization was to stylize the graffiti on the facade. The interior maintains its dark, crowded, and grimy appearance. The Calypso, at the other extreme of interior and exterior decoration, charges a stiff cover. As much as it is frequented by the middle class, it also is a place for which lower class can dress up and, even if only for one night, celebrate in a middle-class exclusive environment.

So while one of the city's revitalization goals is to enhance people's ability to construct their urban identity, this occurs in highly segregated ways. And those who identify with the lower classes, or untargeted market groups, often feel unwelcome in the most intensively revitalized areas.

Interpretation of Past Events

In both the church curate's and a local bar client's interpretation, Pátio São Pedro had been the slave unloading point and market (as it had originally had access to the water). One frequenter mentioned that when the IPHAN (National Institute of Historic and Artistic Patrimony) expropriated the pátio and surrounding buildings, they removed the posts to which (in local lore) the slaves had been chained. When asked where the slave market had been in Recife, the local director of IPHAN became visibly uncomfortable (the only point in the interview), stating that he had no idea where these had been located.

The removal of all traces of slave and colonial identity may be strategic on the part of government cultural and planning elite. People like Joaquim Nambuco and Gilberto Freyre who resisted their class origins to stand up against slavery or to recognize the influences of African slave culture on northeastern elite are celebrated. Conversely, sites of slave markets and other sites of less noble practices on the part of the elite have long since been replaced by artisan markets or simply disappeared. Disappearance was one of the prime means of squelching political opposition under the military dictatorship from 1964-1988.

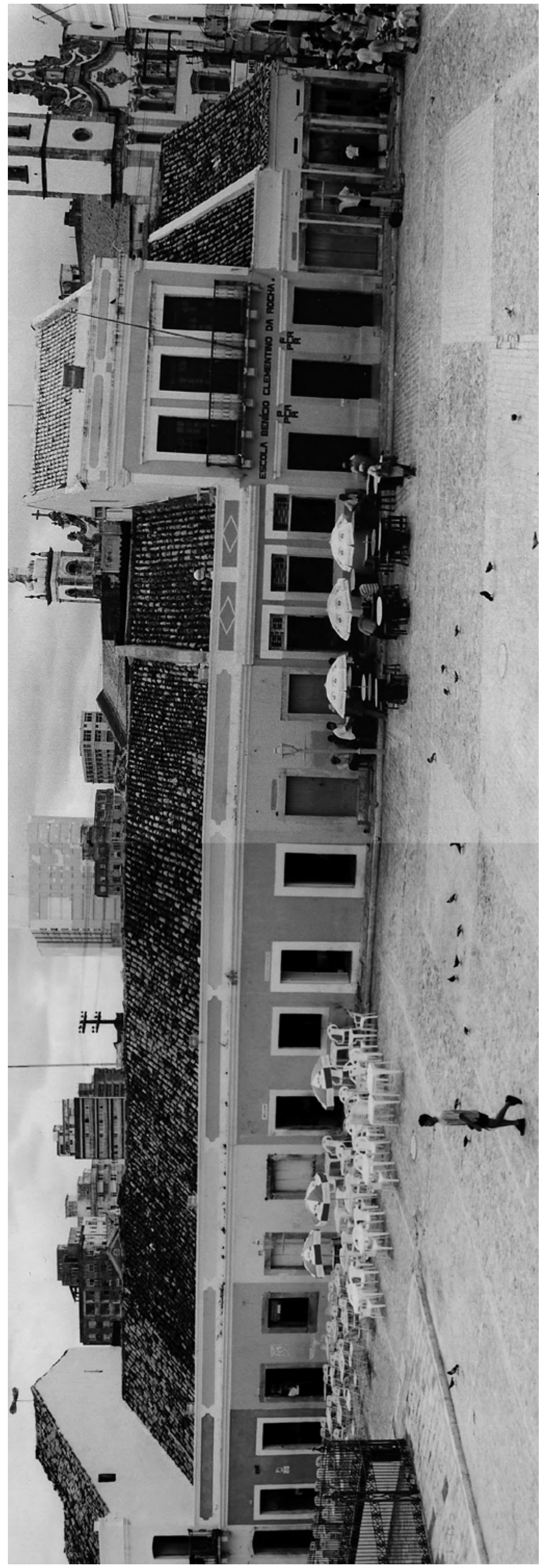
Freyre's book Casa Grande & Senzala, the Afro-Brazilian movement, and the commercial success of Salvador's capitalization on its African heritage have led to a revaluing of African influences. This has been most apparent in staged festival events directed towards tourism that showcase local Afro-indigenous music such as afoxé (secular dance of Candomblé), maracatu, and maracatu rural. The martial art/dance of capoeira has yet to be showcased as extensively as it is in nearby Olinda. While vestiges of slave beliefs remain in market candomblé item stalls, this also may be dislocated from the city center if the revitalization effort at the Pátio spills over into surrounding streets.

Thus, the digested musical heritage of the African peoples is readily available on the streets. Portuguese and English voiceovers broadcast from an outdoor sound system explain the specific Yoruba gods and Catholic saints to non-locals, but the physical sites of these peoples are rarely emphasized. Perhaps this is because many of the most adept drummers and dancers come from slums. This is not the image of first-world prosperity that the city wants to project. Voice-overs focus the middle-class on observing the spectacle of Brazil's African heritage, and people are less likely to actually dance. On Bom Jesus, the interpretation of local culture is through narrative (visual and aural) understanding, rather than participation (understanding through practice).

Another piece of the city's historical narrative is Judaism. Previously, the local elite had not embraced the city's Jewish past. Bom Jesus once was known as "The Street of the Jews" (due to the concentration of Jewish residents and businesses on the street), but had since been renamed "Good Jesus Street." Yet now, Recife's Jewish heritage is mentioned to any stranger as an interesting aspect of the region: unique in terms of predating the 19th and 20th century European immigration to Latin America, and having taken part in the founding of New York City. A plaque on Bom Jesus marks the site of first temple of the Americas. The state university has even inaugurated a Judaic Center in the anthropology department.

This change in attitude may be due to the new wealthier Jewish population in Brazil. Jews from wealthier southern states such as São Paulo are viewed as an important tourist market. Judaism is now linked with the more positive international stereotypes of intelligence, crafty business sense, a strong sense of tradition, and family values. This early site of South American Jews allows more recent immigrants to Brazil (now second and third generation Brazilians) to identify with and connect to local sites. It also allows intellectuals and locals to identify non-Portuguese Colonial intellectual influences in local heritage. As of yet, tourism emphasizes only the historic sites and not the ongoing and past practice of Morono Jews in Recife.

Haussman's restructuring of Paris is claimed by Richard Sennet to be in response to the insurrections of the French Revolution in order to increase government control. While most of Recife's most infamous battles, assassinations, conspiracies, and speeches occurred in the center city, the first neighborhood chosen for structural re-organization in imitation of Paris had not been the epi-center of any political uprisings (Bairro do Recife in 1913). In fact, it was only later, as the neighborhood became the "bohemia" of Recife (the Zona) that it was known for backroom political associations and intrigue.[20] This political history is not exploited for tourists, and many educated Recifences have only a vague notion of its past in terms of movements for political and social freedom. The most notable commemorative plaque is not in the city of Recife, but in Olinda,


West Side of the patio (mid day)

which claims the first cry for independence in Brazil from the Empire.

A 1980s revitalization critique noted that the general population might find it difficult to support historic restoration projects on the grounds that, 1) social needs were more pressing, and 2) the monumental facades were built with wealth created through slavery.[21] In this sense, the entire center city could be seen as a monument to the exploitation of slaves. The city has not received a backlash for concentrating investment in the center, although less economically stable urban youth express their discontent by tagging monuments. City-sponsored free musical events, such as "Dancing in the Streets of Recife," have proven very popular with both lower class and lower middle-class residents. The tourism industry does not mention how the capital that created the historic center was accumulated. By sponsoring free events, the Bairro projects itself as a neighborhood that is inclusive. As one critic commented, "any guy can leave his shack, mosquitoes, and mud, drink cheaply and forget he is hungry with his girlfriend in his arms, dancing to free live music on multi-colored streets." Popularly publicized musical events are generally not held on Bom Jesus, but rather on the larger avenues to the south.

In 1986, when the revitalization model was a socially oriented one, the local government was liberal and against the military Brazilian government. The current mayor is aligned with the Federal Government and follows an economic liberal model and performs quiet acts of social inclusion and exclusion. The city rarely publicizes social projects on Bom Jesus, which might be interpreted as "handouts." While newspapers tout improvements in policing and infrastructure, the city's PR department does not push the Bairro do Recife's project to feed and educate street children and adolescents. Many believe the city has washed its hands of their public responsibility towards residents of the neighborhood. This helps the city distance itself from its socialist past. While insufficient, programs in Bairro do Recife are far superior to those in other neighborhoods.

Many of families who populate the favelas originally migrated from the Sertão. One of the streets parallel to Bom Jesus has a café/bar/restaurant, Café Cordel, named after the popular sung sertaneja literary expression, cordel. Themes of these poetic ballads include Lampião the highway robber, the daughter who goes to the big city of São Paulo, becomes a prostitute and then a saint, and cowboy tribulations and triumphs. Café Cordel is an exception. The most obvious expression of the Sertão on Bom Jesus is in watered down versions of traditional foods.

While exhibiting genius, the artists of the Sertão are trained only by family tradition. Potters and poets are often illiterate, have second and third families, live in huts with dirt floors, and consume large quantities of cachaça, sugarcane based alcohol. The state runs an under-funded and under-maintained sertaneja folk-art museum on Pátio São Pedro. A bar or restaurant will soon replace this museum.

The botecos, restaurants, and street services that cater to sertanejos are not the image that the city revitalization office desires. Neither are there sites that refer to their struggles for survival in shanties or pensiones as prostitutes and other highly exploited laborers. Regardless, their presence and the image of their poverty cannot be erased; it is present in the cadence and intonation of speech, way of walking, and expressions of the people who clean or guard the newer cafés, bars, and restaurants that cater to a more elite clientele.

CONCLUSION

Those who remembered sites of slavery were lower middle class residents and not in decision making or influential positions. They were the residents whose heritage and social/economic expectations were more closely linked to that of slaves than slave owners. All residents, on the other hand, point to local Jewish sites of historical significance with pride. They empower recent immigrants to the region and illustrate a unique national identity in what the rest of Brazil considers a backward state.

Identity is a reason to preserve historic buildings. Historic buildings are more easily preserved if they are maintained or prevented from "ruin." Preservation occurs most readily with capital as tax laws. Zoning law, property values, etc, often create favorable conditions for demolition and new construction. Yet, if one of government's long-term goals is to preserve historic identity and historic fabric, an environmental/social practice approach to public space is needed. A social revitalization of space needs to recognize which social elements are essential to the character and integrity of the space. Is the woman making tapioca on a charcoal burner essential or is air-conditioning?

There has been academic, political, and institutional recognition of the importance of a sense of place, but the manipulation of spaces for economic and political gain often overpowers these goals. In addition, the structural aspects of other places with a "good" sense of place are often used to replace local historical details that are not valued by the elite, but are valued by less economically powerful groups. Lofty aims regarding identity, memory, and history are often mentioned in Recife's revitalization projects, but are rarely realized. Because groups in Recife have historically had contentious relationships, the city has difficulty resolving these differences when "constructing" space.

In terms of the built environment, there has been an ongoing professional and political effort to establish norms of decision-making and operation to retain important details and not destroy the character of a significant era or appearance. Yet private and economic interests often override these concerns. Architects and planners provide space for people and heavily regulate people's activities, but often do not think about these activities in relation to identity construction at either the planning or operations level, except in terms of justifying intervention. Heritage must be seen as not just the building but also the neighborhood practices that take place around it.

In the past year, two business owners have created spaces more in character with the street and heritage of the neighborhood in the Bairro do Recife. These businesses are open to the street and attract a diverse clientele. One owner partners with the city to sponsor street performances. Neither invested heavily in décor. Whether two exemplary businesses can serve as examples is debatable. Both owners already had established a clientele in previous locations outside of the center. Non-established owners, however, still feel safer creating an elite environment to entice customers on the already traveled Bom Jesus. Each of these entrepreneurs, however, spawned a new "pole" of revitalization and had positive effects on business in local botecos. Buildings that had been used as warehouses are redoing their facades to be able to charge a higher rent to new commercial tenants.

The projects use public space to reproduce a specific middle class/elite identity. According to Recife officials, this identity will not return to the center without public intervention and therefore needs a high degree of effort to attract and maintain its presence. Middle class and elite identity is given greater importance to encourage local economic stability. It is important that this economic segment receive intense investment precisely because it must be courted to move capital into the area. The elite and middle class make economic choices to a higher degree than other economic groups, but are seen as fickle, unable to reproduce themselves materially without urban (public) investment.

Urban planning is making an assumption that this economy is good. Preservationists assume that it will preserve buildings. Economic developers assume that it will develop the economy. Urbanites see improved public space. Democracy theorists and sociologists hope people will come together with their separate identities to understand each other better. But the market as valuator, equalizer, and distributor, distorts land, place, and social relationships. It segments and separates. It changes the center. People still construct identity apart from revitalization, in the pockets, in the alleys, any place where revitalization isn't, yet. While these identities aren't those the office of revitalization has planned to attract, if they can been seen as linked to cultural development, then they will receive a limited amount of help from the city. But they will not get the extensive services that Polo Bom Jesus receives. In-between artistic cultures at least have salability with which to leverage city support, while residents living in Recife's 500+ favelas must rely on the political favor of the mayor.

People that still live in the decaying subdivided pensiones in Bairro do Recife may not have long. From the upper story of a new expensive "steak house," I glanced out across the back street and met the gaze of a young woman. Darker skinned and looking more tired than either the owner or I, she leaned on a decrepit balustrade, under a line of drying underclothes. Given Bom Jesus' shiny new identity, she had already become a nostalgic oddity.

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Notes

1. Recife em Estatisticas, (Recife: Prefeitura do Recife, 1997).
2. Instituto Nacional de Patrimonia Historica e Artistica Nacional. National Institute of National Historic and Artistic Patrimony.
3. Angela Bezerra de Garza Leitão, História do Recife (Recife: Prefeitura, 1992), 93.
4. Tom Maia, Gilberto Freyre and Thereza de Carmargo, Recife and Olinda (Recife: Instituto Joaquim Nambuco, 1978, p. 25.
5. Leonardo Dantas Silva, Recife: um historia de quatro secúlos (Recife: Secretaria de Educação e Cultura, 1975), p. 57.
6. Ibid.
7. Donald Kunze, "Theory of the Metropolis," in La Città Nouva-The New City (Rome: ACSA International Conference, 1999), p. 332.
8. Carlos Bezerra Cavalcanti O Recife: um "presente" do Pasado. (Recife: Editora, 1995), p. 219.

9. Nancy Clark, “Alternative Cities: Drifting Towards the Labyrinth” in La Città Nouva-The New City (Rome: ACSA International Conference, 1999), p. 399.

10. Carlos Bezerra Cavalcanti, O Recife e Seus Bairros (Recife: Camera Municipal do Recife, 1998), p. 22.

11. À noite, não se observa sequer o movimento festivo do cabarés. As ruas mergulham no silêncio, salvo alguns bares, remanescentes do tempos antigos. Dorme esquecido, o velho bairro portuário, à sombra de inquietas madrugadas. Leonardo Dantas Silva e Ronildo Maria Leite, Recife 1900: Álbum de Recordações Recife: Prefeitura da Cidade do Recife, 1992), 27.

12. Tom Maia, Gilberto Freire and Thereza de Carmargo, Recife and Olinda (Recife: Instituto Joaquim Nambuco, 1978), 21.

13. “já para os lados de São José, o Recife como se orientaliza; a vida que as ruas refletem é da pequena burguesia, mais sociavel que a gente grande que de noite vem conversar, sentada em cadeiras de vime e espreguiçadeiras de lona, à porta da casa; e aí toma sorvete, come tapioca, os homens de pijama, chinelo sem meia. É o bairro dos pianos fanhosos mais ainda tão românticos; dos namoros de meninas de luto com caixeiros da primavera e estudantes. É o bairro do comercio mais barato. Das lojas e armarinhos com nomes sentimentais... armazens de xarque e café; de ruas que cheiram a comida e a café se turrande; a temperos; a coentro; a incenso que vem de dentro de igrejas que dão para rua; a mungunzá se comendo dia do domingo; a alfazema em casa que tem menino novo. From Gilberto Freyre, 1942, p. 213.

14. Udo Greinacher, “Can Fictional Characters and Mythical Sites Save Downtown America?” in La Città Nouva-The New City (Rome: ACSA International Conference, 1999), p. 494.

15. Ibid.

16. Freyre, Gilberto Guia Prático, Histórico e Sentimental da Cidade do Recife 2nd edition, orig. pub 1932 (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio, 1942, 155.

17. Fernando Pio, Meu Recife de Outora: Cronicas do Recife Antigo (Recife: Governo do Estado do Pernambuco, 1969), p. 60.

18. James Clifford, quoted by Felicia Davis, in “Places of Memory: Walking Tours of Manhattan,” in La Città Nouva-The New City (Rome: ACSA International Conference, 1999), p. 265.

19. Mitchell Schwarzer, “Historic Character and the Representation of Cultural Diversity,” Course Pack, p. 22.

20. Puerto Seguro do Bohemia.

21. Gomez da Silva.

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ENVIRONMENTALLY RESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOR

Does it Really Matter What We Believe?

by Maria Lane

What makes people behave in environmentally responsible ways? Is it pride, civic duty, or something else? In this article Maria Lane takes a brief and inquisitive look at the motivating factors and opens up discussion on what the real questions might be for the future.

Throughout American history, "environmentalism" has taken many forms and borne numerous names. In any form, however, environmentalism has always advocated the adoption of ideas and policies that lead to environmentally responsible behavior. This core intention produces an interesting question: Given the end goal of producing environmentally responsible behavior, is it more important for the environmental movement to change ideas, or should it focus instead on changing policies? The following analysis explores this question through the lens of personal behavior change. Although environmentalism targets environmentally responsible behavior at many levels - personal, corporate, governmental - it seems appropriate to focus on personal change, which is arguably the fundamental basis for any institutional change or widespread societal change.

BACKGROUND

Beginning in the late 1960s, radical economic thinkers began to formulate theoretical responses to the growing environmental crisis in the United States and elsewhere. Scrutinizing industrial production systems with a critical eye, many concluded that the infinite economic growth assumed by most models was ecologically impossible. Boulding compared the earth to a spaceship, "without unlimited reservoirs of anything, either for extraction or for pollution, and in which, therefore, man must find his place in a cyclical ecological system which is capable of continuous reproduction of material form even though it cannot escape having inputs of energy." (1966, p. 303) Given these material and entropic limits to ultimate consumption, Daly pioneered the concept of a steady-state economy in which the physical flows of production and consumption would be minimized, not maximized, subject to desirable population levels and standards of living. (1968) Daly reasoned that limits to both the possibility and desirability of growth constituted a stringent economic limit to growth.

Coupled with ever-growing manifestations of ecological destruction, these economic arguments spurred serious thinking about a new ethic of production. Daly's steady-state economy valued quality and development over quantity and growth, a significant departure from industrial norms. Boulding had also concluded that success should be measured not by production and consumption, but rather by "the nature, extent, quality and complexity of the total capital stock, including in this the state of the human bodies and minds included in the system." (1966, p. 304) The less consumption a state's economy could be maintained with, the better, he argued.

This new ethic rippled into mainstream environmental thought and matured into a new environmental paradigm that recognized limits to growth and acknowledged the importance of nature's balance. Introduction of this new paradigm marked a one-hundred-eighty-degree shift from the paradigm governing the first Americans' relationship to nature and the environment. To the frontier settlers, nature had represented a constant challenge to survival, a condition to be overcome. Only with the closing of the frontier and the elimination of wilderness did this threat diminish. These early attitudes eventually gave way to Enlightenment reverence for nature's order and a realization that nature and wilderness had become an important part of the national identity. (Nash 1967) The ensuing nationalistic pride in wilderness allowed many Americans to embrace Thoreau's transcendentalist musings and Muir's rapturous exultations about the beauty and importance of wild nature. These same sentiments guided public support for the early conservation movement and Leopold's land ethic (1949) as a model for the human-nature relationship. By the time Carson published *Silent Spring* (1962), Americans had already changed their relationship with nature significantly.

ACHIEVING THE PARADIGM SHIFT

The new environmental paradigm, based on Daly's economic rethinking of production and consumption, required that Americans shift their thinking even further, rejecting traditional values and beliefs. In general, Americans have been sympathetic to the new paradigm, despite a lingering desire to hold traditional values at the same time. This translates into a range of personal behavioral responses, from limited participation in relatively passive activities such as curbside recycling to immersion in activist opposition to perceived local or global environmental threats. Social scientists have been tracing these attitudes, concerns and behaviors since the 1970s, chronicling the spread of environmental thinking into mainstream American society. As scholars explored the implications of the new thinking on personal behavior, many claimed that traditional American values and beliefs actively prevented the development of pro-ecological thinking and action. Dunlap and Van Liere tested this claim (1984), finding support for the hypothesis that commitment to the Dominant Social Paradigm (DSP) leads to lower levels of concern for environmental protection. (See Figure 1.) They found that the most significant elements of the DSP that negatively influenced environmental concern were 1) faith in material abundance and 2) support for private property rights, economic growth, and laissez-faire government. These findings seem obvious in light of Dunlap and Van Liere's earlier work to identify and measure the elements of an environmentally sensitive paradigm. Codifying economic and environmental currents, the researchers identified a New Environmental Paradigm (NEP) and developed a reliable scale for measuring its acceptance. (1978, see Figure 2.) Key elements of the paradigm include 1) the balance of nature, 2) the steady-state economy, 3) basic harmony between humans and nature, and 4) limits to growth. Clearly, the DSP's faith in material abundance and support for economic growth directly conflict with the NEP's lim-

Figure 1. Dominant Social Paradigm Elements

1. Support for laissez-faire government.
2. Support for the status quo.
3. Support for private property rights.
4. Faith in science and technology.
5. Support for individual rights.
6. Support for economic growth.
7. Faith in material abundance.
8. Faith in future prosperity.

Dunlap and Van Liere (1984)

Figure 2. New Environmental Paradigm Scale Items*

1. We are approaching the limit of the number of people the earth can support.
2. The balance of nature is very delicate and easily upset.
3. Humans have the right to modify the natural environment to suit their needs.
4. Mankind was created to rule over the rest of nature.
5. When humans interfere with nature it often produces disastrous consequences.
6. Plants and animals exist primarily to be used by humans.
7. To maintain a healthy economy we will have to develop a "steady-state" economy where industrial growth is controlled.
8. Humans must live in harmony with nature in order to survive.
9. The earth is like a spaceship with only limited room and resources.
10. Humans need not adapt to the natural environment because they can remake it to suit their needs.
11. There are limits to growth beyond which our industrialized society cannot expand.
12. Mankind is severely abusing the environment.

* Possible responses are Strongly Agree, Mildly Agree, Mildly Disagree, and Strongly Disagree. Agreement at some level with all items except 3,4,6, and 10 represents acceptance of the NEP. *Dunlap and Van Liere (1978)*

its to growth and steady-state economy. It is not surprising that Americans who operate under the DSP express lower levels of environmental concern. The good news for environmentalists in 1978 was that Dunlap and Van Liere's study to test the NEP measurement scale found remarkable acceptance of the NEP among the general public as well as members of environmental organizations. Relatively new ideas about the human relationship to nature had obviously spread quickly.

This study represented a welcome confirmation of success for many environmentalists who had identified the achievement of a paradigm shift as their critical mission. They continued to hammer away at traditional beliefs, working to gain acceptance for the new paradigm. Recent studies verify that these efforts have been hugely successful. In 1993, Derksen and Gartrell reported that as many as 90% of respondents in the latest surveys fell in the highest environmental "concern" category. In a 1994 survey using the NEP scale, Scott and Willits found that between 77% and 90% of Pennsylvanians agreed that people must live in harmony with nature, that humans are severely abusing the environment, that when people interfere with nature it often produces disastrous results, and that the balance of nature is delicate and easily upset. More than 70% agreed that the earth is like a spaceship with only limited room and resources. (Scott and Willits 1994) Clearly, environmentalists had communicated the new paradigm successfully enough by the early 1990s that its reflection could be seen throughout the American public.

THE PARADIGM - BEHAVIOR INCONSISTENCY

The critical question for the environmental movement now is whether achieving a widespread paradigm shift is enough to create the desired personal behavior changes. Anecdotal evidence indicates that changing the way we think hasn't made much of a difference. Americans are notoriously wasteful and the United States continues to be more consumer-oriented than ever. Resource depletion and degradation are rapid, and Americans engage in dozens of environmentally damaging behaviors every day. Even simple "one-shot" actions like retrofitting a home for energy and water conservation are unlikely behaviors for most Americans, and repeated behaviors such as reducing driving or composting are even less likely. Curbside recycling appears to be the only common environmentally responsible behavior. Americans may have accepted the New Environmental Paradigm and changed the way they think, but behavior change seems to have lagged behind. In response to the earliest surveys of environmental concerns and beliefs, Maloney and Ward (1973) called the ecological crisis a "crisis of maladaptive behavior,"(p. 583) based on evidence that personal actions seemed to be inconsistent with personal beliefs. They found that most people have a relatively high degree of verbal commitment to and emotional involvement in environmental issues, but relatively low levels of actual commitment and knowledge.

One possible explanation for this inconsistency is that Americans have not really changed the way they think, but have merely adopted the vocabulary of the environmental movement. In fact, Van Liere and Dunlap (1983) found that many Americans profess to hold conflicting beliefs from the DSP and NEP, refusing or failing to deal with their incompatibility. The existence of conflict between belief systems, however, does not invalidate rigorous findings that most Americans say they truly accept and believe in NEP concepts.

Scott and Willits (1994) offer several additional hypotheses to explain why increasing subscription to the NEP has not resulted in congruous environmental behavior at the personal level. They suggest that increased government attention to environmental issues might create a sense that the problem is being solved. Alternately, the absence of strong, motivating leadership may diminish the urgency of making individual lifestyle changes. At the same time, however, many people may blame environmental problems on government and corporate institutions, failing to see any role for individual behavior change. The lack of sufficient information about how to act in environmentally responsible ways may also hamper individual action. Finally, Scott and Willits suggest that many Americans are willing to make some changes in response to environmental beliefs, like separating recyclable items from their trash, but simply are not willing to make others that disrupt their lives, like carpooling, using public transit or protesting environmentally unsafe practices.

Despite the plausibility of these explanations, many researchers have continued to look for connections between behavior and core beliefs such as those expressed in the NEP. Although statistically irrefutable evidence has not been found, a number of studies have verified that environmental concern, attitudes and beliefs are moderately correlated with environmentally responsible behavior such as recycling and environmentally sensitive purchasing. (Heberlein and Black 1976; Weigel and Weigel 1978; Dunlap and Van Liere 1978; Borden and Schettino 1979; Van Liere and Dunlap 1981; Van Liere and Dunlap 1983) As scholars have developed this correlation further, the specificity of beliefs and attitudes measured has emerged as a focal point of the research. Current consensus is that beliefs and attitudes about specific environmental behavior ("Do you believe it is important for residents in your neighborhood to recycle using the city's curbside recycling program?"), rather than general environmental concern ("Do you believe recycling is important?"), correlate much more strongly with environmentally responsible behavior. (Heberlein and Black 1976; Weigel 1983; Mainieri et al. 1997; Ebreo et al. 1999)

WHAT MOTIVATES ENVIRONMENTALLY RESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOR?

The research discussed above challenges suspicions raised earlier here that changing Americans' beliefs will not change their environmental behavior because the studies show that environmental beliefs are directly statistically related to environmental behaviors in some small measure. At the same time, however, it implies that the continued environmental degradation and consumerism in the United States does not necessarily stem from personal paradigms, given that many Americans' actions may only be loosely tied to beliefs. Moderate correlations between beliefs and behavior are not necessarily convincing in the quest to determine the best course of action for American environmentalism. If Americans' beliefs aren't the primary motivators of environmental stewardship behavior, what is? Social scientists express general consternation in response to this question. The literature is marked by dissensus regarding whether sociodemographic variables have any significant effect on environmentally responsible behavior, with some scholars finding that age and education have slight correlations (Lansana 1992), others finding that education is the only sociodemographic determinant (Weigel 1977; Ostman and Parker 1987; Balderjahn 1988), and still others finding that age is correlated negatively or not at all.(Schultz et al. 1995; Hines et al. 1986) Several psychosocial variables such as personal responsibility (Schultz et al. 1995) and locus of control (Grob 1995) are significant, although unexpectedly independent of most socio-demographic variables. Most importantly, environmental knowledge (Borden and Schettino 1979; Vining and Ebreo 1990; Oskamp et al. 1991; Schultz et al. 1995) and awareness of the impact of specific environmental behaviors (Vining and Ebreo 1990; Lansana 1993) show significant correlations with environmentally responsible behavior.

Derksen and Gartrell (1993) argue persuasively that social context is much more important than either sociodemographic variables or individual beliefs in motivating personal environmentally responsible behavior. Their study found that people with access to a structured recycling program exhibit much higher levels of recycling than people lacking such access, regardless of environmental beliefs. Individual attitudes toward the environment affected recycling behavior only in communities with access to a structured recycling program, increasing the participation of those reporting high concern for the environment. These findings suggest that individual concern about the environment enhances the effect of a recycling program but does not overcome the barriers presented by lack of access. In other words, social context encourages or disallows behavior that reflects strongly held beliefs based on an environmental paradigm. This conclusion is supported by other studies confirming that the convenience of recycling programs was a significant determinant of participation (Vining et al. 1992; Lansana 1993)

DISCUSSION

As discussed above, survey research does not reject the hypothesis that environmental beliefs and acceptance of the New Environmental Paradigm motivate personal behavior that is environmentally responsible. Study after study, however, shows that the correlation between beliefs and behavior is not statistically strong, although significant. The evidence seems to support environmental awareness, environmental knowledge and social context as the primary motivators of environmentally responsible behaviors such as recycling, conserving energy and buying products with environmentally friendly packaging. The social context hypothesis claims that the environmental paradigm and its associated beliefs are unimportant compared to logistical, programmatic issues. Individuals thus have no responsibility for the environment, because they do not control access to the resources and tools necessary for allowing environmentally responsible action. Although it could be argued that some of these tools (such as environmental knowledge) ultimately inform beliefs, which then influence behaviors, Derksen and Gartrell are convincing in their findings that the critical intervention point is policy-oriented, rather than paradigm-oriented.

These findings, of course, are contrary to intuition, which is probably why the "beliefs factor" has been tested so many times in so many different ways. It's hard to believe that whether Americans recycle ultimately comes down to whether their municipalities deliver a blue bin and promise to collect its contents once a week. Perhaps it is significant that a great majority of the behavior-beliefs correlation studies focus on curbside recycling as an indicator of environmentally responsible behavior. Although this behavior is one of the easiest to observe, it has also achieved such mainstream prominence that beliefs are hardly required to motivate such socially acceptable behavior. In this light, it is not surprising that social context has emerged as the dominant predictor of recycling behavior.

The question remains, however: how can other environmentally responsible behaviors achieve the same mainstream prominence? How will vegetarianism become socially acceptable and desirable, for instance? The current literature does not address the moment of change: the moment when a certain action transforms from one with unknown or questionable environmental benefits to one commonly accepted as a method among many of behaving responsibly with respect to the environment. Once this change has occurred, social context certainly could begin to play the leading role in determining how and why people participate in the behavior. Research must continue to study perceptions and beliefs as potential motivators of the initial acceptance of environmentally responsible behaviors as acceptable actions. Otherwise, those working to help their communities become environmentally responsible run the risk of over-estimating the importance of social context and policy "fixes" for environmental problems.

About the Author:
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DESIGNING FOR CONTEXT

The Use of `Space Syntax` as an Interactive Design Tool in Urban Development

by Mark David Major

Computer modeling has come a long way in the past decade, and planners throughout the world are working on different strategies to harness the latest technological advances. This article comes from Mark David Major, a Ph.D. Candidate in London, who is one of many blending the best planning theories and computer spatial analysis.

Computer modelling is an increasingly important way for architects and developers to visualise the mechanical and visual form of their design proposals before they are actually built. However, many computer modelling programmes are 'static' in that they can only respond to predetermined design inputs - too often the building is designed first, then verified by computer. As a result, computer modelling becomes an end product, rather than an integral part, of the decision making process. Recently, a set of techniques developed for the configurational analysis of space, known as 'space syntax', has formed the basis for a new generation of software programmes through which computer modelling has become both interactive and dynamic. Space syntax takes as its subject the layout of streets and public spaces in settlements which, when seen together, form the network of space through which people move. Modelling these networks has proven to be effective in predicting patterns of pedestrian and vehicular movement in urban areas. These findings form the basis of space syntax as a powerful, new urban design tool - a tool founded on the simple idea that the way we design space is fundamental to the way we use it.

Using space syntax, the probable outcome of design decisions can be forecast during the design process. Designs can then be modified to achieve levels of movement and space use appropriate to the functions and land uses desired, i.e. high levels of movement for retail streets or lower levels for residential areas. An urban development project for the town of Zaanstad on the outskirts of Amsterdam provides a recent case study where space syntax analysis was central to the design of a long-term strategy for urban growth.

A VISION FOR ZAANSTAD

In January 1996, the Space Syntax Laboratory was represented at the second Zaanstad design workshop in The Netherlands. The theme of this workshop was 'movement' and a computer model of the network of routes in Zaanstad was used to sketch the likely effects of changes in this network on patterns of movement. Following this workshop, the Space Syntax Laboratory was commissioned by Battle McCarthy Consulting Engineers to pursue a detailed space syntax analysis of the town with a view towards enhancing pedestrian movement as an integral part of the strategic plan for urban development over the long-term, see Figure 1.

The Space Syntax Laboratory is a research-based consultancy, located in University College London, which specialises in the analysis and design of buildings and cities. At the heart of its work is the finding that patterns of movement and interaction within the built environment are directly related to design and, most importantly, to patterns of space (Hillier et al, 1993). Over the past twenty years, computer-based modelling techniques have been developed to describe spatial patterns and, through intensive observational studies, has provided a detailed understanding of the relationship between design and activity. The work of the Space

Syntax Laboratory covers building interiors as well as public, outdoor space and the relationship between spatial design and movement has been found for vehicular traffic as well as pedestrian activity (Penn et al, 1998). Many recent studies by the Space Syntax Laboratory have revealed the importance of movement patterns to the success of public spaces in urban areas and levels of communication and interaction within building interiors(Hillier, 1996; Penn et al, 1999; Spiliopoulou, 1999).

This paper presents the findings of a strategic development study of the town of Zaanstad in The Netherlands carried out by the Space Syntax Laboratory (Stonor et al, 1996). It demonstrates how proposals for new public spaces and building layouts in Zaanstad were tested using spatial models to assess the effects of designs on existing patterns of movement. It is demonstrated how this is possible by first, showing how research using space syntax techniques over the last twenty years had led to the development of computer models which are interactive and readily amended. Secondly, these models can be used in the course of the design process to assist in the development and refinement of strategic masterplans for urban areas.

A series of computer simulations demonstrate how changes can be made in the urban fabric of the town during its normal course of development to improve the accessibility of primary local routes and links between local areas. The point was not to lay down 'hard and fast' routes about the form of development but to provide a general framework for the layout of strategic routes in which development could take place. Following a brief description of the space syntax method, the existing spatial configuration of Zaanstad is described and how, by using the computer modelling capabilities of space syntax. A number of steps can be taken to outline a strategy for incremental urban growth in the area to develop a long-term vision for Zaanstad.

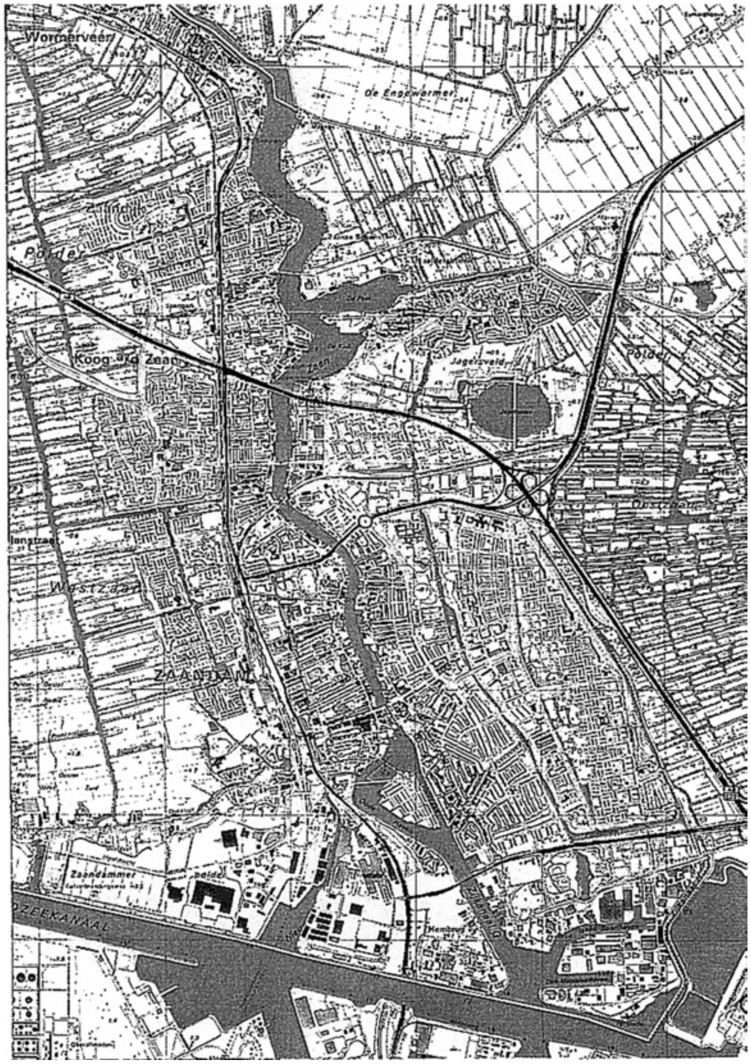


Figure 1- Plan of the area of Zaanstad to the north of Amsterdam in The Netherlands.

CONFIGURATIONAL ANALYSIS OF SPACE

Configurational modelling, or space syntax, is a set of techniques for representing space in a building or city. For example, movement in a city tends to approximate lines so one representation of space is a matrix of the longest and fewest lines of sight and access which completely cover an urban system, see Figure 2a. The stationary use of space by people in a building or city will tend towards convexity, i.e. the mathematical definition of all points being visible to each other as in a group of people gathered in a circle, thus another representation of space is the collection of all 'fattest' two-dimensional 'lumps' of space in a system, see Figure

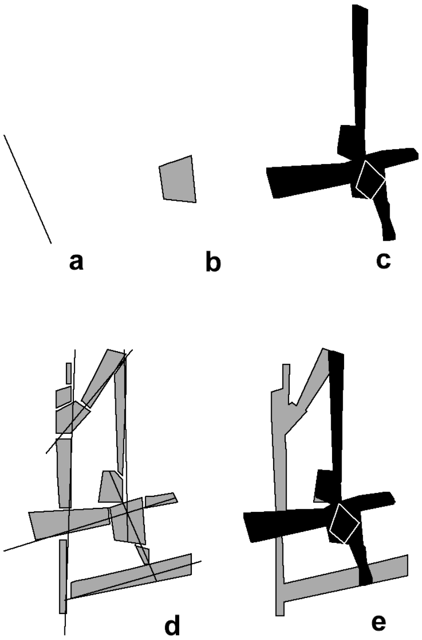


Figure 2 - Ways of representing space: (a) axial lines; (b) convex space; (c) convex isovist, or visual field; (d-e) layered representation of axial line, convex space and field field structure.

2b. Finally, the potential for seeing and moving can be represented as isovists, or fields of vision, which are all the visible and accessible spaces which we might move to from a point or particular set of points in space, see Figure 2c (Benedikt, 1990). We can make more complex representations of space by using any combination of these three depending on the problem to be researched, see Figures 2d and 2e.

This is how space can be represented but some clarification is required on what we mean by configuration. We can see in Figure 3a that the two objects are in a mathematical relationship to each other so that it can said that 'a' is to 'b' as 'b' is to 'a'. However, once this relationship is established with regards to a third, in this case the surface of the earth, the result is a configurational relationship. For example in Figure 3b, we can say that 'a' is to 'c' as 'b' is to 'c' but in order to reach 'b' from 'a' we have to pass through 'c'. This can be seen more clearly in the corresponding graphs. Next, the idea of permeability or connection can be introduced. If the objects are in a symmetrical relationship where all spaces are maximally shallow from each other, we can say that 'a' is to 'b' as 'b' is to 'c', see Figure 3c. Finally, if 'b' is placed on top of 'a' an asymmetrical relationship results, see Figure 3d. This is because to reach 'b' from 'c' you have to pass through 'a' but you are not required to pass through 'b' to go from 'c' to 'a'. This is what is meant by configuration - a relational system where any local change in that system has global effects across the system.

In previous studies, the Space Syntax Laboratory has found that the axial line representation is most revealing of the functioning of urban systems. Figure 4 shows an axial model of Greater London, approximately between the North and South Circular roads (Hua Yoo, 1991)[1]. We can ask the computer to mathematically measure the configurational relationship of every space in London to every other relativised for the size of the system, measuring 'global integration' in that it accounts for relationships globally across the system. The computer colours the map from dark through to light with dark lines being the most integrated, or shallow, and the light colours being the most segregated, or deep, see Figure 5. This computer model of Greater London shows that the most integrated space is Oxford Street. Let us be clear at this point that the model is a purely mathematical representation of pattern - land use, density, and other functional uses have not been taken into account though we can later build these into the model. Despite this, the model provides us with a very realistic picture of London. We can also ask the computer to provide a more localised picture of the city by examining only those spaces up to three steps away from every space, or 'local integration', see Figure 6.

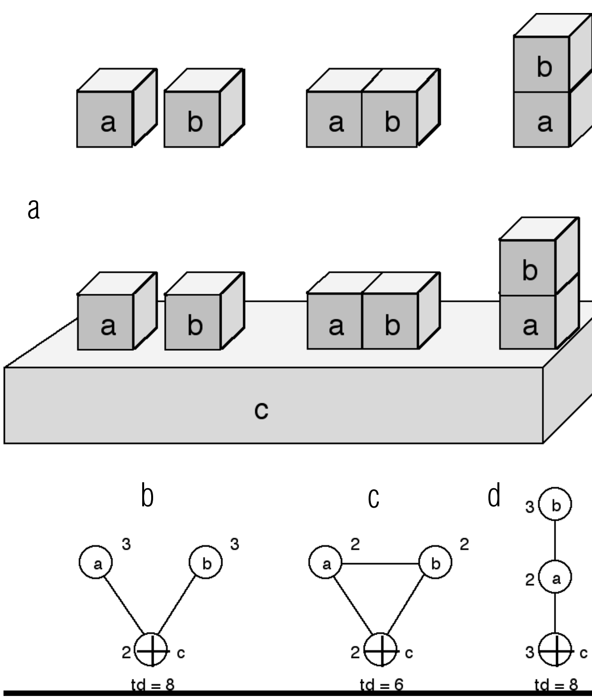


Figure 3 - Configuration: (a) in all cases the mathematical relationship of the two objects 'a' and 'b' are 'a' is to 'b' as 'b' is to 'a'; the relationship becomes configuration when established with regards to a third object, in this case the surface of the earth for example (b) 'a' is to 'c' as 'b' is to 'c' but to move from 'a' to 'b' we must pass through 'c'; (c) symmetrical configurational relationship whereby 'a' is to 'b' as 'b' is to 'c'; (d) asymmetrical configurational relationship whereby to reach 'b' from 'c' one must pass through 'a'.

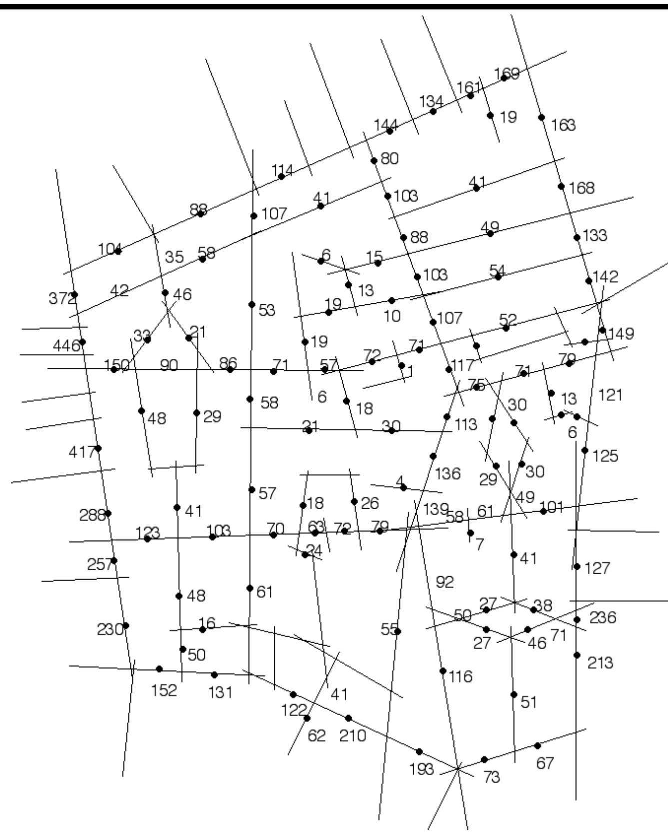
Figure 4 - Axial line map of Greater London within the north and south circular roads.

Figure 5 - Pattern of global integration in the axial line map of Greater London within the north and south circular roads.

Figure 6 - Pattern of local integration in the axial line map of Greater London within the north and south circular roads.

Figure 7 (facing page) - All day average of adult pedestrian movement per hour along each street segment of the local residential area of Barnsbury in London.

By doing this, the model highlights a series of locally important shopping streets throughout the city.



NATURAL MOVEMENT

One of the most common comments made against modern urban developments is that they lack 'vitality' and at worst turn into 'urban deserts' devoid of people even in the middle of the day. It is a long standing question whether the design of these modern schemes is in any way at fault, whether the blame rests with the way that the schemes are managed, or whether it has to do with the socio-economic status of the area. The multivariate nature of this sort of socio-spatial question has made it seem almost impossible to resolve this question one way or the other. However, these new techniques for describing and quantifying the geometric and topological form of urban space allow us to approach some of the simpler questions at the heart of this issue.

Since we can now describe and quantify radically different spatial systems on the same basis we can begin to 'control' the design variable in studies of other aspects of urban function. It is possible to detect effects of spatial design on patterns of pedestrian movement by observing pedestrian flow rates at a number of locations and then using simple bivariate statistics to look for the relationship between configuration and flows. A large number of studies have now established that integration is consistently the strongest predictor of pedestrian flow rates (see Hillier et al, 1993 for a comprehensive review of the evidence). Integrated spaces carry greater pedestrian flows than more segregated ones and the effects are strong and consistent. For example, we can see this in Figure 7 which shows an area of London called Barnsbury where detailed observations of pedestrian movement patterns have been made several times over the last decade. In this particular study, each street segment was observed for a total of 50 minutes at different times of day and on different days of the week. The all day mean hourly pedestrian flow is noted on each segment. The correlation between the measure of 'local integration' and the square root (a statistical transformation to correct towards a normal distribution) of pedestrian flow rates in Figure 8 shows a strong correspondence. In this case, the model is much larger than that shown, extending approximately two kilometres away from the observation area in all directions. The correlation is remarkably strong at r=.734, p<.0001.

The key discovery is that the correlation is between pedestrian flows and a purely spatial measure of the pattern of the urban grid. No account has been taken of the location of attractors or generators of movement in constructing the measure of integration. It seems that movement patterns result naturally from the way the spatial configuration of the urban grid organises simplest routes (involving fewest changes of direction) to and from all locations in an area. Of course, this runs

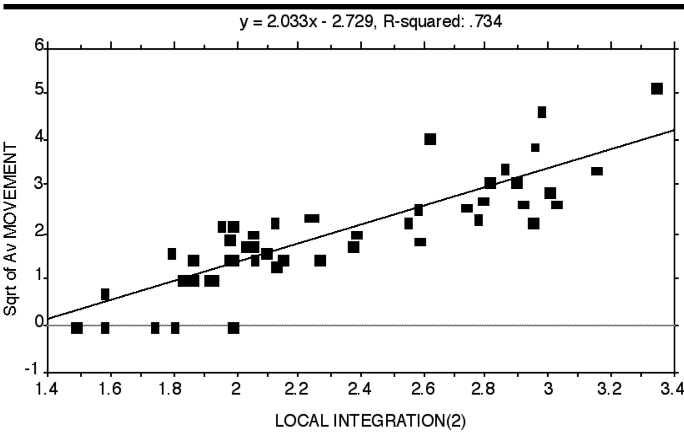


Figure 8 - Correlation between the all day average of adult pedestrian movement per hour (averaged along the length of axial lines) and local integration in Barnsbury, London. The average of pedestrian movement has been mathematically transformed using a square root to adjust towards a normal distribution.

counter to the premises of traffic modelling which holds that the key facts in urban systems are the distributions of activities and land uses that 'generate' or 'attract' flows between different geographic locations. Our results show that the primary fact is the pattern of space, and that if there is a relationship between land uses and pedestrian flows (which there certainly is - you find more people on streets with shops than on streets without), this is most likely to be due to retailers choosing their shop locations with care in order to take advantage of the opportunities for passing trade provided by the natural movement pattern which in turn results from the configuration of the urban grid. These findings would suggest a marked shift in emphasis from existing urban theory is required, a move away from attraction and rigid zoning of land uses to a dynamic mixture of land uses building on the potentials for all types of movement but especially through movement, what we call 'natural' movement (Hillier et al, 1993).

ZAANSTAD TODAY

Space syntax techniques were used to develop a strategy for enhancing pedestrian movement in Zaanstad as part of a long-term development plan for the town. A spatial model of Zaanstad was constructed and processed by computer and then used as the basis for testing design schemes incorporating new strategic connections across the system. The spatial model in Figure 9 represents the existing system of public space in Zaanstad made up of 2503 lines of sight and movement. While this model contains all possible routes through space, other models have been made to correspond with pedestrian, vehicular and cycle route systems independently.

Figure 9 - 'All spaces' axial model of the area of Zaanstad, The Netherlands showing the pattern of global integration. All spaces includes motorways, pedestrianised areas and bicycle routes. The primary development site west of the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' and the Zaanstad railway station isindicated by the dotted black outline.

The colours of the lines relate to this important spatial property of integration. Looking closely at the lines of movement, an 'integration core' of blacks and dark grey lines can be identified. This picks up the main traffic routes in the area, including the large-scale Coentunnel Weg (running across the map from south-east to the west) and the Provinciale Weg (running north-south to the left). The core extends to include the Gedempte Gracht main shopping street (near the centre bottom of the map), Vincent van Gogh Weg and the Dr. H. G. Scholten/ Heijermansstraat route (running north-south centre left). The primary development site analysed is outlined in the map and can be seen west of Gedempte Gracht. In effect it covers most of the spatial system, from centre to eastern edge and from north to south. However, strong segregation can be seen in the light grey and white lines of the largely residential areas to the west of Provinciale Weg and the railway tracks, and in the southern streets of Wormer and in the Westerspoor, Zuiderhout and Achtersluispolder industrial areas adjacent to the Noordzeekanaal (running along the bottom of the map).

Of these segregated areas, by far the largest is that of the Wester

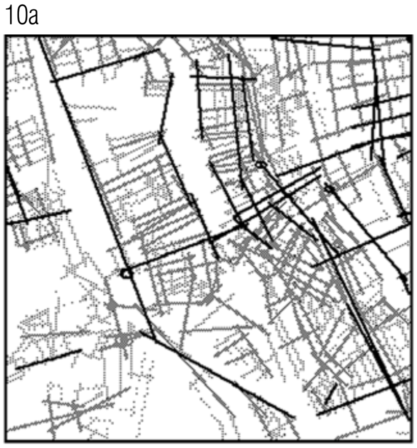
Koog, Wester Watering and Westerspoor housing areas (west of Provinciale Weg). Their segregation is caused in the main by two effects. First, they have very poor east-west connections across the railway tracks to the eastern part of Zaanstad. Unlike the bridges across the Zaan - which occur on long, strategic lines of movement - those across the railway tracks are either just off or significantly distant from important east-west routes. For example, the Bloemwijk tunnel (in the north of these areas) just misses an alignment with Lelie Straat while the pedestrian route across the tracks inside the railway station avoids the very strategic Gedempte Gracht alignment (again, centre near the bottom of the map). Second, the housing areas to the west of the tracks are very spatially fragmented. In general, the individual lines of movement here are shorter and less connected than lines in the older parts of the system to the east.

THE 'STRIP' EFFECT, OR LINEAR INTELLIGIBILITY

Detailed analysis of the integration structure of Zaanstad reveals a pattern of development which prioritises a series of linear routes - or ribbons of growth - through the area. These routes include J J Allanstraat, Dorps Straat, Ros Molen Straat and, most importantly, the 'High Street' ribbon of Gedempte Gracht/ Peperstraat, see Figure 10a and 10b. These are basically linear sequences of routes which, when taken as a whole, provide access across most of the urban system.

Recent research has detected similar patterns in other cities of the world suggesting that this property of 'linear intelligibility' is a more fundamental aspect of city growth than was previously realised. When an area grows linearly around a single route or series of routes, there appears to be a tendency for these lines to

10a



10b

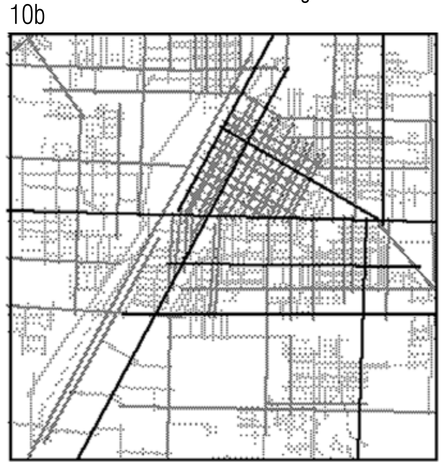
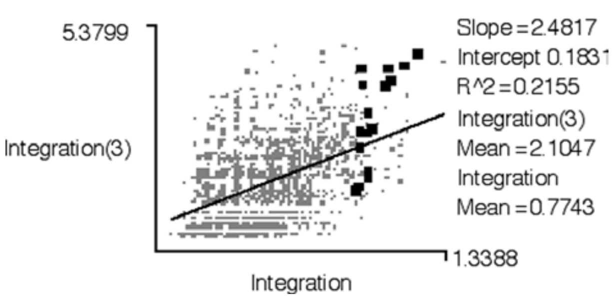


Figure 10 - The 'Strip Effect' in Deformed Urban Grids: (a) Close-up view of the pattern of local integration in the area of the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' in Zaanstad; and (b) correlation of global and local integration of the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' and all streets connected to it, i.e. the one-deep system from Gedempte Gracht.

11a



11b

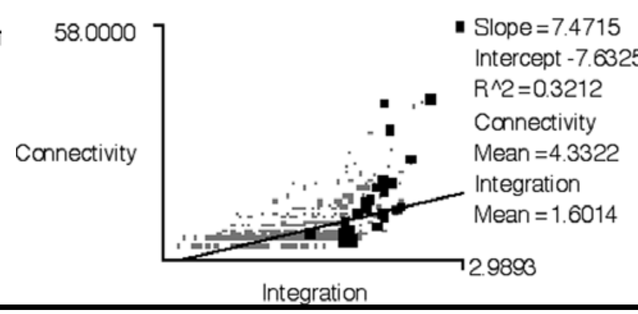
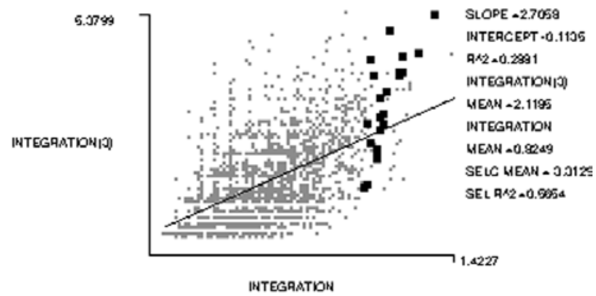
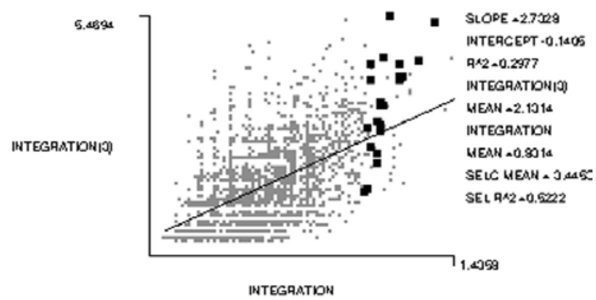


Figure 11 - The 'Strip Effect' in Regular Urban Grids: (a) Close-up view of the pattern of local integration in the area of Las Vegas Boulevard in Las Vegas, USA; and (b) correlation between global integration and connectivity of Las Vegas Boulevard and all streets connected to it, i.e. the one-deep system from Las Vegas Boulevard.

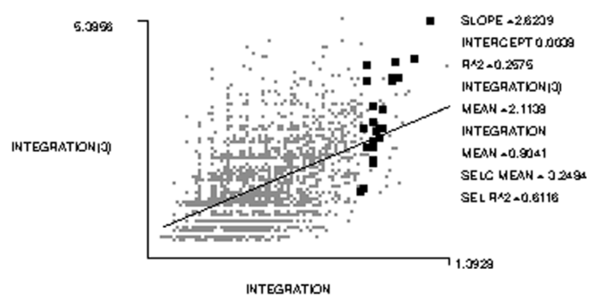
12a - Option 1a

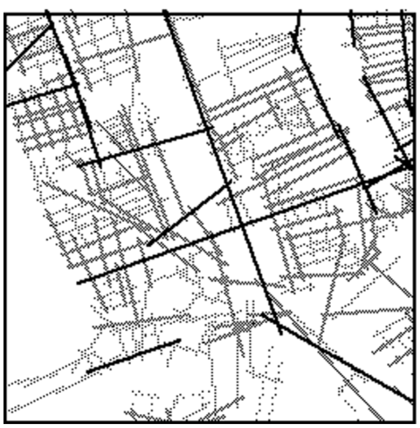


12b - Option 1b



13a - Option 2a





13b - Option 2b

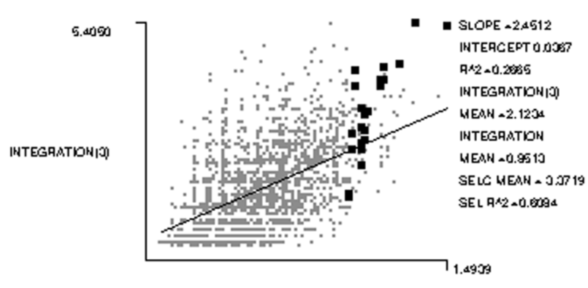


Figure 12 - (Facing page) 'Low' Impact Intervention: (a) shows option 1a whereby the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' is extended and simple connections are made to the existing street system in the area; (b) shows option 1b whereby this initial development is further elaborated with connections into the residential area to the north without altering the relative segregative nature of the residential areas themselves. The scattergrams to the right of the maps demonstrate that the 'strip' intelligibility of the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' would be maintained and enhanced by these 'low impact' interventions.

Figure 13 - (Facing page) 'High' Impact Intervention; (a) shows option 2a whereby the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' is extended as part of an overall regular grid geometry; (b) shows option 2b whereby this regular geometry is further developed with strong links to the residential areas in the north, increasing their degree of spatial accessibility. The scattergrams to the right of the maps demonstrate that the 'strip' intelligibility of the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' would be maintained and enhanced by these 'high impact' interventions, though to a slightly less degree as that of the 'low impact' interventions.

Figure 14 (a-d) - These maps show the effect on the local integration pattern of phased development of new north-south links from the primary development site to the residential areas in the north.

become privileged within the overall pattern of the grid. The result is known as a 'strip' effect whereby the principal route and all spaces which connect to it become locally strategic within the larger system of spaces and serve to distribute large-scale movement into the fine-scale structure of the grid. One celebrated example of the strip effect is Las Vegas, see Figure 11a and 11b. On the ground, the strip is read as an intelligible system which is easy to understand, move along and distribute from. In the analysis, it can be detected in a scattergram relating integration with another spatial property called 'connectivity', a simple measure of the number of connections any single space makes with its neighbours. In the scattergram, Las Vegas Boulevard and all the routes which connect directly to it are picked out as black dots. These form a linear set of points at a steeper angle than the overall scatter which represents the strip effect as a local intensification of the grid.

A similar correlation between global integration and another 'local measure' called local integration was found in Zaanstad when the Gedempte Gracht/ Peperstraat routes and all the routes which connect directly to it was selected (1). This finding suggests that one strategy for future development in Zaanstad might be to relate future growth directly to the detailed morphology of the existing spatial system. A strategy such as this was developed centred upon the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' and the way in which this was developed is demonstrated below by first, by extending its alignment west across the railway tracks to linearly extend the Gedempte Gracht/Peperstraat route and second, by adding urban development along its length to enhance the strip effect.

Figure 15 (a-b) - These maps show the 'before' and 'after' effects of option 2b of increasing overall spatial accessibility of the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' in the Zaanstad area as a whole: (a) show the degree of depth (defined in terms of change of direction) from the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' in the existing; and (b) show the degree of depth (defined in terms of change of direction) from the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' in the proposal. The degree of depth is coloured from black through grey to white with blacks being very shallow and whites being very deep. The impact is most readily apparent in the residential areas to the west of the Gedempte Gracht 'high street'.

a

b

LINKING EAST-WEST, NORTH-SOUTH

Figure 12 shows two possible options for the extension of the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' west across the railway tracks. In Option 1a, the High Street is extended as far as the Economics College and linked into street layout characteristic of the existing urban grid pattern in Zaanstad. In Option 1b, these links are developed towards the north so that connections are made into the southernmost residential area. The aim here is to develop the site to the west of the railway without affecting the relatively segregated nature of the housing areas. Figure 13 shows Option 2a involving a strategy whereby a more regular grid is developed within the system and a strategic new link is introduced through the centre of the residential area along the De Watering canal. This integrates the heart of the residential area and relates it directly to the extended High Street. Option 2b develops this to embrace both the residential areas to the north and the industrial sites to the south. In both options, the continuance of the strip effect can be seen in the linear arrangements of black dots within the scattergrams.

In the set of computer simulations shown in Figure 14, the nature of the north-south links into the residential areas has been developed in stages so that their impact can be measured incrementally. Stage 1 simulates two links - a simple connection along the western boundary of the area as far as Ina Dammanstraat,

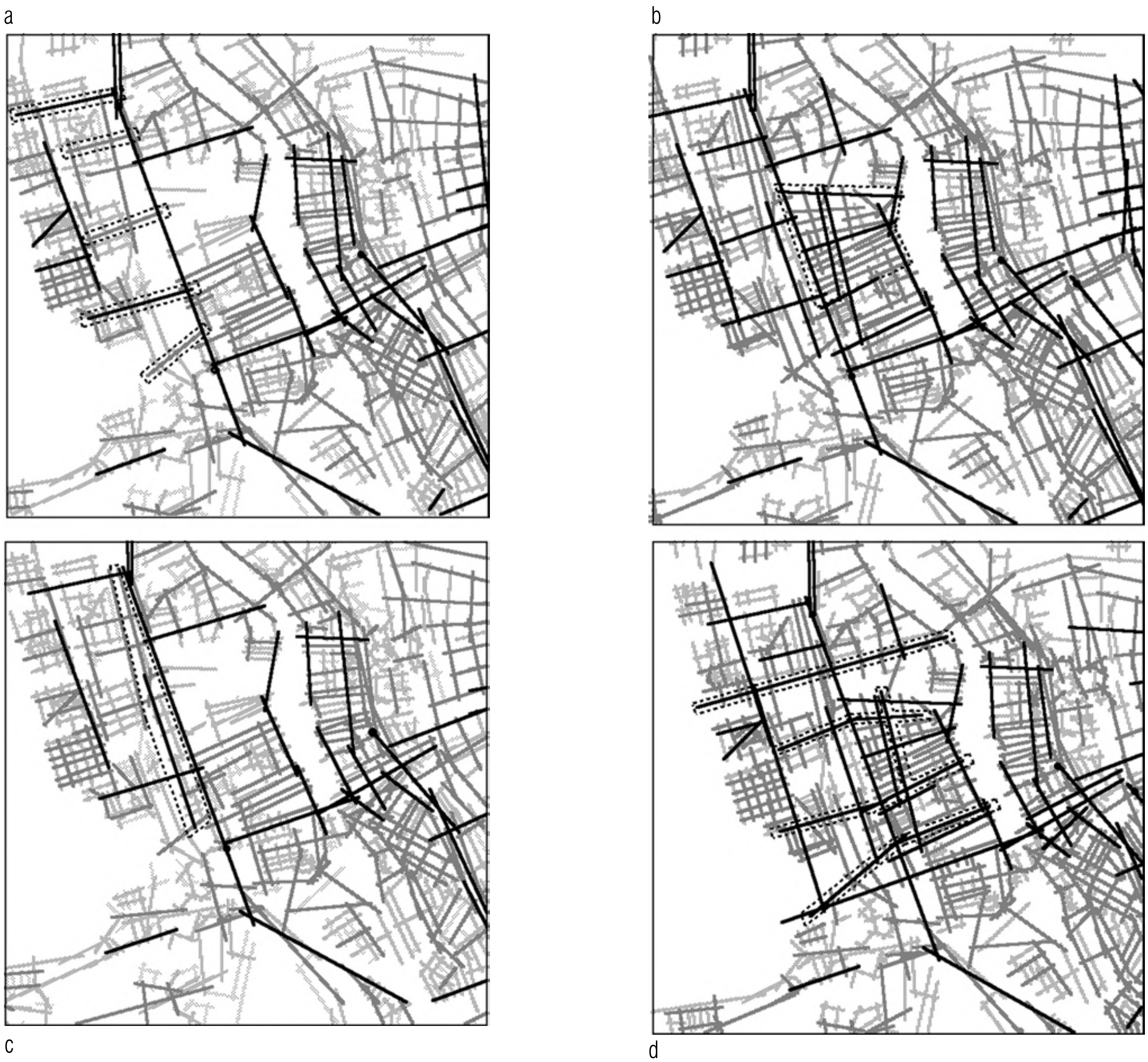
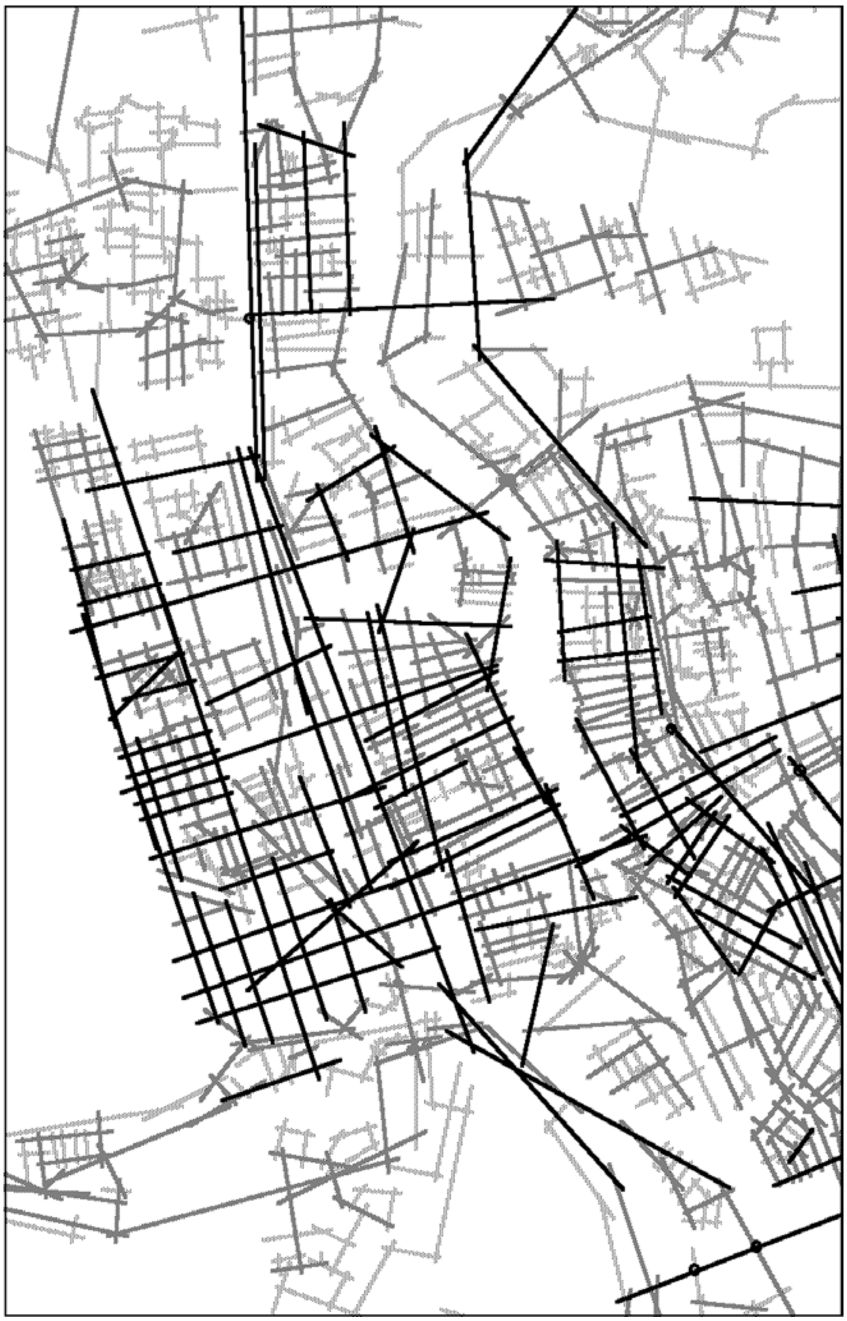


Figure 16 (a-d) - These maps show the effect on the local integration pattern of further phased development of new east-west links across the Provinciale Weg and site in-fill to the east and west of it. We can see in the primary blacks lines of 16d that the resulting impact is to develop a very clear and intelligible 'core' structure to the area of Zaanstad which enhances spatial accessibility area-to-area and at the level of the whole.

Figure 17 - A Vision for Zaanstad: (a) shows the local integration pattern incorporating the cumulative effects of these phased interventions over the long term; (b) this scattergram shows that the 'strip' intelligibility of the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' would be maintained and enhanced by these proposed interventions; (c) intelligible 'local area' effect of proposed in-fill development of the Valk Straat site to the north of the Gedempte Gracht 'high street'; and (d) intelligible 'local area' effect of the proposal for the primary development site to the west of the Gedempte Gracht 'high street'.

17a

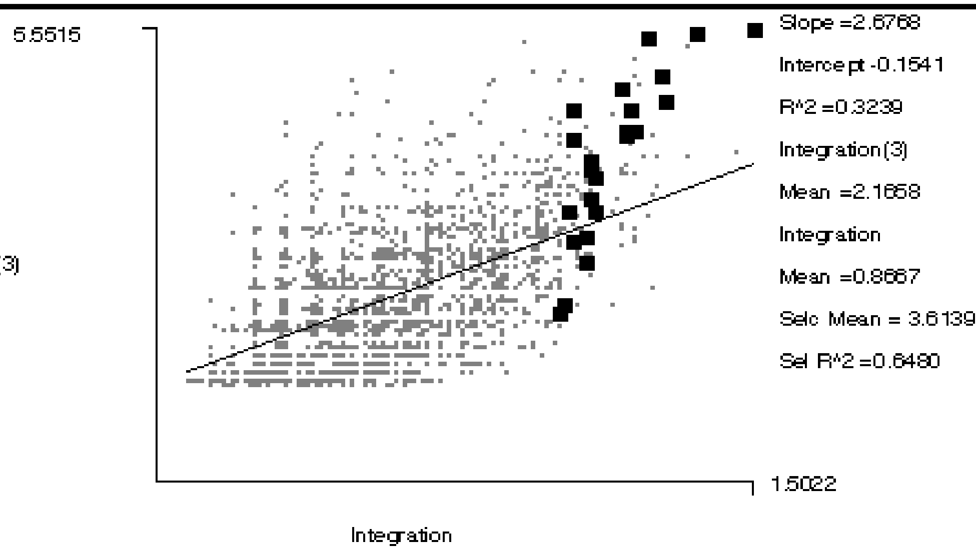


and a stronger, more central two-step link from the new grid to Dalerveen Houtveldweg (western housing areas, central) which then continues north along a cycle route though to Wester Koog (western housing areas, north). Stage 2 straightens out the central route to a single step between the grid and Dalerveen Houtveldweg. Along the western boundary, Annie V. Ees Straat is extended south to link with the route created in Stage 1. Stage 3 continues to strengthen the central route by straightening and extending it further north as far as Houtveldweg. Along the western boundary, the Annie V. Ees Straat route is connected north into S. Kooymanstraat. Stage 4 simulates a final development to the area with the central route straightened further. It can be seen that the effect of incrementally extending and straightening the two routes is first, to strengthen the area-to-area connections between the proposed grid and the residential areas and second, structure a pattern of integration in the residential areas which integrates from the centre out, not from edge-to-centre as at present.

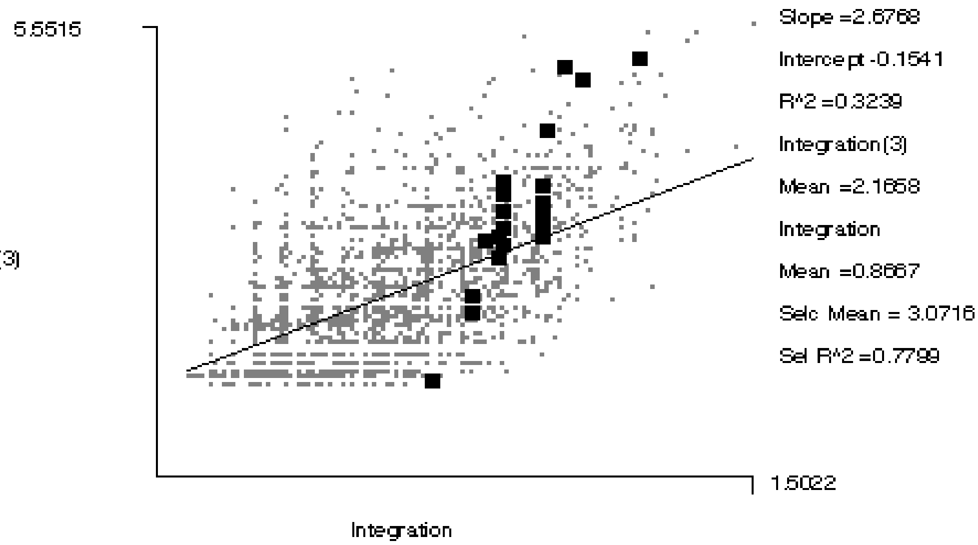
EASE OF ACCESSIBILITY

Analysis shows that extending the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' west of the railway station and connecting a new route north from it into the residential areas significantly improves accessibility for the rest of Zaanstad. The two maps shown in Figure 15 demonstrate the degree of this improvement by measuring the 'local catchment area' of the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' before and after the changes are made. This is done by first, selecting all streets which are within three changes of direction from the Gedempte Gracht 'high street' (i.e. all the routes which go into calculating the local integration of Gedempte Gracht) and second, asking the computer to measure depth (in terms of changes of direction) from this set of spaces. The original set of lines are then coloured black, those one step away are coloured dark grey and so on until the deepest spaces are coloured white. Besides the striking before-and-after visual representation, this technique provides numeric data to demonstrate how much more accessible the High Street becomes and how the local catchment

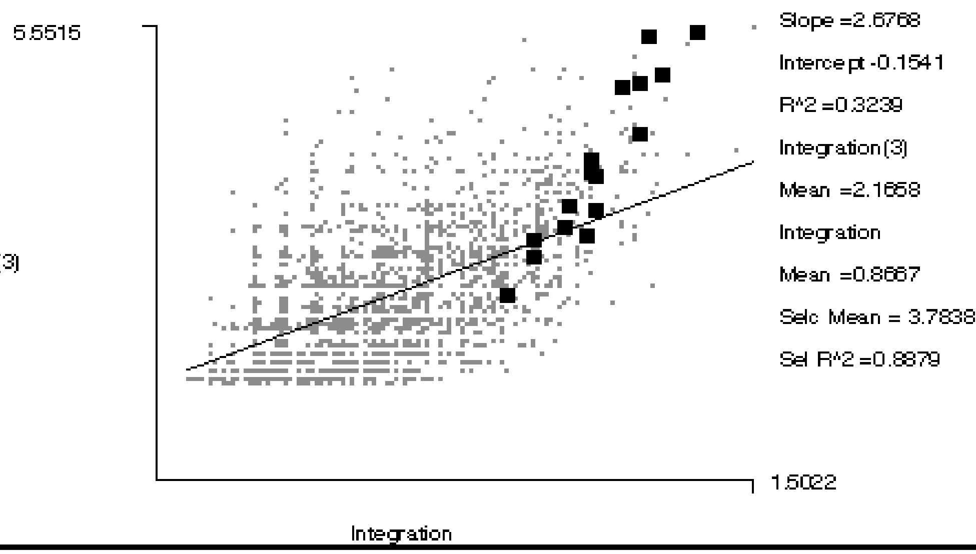
17b


5.5515
Integration(3)
1.5022
Integration
Slope =2.6768
Intercept -0.1541
R^2 =0.3239
Integration(3)
Mean =2.1658
Integration
Mean =0.8667
Selc Mean = 3.6139
Sel R^2 =0.6480

17c


5.5515
Integration(3)
1.5022
Integration
Slope =2.6768
Intercept -0.1541
R^2 =0.3239
Integration(3)
Mean =2.1658
Integration
Mean =0.8667
Selc Mean = 3.0716
Sel R^2 =0.7799

17d


5.5515
Integration(3)
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Slope =2.6768
Intercept -0.1541
R^2 =0.3239
Integration(3)
Mean =2.1658
Integration
Mean =0.8667
Selc Mean = 3.7838
Sel R^2 =0.8879

area increases significantly in size. In the existing situation, ease of accessibility from the High Street is primarily focused to the east of Zaanstad with some north-south accessibility being generated through the Provinciale Weg and H. Gerhard Straat routes. The average ‘depth’ of the system from the Gedempte Gracht ‘high street’ is 8.4 steps and the mean depth of the local catchment area is 5.4.

In the proposal, ease of accessibility to the Gedempte Gracht ‘high street’ is significantly increased to the west, northwest and southwest. This increase occurs as a direct result of extending Gedempte Gracht and making a direct route through the heart of the residential areas in the new grid layout. It is also helped by Westzanerdijk which runs along the southern boundary of the proposal. The High Street becomes shallower with a mean depth of 7.8 and the shallowness of the local catchment area drops to 4.8. In fact, the size (i.e. number of axial routes) of the local catchment area of the Gedempte Gracht ‘high street’ increases from 212 spaces in the existing situation to 280 spaces in the proposal. This represents a 32% increase in the local catchment area of the Gedempte Gracht ‘high street’. Overall, mean global integration in Zaanstad as a whole has been significantly increased from 0.77 to 0.82.

LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT IN ZAANSTAD

The computer models shown in Figure 16 demonstrate the potential for long-term growth, area development and incremental improvements in the spatial structure of Zaanstad. Stage 1 models the impact of new links from Provinciale Weg into the residential areas of Wester Watering and Westerspoor. These links have the limited effect of moderately integrating the western part of the system. Stage 2 shows the potential for linear development in the western residential areas adjacent to and running alongside the railway. This creates a secondary north-south route from Dalerveen Houtveldweg to the extended Ebbehout route in the south.

Stage 3 models the potential for urban ‘in-fill’ at the Valk Straat Industrial Estate (north of the Gedempte Gracht ‘high street’). A layout is developed which links directly to Provinciale Weg to reinforce its role as a distributor of east-west movement and then Valk Straat is extended as a central north-south route through the heart of the site. Stage 4 shows a later stage of growth in Zaanstad where new area-to-area links are introduced both north to south and east to west, building on the High Street extension west of the railway station.

A VISION OF ZAANSTAD

The computer model in Figure 17 presents a summary of the new developments, incremental improvements and long-term options for growth modelled in the study to develop an urban vision for Zaanstad which aims to enhance pedestrian movement in the area. This vision includes an extension of the High Street west of the railway station through the heart of a semi-regular grid development, the urban in-fill of the Valk Straat site, linear development in the west along and adjacent to the the railway tracks and the introduction of new area-to-area links on east-west and north-south alignments.

Together, these developments have the effect of:

* Greatly increasing the accessibility of the High Street routes for pedestrians and enhancing retail opportunities in the area, see Figure 17b;

* Creating new local areas to the west of the railway, in the Valk Straat site and in the proposed new grid which for pedestrians will be easy to read and move around in, see Figures 17c and 17d;
* Integrating the isolated western residential areas of Wester Watering, Westerspoor and Wester Koog;
* And generating a new 'extended' heart for Zaanstad focused on both the railway station and the extended High Street.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has presented just one example of how space syntax computer modelling can be used as a dynamic and interactive tool during the design process by architects, planners and local authorities rather than as an 'after the fact' demonstration of how urban developments will appear once built. These models are dynamic in that they provide architects and planners with information about the likely effects of alternative design strategies because the computer models successfully account for actual patterns of movement and urban function within the town. Also, because they are easily amended they can be used to test several different design strategies to determine which are appropriate within the fine scale of the urban context they are to be built. Previous studies have also demonstrated that many of those aspects considered wrong with our cities also can be linked to a lack of movement, i.e. failed retail, distribution and patterns of crime as well as higher social outcomes in anti-social behaviour and perceived social malaise. The basis for generating sustainable levels of movement in the city would appear to be fundamentally configurational in nature, that is it involves the fine-scale spatial layout of streets in relation to their larger urban context. Indeed, much of our research suggests that to begin to understand, and correct, many of the ill-understood problems of our cities we must first understand configuration and its effects in patterning a basic level of movement through the route structure of our cities.

Space syntax research continues to advance our knowledge of this relationship between the configuration of urban form and the pattern of urban function within cities through its application in a series of high-profile urban projects around the world including the World Squares for All masterplan for the Trafalgar Square, Whitehall and Parliament Square areas in central London with Foster and Partners. It seems apparent to us in these projects that what architects, planners and urban designers really require is computer modelling programmes which can be applied during the design process in helping to make decisions about the layout of streets and the locating of land uses to better ensure that future urban developments are of positive benefit to our cities.

About the Author

This paper was first presented at the 14th Inter-Schools Conference on Development at the School of Planning and Housing, Edinburgh College of Art/Heriot-Watt University in Edinburgh Scotland, 24-25 March 1997.

Notes

[1]The use of connectivity for Las Vegas instead of local integration is due to the greater shallowness of the American grid pattern which results in global and local integration tending to be very similar to one another whereas connectivity reveals greater differentiation between the local properties of spaces in the grid.

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STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Relationship and the Provision of Services Through Community Participation: The Barrios of Caracas and Maracaibo, Venezuela.

by Hugo Rincon

Defining the relationships between "The State" and "Society" is crucial to understanding where a community is and where it may be headed. Hugo Rincon has taken case studies from his home country of Venezeula to construct a foundation for these particular communities to begin from.

According to Max Weber's definition, the state is a compulsory association claiming control over territories and the people within them. Administrative, legal, and coercive organizations are the core of any state. The state has two distinctive functions: the first is to maintain political order, the second to deal with external actors and other states. The state's capacity to govern is dependent on the extent to which various social groups perceive its authority and the legitimacy of those who run the state.

Although civil society is an integral part of the state and must exist -if not thrive- for a democratic state to flower, it lies beyond the immediate reach of the state. It is the society of households, family networks, civic and religious organizations, and communities that are bound to each other primarily by shared histories, collective memories and cultural norms of reciprocity (Friedmann 1997, 11). These groups, non-state organizations, special interest groups and associations, such as trade unions, professional associations, higher education student groups, churches and other religious groups, in addition to the media comprise the civil society. One of the functions of civil society is to maintain a check on the power of the state. If successful, civil society is able to balance the state's tendency to seek even greater amount of power. Civil society, in short, functions as the citizen's curb on the power of the state (Haynes 1996, 27-32). In this sense, intellectual radicals emphasize political mobilization and active resistance to a hegemonic discourse rather than mediation. In another sense, however, the emphasis is on social movements, self-management and the practice of direct democracy.

The concept of civil society was introduced in order to argue for the preservation of freedom against a potentially despotic state. The popular resistance to dictatorship in the 20th century has led to current revival, as exemplified by the characteristics of the early movements in South America and the movements to bring down communists regimes during the 1980s (Friedman 1998, 2). The rise of civil society has changed political geographies. Today, citizens are committed to expanding their rights and collective empowerment in issues such as the right for voice in democratic procedures, transparency in government transactions, for accountability of the state to its citizens, the right to be heard as citizens, the right to difference (values, identities in multicultural cities); or the right to have access to the material bases of social power: housing, work, health and education, a life-sustaining environment, financial resources, etc.

A View of the Economic Models

Import Substitution Industrialization Model

In the Latin American culture, the prime characteristic of civil society is the aspiration to social integration. Democracy represents the ethical principle of so-

The growing urban core of Caracas.

cial integration, and citizens view democracy as the achievement of civil rights (housing, health, education, or employment). With the import substitution industrialization model, this vision created a relationship of dependency on the state. This approach measured development by using economic growth aimed at overcoming backwardness. The state controlled both the economy and society and directed their evolution, implementing protectionist measures for the private sector and recognizing and financing social rights. Democracy soon came to represent the protection of the people by the state. And, since this type of growth was likely to produce dangerous dislocations and social conflict, reformist social policies were also supported in order to alleviate suffering and to promote the integration of the traditional rural sector within the growing economy to mitigate social contradictions which emerge with modernization (MacDonald 1997, 10).

NEO-LIBERAL ECONOMIC MODEL

The Latin American model of import substitution came to an end as a consequence of the incapacity of the state to satisfy social demands whose magnitude, and political importance, were increasing as a consequence of hyper urbanization. The disintegration of this system has been accelerated by the adoption of the neo-liberal economic model. The processes of privatization, market liberalization, subsidy elimination and public spending cuts have been redefining the relationship between state and economy, and between state and civil society. These three poles - state, economy, society- have been acquiring autonomy in relation to each other. The economic sector has been strengthened and in fact has gained a certain level of independence with respect to the state, and both poles have established a strategic alliance in favor of international economic competitiveness. Society, in the meanwhile, has been externalized in its relation with the state. Paternalist protection has diminished and the population has had no choice but to accept whatever opportunities economic growth may provide. A tendency of this process is for formal politics to lose its social content and to increase its distance from people's interests. As a result of the retreat of utilitarian conceptions of democracy and the rise of the neo-liberal development model, Latin American governments can no longer support important social functions, particularly those relating to combating poverty and social inequalities (Sabatini 1997, 143).

Consequently, the population has no interest in politics. A stable relationship between the three poles -state, economy, and society- has not yet been formed. What is lacking is the inclusion of the third pole, which has suffered the most from the crisis and from the economic model.

The incapacity of the neo-liberal economic model to combine growth with social redistribution of wealth is accelerating changes in Latin American culture. In Latin America, it is not uncommon for the state or political parties to help mobilize groups within the population for their own ends, especially in times when political opponents confront each other. Political patronage systems have played an important part in these mobilizations. But it is also the case that, in recent decades, the autonomous mobilization of civil society has become more common. In too many cases, the state actively attempts to contain and deter this type of mobilization.

Despite all of the above, the belief that government and organized civil society should enter in partnership is taking root and flowering in the people. This partnership is important not only for promoting efficient policies, but also for empowering those groups that traditionally are excluded from government decision making. The empowerment perspective of participation promotes civil associations. Where people can pool resources in the form of civil associations and thereby gain access to public decision-making, their participation will contribute to both political and distributive equity (Abers 1997).

THE NEO-CONSERVATIVE POSITION

Neo-conservatives support the connection between civil society and capitalist economics. They not only insist that capitalism -and only capitalism- is compatible with democracy, but they frequently see the United States as playing a crucial role in promoting democracy in developing societies because of its democratic traditions. Furthermore, promoting democracy abroad implies fostering market-oriented economies because state socialism is intrinsically incompatible with democracy, which requires some distribution of power resources. Neo-conservatives attempt to establish clear boundaries between the highly interdependent state and civil society. At the same time, according to MacDonald (1997), they attempt to popularize a distorted interpretation of the nature of civil society, attributing to it such values as self-interest, hard work, flexibility, freedom of choice, private property, the patriarchal family and distrust of state bureaucracy.

Despite the use of the word "empowerment", the emphasis is on promoting adjustment programs and "efficient" state programs rather than an extended role for the state in meeting the needs of the poor. Democracy is identified with capitalism and the free market, and its main focus is given to liberalization and globalization. Civil society is strictly identified with the private sector. Sources of inequality and injustice are ignored, and the demands of civil society -particularly workers and the poor- must be moderated in order to avoid insurgence. This representation of civil society in fact attempts to restrict the political sphere by ensuring that all the relevant decisions are made by national and international elite, while the popular sector is caught up in income-generating activities and organizational activity on the margins of the political system. However, the failure to address the legitimate role of the state may ultimately strengthen the mechanisms, which enforce political submissiveness in civil society, rather than those which empower the poor or incorporate their demands into the public sphere (MacDonald 1997,16).

THE LIBERAL-PLURALIST POSITION

Although neo-conservatism opposes state intervention in the economy, it requires a strong state to enforce law and order and support stable democracies. The liberal-pluralist view, on the other hand, is a society-centered one. Society-centered theories have traditionally had little influence in the study of Latin American politics.

The ideals of the liberal-pluralist perspective are apparently more appealing than those of the restricted democracy promoted by neo-conservatives. Liberal pluralists, however, are silent on a number of issues -the relationship between state and civil society, forms of oppression within civil society, and the structural constraints on both state and civil society imposed by international economic factors. In sum, the outcome is the same: in a pluralist system, meaningful political participation is restricted to a few -the wealthy and well organized- while other groups are consigned to a subordinate position (MacDonald 1997, 19).

THE POST-MARXIST POSITION

Orthodox Marxists view civil society in capitalist societies as an unequal terrain of oppression structured by class and state power, a concept intrinsically linked with a bourgeois social order. Alternative socialists believe state power should be maintained not just through the formal organization of political society -government, political parties, and the military- but also through many institutions of civil society. In contrast to the direct domination exercised by the institutions of political society, civil society is principally a sphere of indirect domination. In this view, civil society is the sphere of a political project of radical democratization. Post-Marxists see civil society as a terrain of exploitation, discrimination and oppression, all of which challenges state power to create new and creative ways to reach the different organized groups. They also advance in their approach including relations within the family as part of civil society.

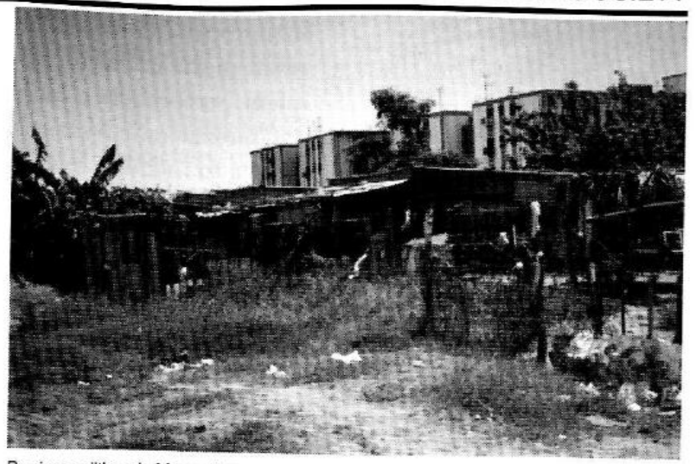
According to Touraine (1997), the main problem of post-communist European countries is how to introduce a market economy and substitute it for the command economy. The problem in Latin American countries is now the opposite: how to transform an outward-looking economic policy into an integrated system of national or regional economic and social development. The reconstruction of a development pattern must first be based on the relative autonomization of the economic and political systems. Then, during the second phase of the process of societal change, the revitalization of the political system will require a more direct intervention of social actors directly interested in increasing society's self-control, particularly entrepreneurs and underprivileged urban and rural segments of the population.

Presently, Latin American countries face an economic restructuring process intending to cope with the actual economic crisis, which creates new situations in the social setting, such as the new social movements in the form of popular organizations that are mentioned above. These implications have obliged governments to establish innovative criteria to carry out social policies more in accord with reality.


The growing urban core of Maracaibo.

In response to popular demands, governments feel the necessity to increase the availability of public services. This has made improving local administration an urgent priority, which in turn suggests organizing state-society relationship and incorporating social interests in the decision-making processes. A large part of this process is allowing and supporting partnerships to combine resources from national agencies, municipal authorities, the private sector, NGOs, voluntary community sector, and individuals. Partnership describes a relationship in which the parties involved acknowledge each other as equals. In consequence, they have mutual respect for each other. Partnership means working together to find solutions and achieve goals. It also assumes a willingness to learn from each other, for while

equal, the parties may have different, but complementary, skills, and experiences. It means sharing power and pooling resources, which in turn suggests participation.


Barrio conditions in Maracaibo

While these elements and factors are being continually updated and revised by local practitioners, Local Agenda 21 planning[1] (UN) defined these five key elements for the 1992-1996 period. They are:

* multi-sectoral engagement in the planning process through a local stakeholder group that serves as the coordination and policy body for preparing a long-term sustainable development action plan;
* consultation with community groups, NGOs, business, churches, government agencies, professional groups and unions in order to create a shared vision and to identify proposals and priorities for action;
* participatory assessment of local social, economic and environmental conditions and needs;
* participatory target-setting through negotiations among key stakeholders in order to achieve the vision and goals set forth in the action plan; and
* monitoring and reporting procedures, including local indicators, to track progress and to allow participants to hold each other accountable to the action plan.

PARTICIPATION AT THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL

One of the potential advantages of municipal and local governments in urban development is the opportunity to allow citizens to participate more easily in public activities that directly affect their economic and social well being. It can elicit stronger support for urban development projects because local residents can see the benefits more easily (Rondinelli 1990, 56).

Participation is intended as a way of sharing project costs by mobilizing residents' cash or labor to supplement public sector inputs. It may be seen as a way to improve project efficiency and increase effectiveness (by prior consultation), leading to a better information base for planning and design, defusing potential opposition and gaining the support of residents. It may also be used to build beneficiary capacity, to increase the self-reliance of both households and the community and to increase commitment to the upkeep of community facilities and infrastructure. Participation as an end aims to achieve empowerment or at the very least, a say in decision making. While participation at the outset is a precondition for empowerment, participation during implementation and maintenance is more common and is usually aimed at improving effectiveness and mobilizing support and resources (Rakodi 1993, 221).

The capacity to introduce participation into project design and ensure its implementation in practice is largely determined by local political, economic and cultural factors. Ignorance of the lifestyle of residents may lead to the adoption of inappropriate mechanisms for consultation and participation. Failures may also result in the exclusion of some households from project consultation with subsequent inappropriate project design. Governments may be reluctant, for political and bureaucratic reasons, to involve residents fully in decision-making while being willing to mobilize resources from them during project implementation. In other circumstances, governments are prepared to hand over greater responsibility and power to local communities to run their own projects (Rakodi 1993, 223).

In practice, the most common forms of participation are mobilization and consultation. Mobilization implies the use of the supposed free time and under-utilized resources to compensate for reduced government resources. Consultation may occur at the design and decision-making stage, and most urban managers would see it as an essential element in planning. It embraces the collection of background information, as well as informing residents of proposals and obtaining their views. The former improves the information base on which plans and policies are based, with the result that they be more realistic and feasible. Much more effort should go into informing people about proposals and decisions, which may include information on the purpose and operation of regulatory procedures, and information on proposals for developments and improvements. Part of the municipal management task is to decide how much information is necessary, which information is most valuable, how it is to be used and how it can most efficiently be collected.

More and more, local governments are looking at participation as a component of public administration. Municipalities are adopting participatory methods to improve mutual communication and performance, and to respond more efficiently to the real needs of the community. Participation in the community may be achieved in terms of democratic representation (including the election of mayors and municipal councils, and referendums), and administrative representation (participative budgeting, municipal codes and laws). Some of the mechanisms used by communities and local governments are popular assemblies, town meetings and local councils or *Consejos Vecinales*, among others.

EVOLUTION OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN VENEZUELA: PARTICIPATION IN URBAN REDEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

The Latin American urban context has special significance in all aspects of participation, mainly because the cities are the setting where conditions of disorder, lack of services and maintenance, and environmental degradation, among many others, stimulate the need for higher popular participation. The process becomes a conflict between the pressure to participate by the communities and the pressure to control by the state, and also defines how the communities (from the bottom) and the government (from the top) view the concept of participation.

Despite the strong repression and control of the mechanisms of civil participation used by authoritarian regimes or extreme right governments, the work of the community as a concrete activity expanded extensively in Latin America during the 1960s in the form of self-help. The movements for religious renovation, which gave support to the "Christian-based communities", helped to reduce the inertia of the traditional structures and promoted the local associations. The idea was to act together in an agreement with the poor. In Venezuela, neighborhood organizations[2] mainly had a regenerating character[3] but were frequently manipulated by the

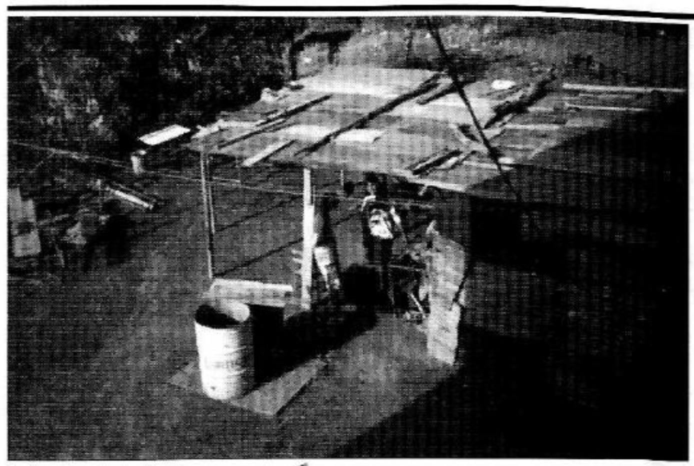
new political parties in power. Repression and a constant effort to reduce left-wing groups (with so-called socialist and communist leanings) mainly guided state's barrio improvement and housing programs.

During the 1970s, the scale and style of these actions became "social movements." The term social was substituted by popular to cover a diversity of new social actors (those without housing, without land, etc). These movements represented the intention of a few individuals affected by common problems (residents of the same area), working without a well-defined organizational structure. Problems usually involved the same issues that stimulated the population during the previous decade (legal tenure of the land, lack of water or electricity, insecurity, housing). It is during this decade that a large number of neighborhood associations and non-profit civil institutions emerged as new actors. New associations were established with legal foundations, equal norms for their members, proper directory boards, and, in a majority of the cases, with guided commands to negotiate local problems with third parties, mainly government agents.

In the 1970s, Venezuela went through its period of "oil bonanza." A myth of richness appeared in the barrios' inhabitants. The amount of money that suddenly was in the hands of the state allowed it to increase dependency and control over the barrios by sponsoring political parties' clientelism and paternalistic measures. The already existing community associations remained highly dependent on the political parties. Main areas of participation were in the political arena and cultural and sports activities.

During the 1980s, a revival of the term social was again applied to the concept of participation because the movements covered a variety of actors. The middle class predominantly formed most neighborhood associations; women, groups of families, students, and environmentalists, among others, started questioning the trend of development and its effect on living conditions (Pulido de Briceño 1997, 222). The non-governmental movements, associations and organizations tried to overcome the traditional asistencialismo, with insistence in learning the management of problem-solving and establishing networks that surged from common issues and shared projects. The organizations began to make connection among themselves with more local, regional, and national coordination. Finally, and despite the political intention of individuals and political parties, participation in the decision-making processes became embedded in society's consciousness. Strategic alliances of cooperation in the task of social, politics, and cultural participation between government and institutions emerged. Autonomous mutual help and self-managed initiatives were financed with state funding and supported by NGOs. The neighborhood associations were more and more independent but remained controlled by the state through legalization and registration, a condition still present in the 1990s. Also in the 1980s, Venezuela faced economic and social problems particularly as a consequence of measures imposed by the IMF. With an increasing urban population the number of urban poor also rose. While cities presented high internal growth rates and barrios became denser (especially the capital city), violence and deterioration of services also increased (Grohmann 1996, 32). This, unfortunately, characterizes the decade of the decentralization efforts and the loss of credibility in the state's institutions.

The term civil society has become widely used in Venezuela since the early1990s. To counter the dehumanizing effect of an impersonal and bureaucratic world, small groups of citizens build circles of intimacy, where meaningful relations can be main-



Typical barrio housing solution in Maracaibo

tained on the basis of equality and a guaranty of rights. Autonomy from state control is still stressed. The neighborhood movement, in all of its manifestations, began as uncoordinated efforts by middle-class citizens to resist unplanned urban growth and to defend their neighborhoods. Political parties tend to be explicitly excluded, doubtless in reaction to past domination of any organized expression of social interests (Crisp 1998). In Venezuela in 1992, according to OCEI[4], there were between 10,000 and 12,000 neighborhood associations in Venezuela, 427 intermediary NGOs, 1,432 community based NGOs[5] (de acción popular), and 790 cooperatives. In Caracas alone, there were more than 200 neighborhood associations in 1992 (Navarro 1993, 5).

PARTICIPATION: FROM THE TOP OR FROM THE BOTTOM?

PARTICIPATION FROM THE TOP: THE POLITICAL PARTIES, ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES, AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEM

Since the beginning of democracy in Venezuela in 1958, the political parties and the state institutions have constantly tried to obtain the support of the barrios through the creation of community organizations. Community development under government control presumed the organization of the population in the barrio, so that the state could provide some resources for its development. In reality, effective government assistance is only provided in case of emergency (especially political). But even in such cases, they are defined and implemented as "cosmetic" operations and not as effective structural improvement measures, and the communities are forced to assume the responsibility for their own progress and the improvement of their living conditions.

Until 1984, the emphasis of the Venezuelan state was on the development of large-scale housing solutions, through what has been called "progressive housing", and the provision of urbanized parcels.[6] Between 1984 and 1989, preferential attention was given to the task of redevelopment of inadequate barrios and housing (ranchos). Government officials finally recognized the existence of a non-reversible number of illegal low-income developments throughout the city, in which solutions had to be implemented *in situ*.

The national administration has not played its role responsibly. There are a number of national agencies with overlapping urban development goals, which develop plans and programs apart from each other, in function of their own matters, focus and requirements. These include Mindur (Ministerio de Desarrollo Urbano), CSB (Centro Simón Bolívar), INAVI (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda), and FONDUR (Fondo de Desarrollo Urbano), among others. In addition, they have created numerous bureaucratic procedures that obviously impede progress. The lack of administrative continuity from one government agency to the other translated into non-coherent implementation and even giving up well-defined programs. Two of the most affected issues in urban development are housing and urban renewal (services and infrastructure provision). The general (and urban) crisis

has contributed to the reduction in the expenditures in subsidies, health care, education, and in the development and maintenance of urban projects (including housing, hospitals, schools, etc). Personal and political interests relegated the possible technical and administrative expertise in the study of the problems and their solution. The state could not preserve its credibility while the population demanded more democratic participation and lost interest in the political parties.

The Ley Orgánica de Régimen Municipal of 1989 represented the first intent to evolve the scheme of representative democracy into participatory democracy. The law established mechanisms of institutional participation, such as the referendum, and required municipalities to provide and share information about their activities and records. In other cases, the institutional participation was merely advisory, including open town meetings (*cabildos abiertos*), where citizens ask questions, give their opinions and present their demands. At the same time, the law defined participation as advisory through the mechanism of neighborhood cooperation and the selection of committees. What has been seen during the 1990s is that, at the local level, the decisions are still in the hand of the elected authorities: the mayors and *consejales*. Participation in the sphere of the state, if implemented, is intended as a mobilizing process to obtain the support of citizens and not as a way to equally distribute power in the population.

In Venezuela, political parties have become constricted as instruments for political participation, and their leaders, directors of the party's bureaucracy. This situation has allowed the political parties to be the only centralized power, effectively excluding the civil society. The irresponsibility of the elected representatives and their lack of interaction with the population had generated concern about the role of citizens in the design and execution of measures to overcome the crisis. After the elections of 1993 the dominating two-party system represented by AD and COPEI collapsed, but a great part of the neighborhood associations continued to be dominated by representatives of the political parties, which is not allowed by the law. By controlling these associations, the political parties occupy a key position in the barrios. In this sense, while having access to the authority, the associations can be used for *clientelista* practices. In addition, the committees of many politically independent associations are confronted with a major problem: if they want to have credibility and be reelected, they must approach the political party in power in order to get the scarce resources that they need for the improvement of their barrios. However, the majority of the population that does not participate in neighborhood associations feels strong opposition to political parties' practices.

PARTICIPATION FROM THE BOTTOM: THE INITIATIVES FROM THE BARRIO

Excluded from the real estate market and the governmental housing policies, the majority of the poor have occupied private or state-owned land, built their houses, and provided their settlements with a minimum of structural oversight. This process has always experienced confrontation with government institutions. In the majority of the cases, the inhabitants have acted in a combined effort, in what can be defined as collective or self-help. This concept of self-help was introduced in the 1970s and extended as a model to promote the efforts of the inhabitants of a settlement (Grohmann 1996, 18).

The barrio is the place where the popular urban movements have their origin, where their actors live and the actions are taken. The community organizations are a reaction to common problems of the inhabitants, and develop around their social relationships. A shared identity is important. And a common past, social-economic situation, the same territory, and social networks help create this community identity. In Caracas, the majority of the barrios have consolidated and the organizations have assumed tasks that involve self-help and self-management. More recently (Grohmann 1996), the popular movement in Venezuela has been constituted by diverse organizations (religious, private, cultural, women, etc). To guarantee their control, the state has recognized some of these organizations as legal representatives of their barrios. In addition, there are some independent organizations that have adopted an attitude against the state and the traditional political parties.

Grohmann (1996, 52) identified some of the institutionalized and independent forms of community organization that he observed in Caracas:

- Neighborhood associations with legal support
- Autonomous popular organizations
- Adjustment of community associations to the reality of the barrios
- Community organizations influenced by political parties and the state

Before & After The 27th of February, 1989

Grohmann identified the effects of the economic crisis on the evolution of the social movements in the Venezuelan barrios. He determined how the tragic events of 27 February 1989 shifted the way people perceive the popular associations and the need for more participation in works done by the community.

Before the 27th of February of 1989 and between 1980 and 1988 the following processes were identified:

a. The problems of the barrio shifted from the traditional problems already solved (infrastructure and social services provision) to general problems such as unemployment, the increase of the cost of living, and the increase of violence. The community organizations cannot find a solution to these problems at the barrio level.

b. Due to the financial crisis of the state, state agencies reduced their "generosity", and with it, the opportunities and effectiveness of the barrio inhabitant's activism was also affected. The processes to request assistance became more bureaucratic.

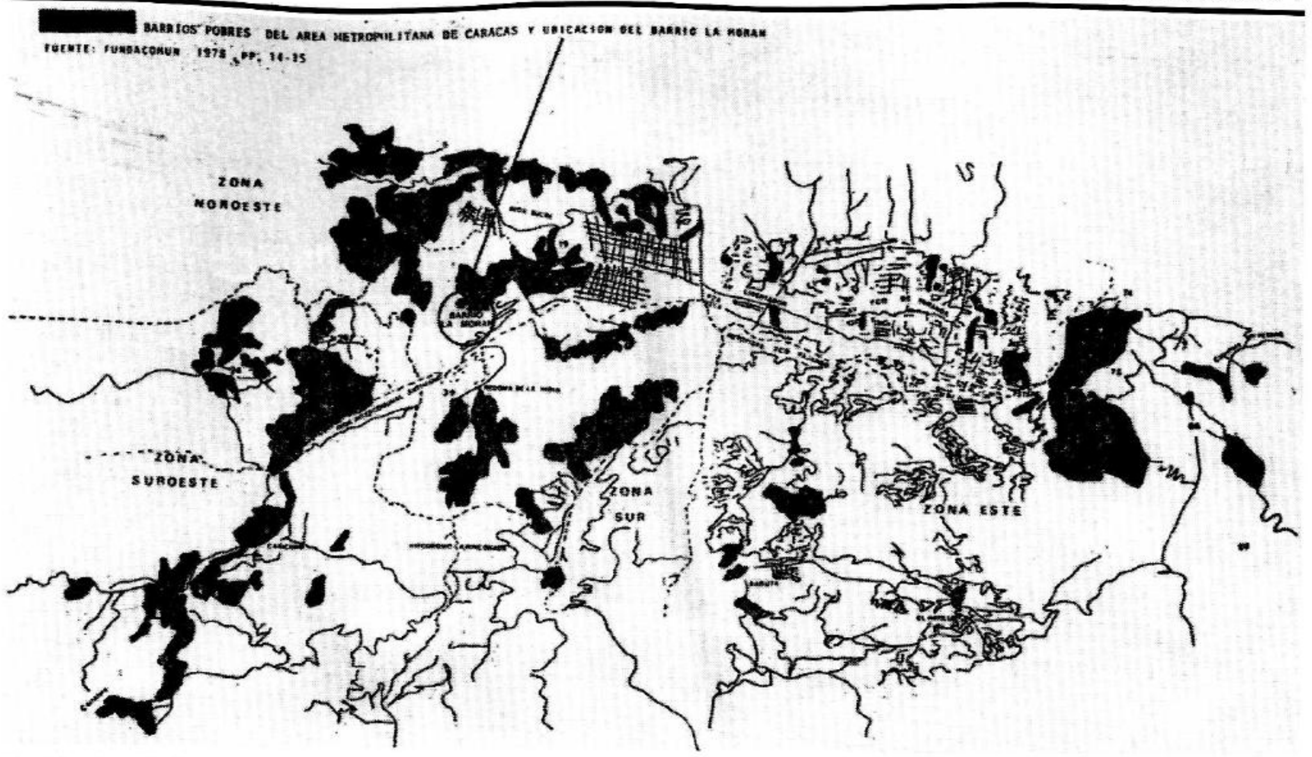
c. The institutionalization of the neighborhood associations caused the concentration of the work of the community in a few people, in which the rest of the neighbors transferred the responsibilities.

d. The state agencies with presence in the barrio acted consciously in demobilizing and neutralizing the autonomous groups.

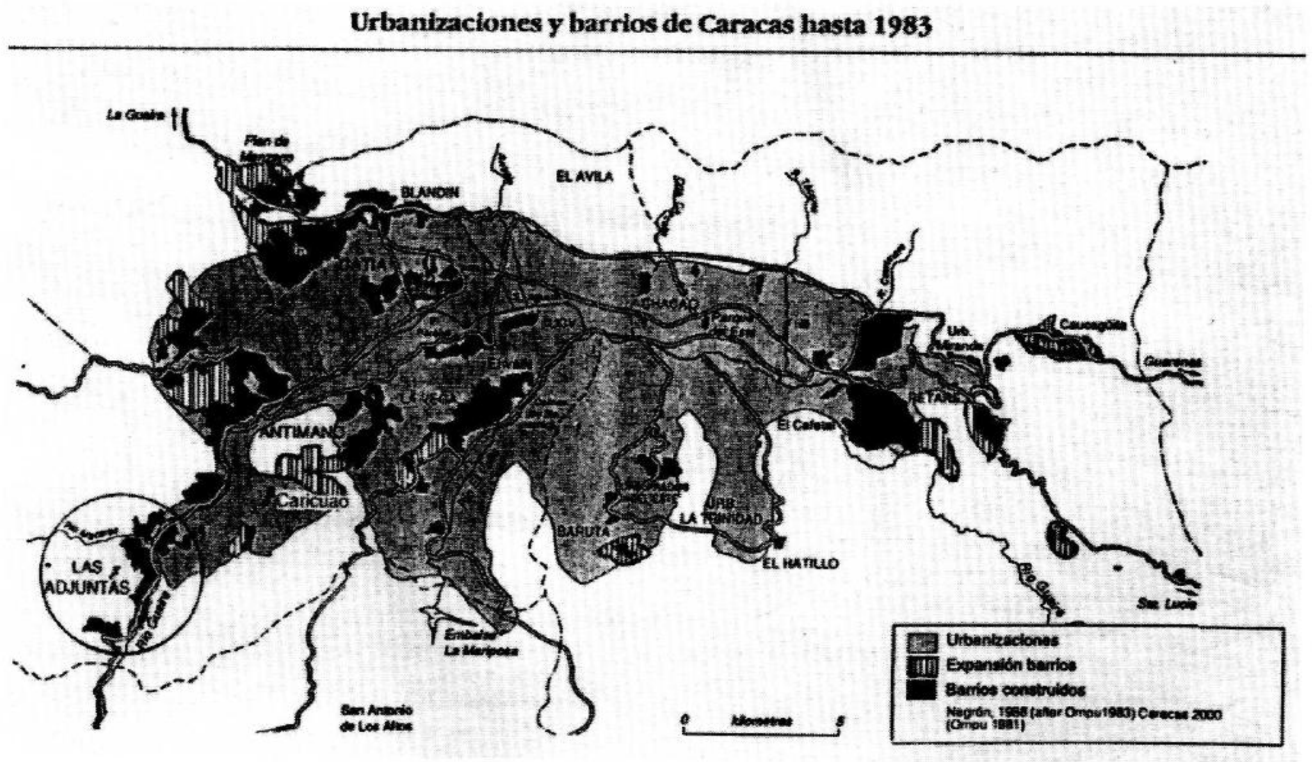
e. The network of organizations in the barrios and the city and their built relationships formed during the 1970s deteriorated at the beginning of the 1980s. The groups were more dedicated to independent work to ensure their subsistence. Increasing unemployment and cost of living implies individual survival strategies. Social problems such as violence, drug consumption, lack of police enforcement reduced attendance at town meetings and therefore reduced participation.

f. In the political arena, it is important to mention the strategies used by the political parties to discourage autonomous organizations, their leaders and members. Members of community groups were threatened with the non-provision or refusal of services. Many were forced to quit those organizations that remained neutral. Many lost interests in the community-based work when the pessimism reached the leaders.

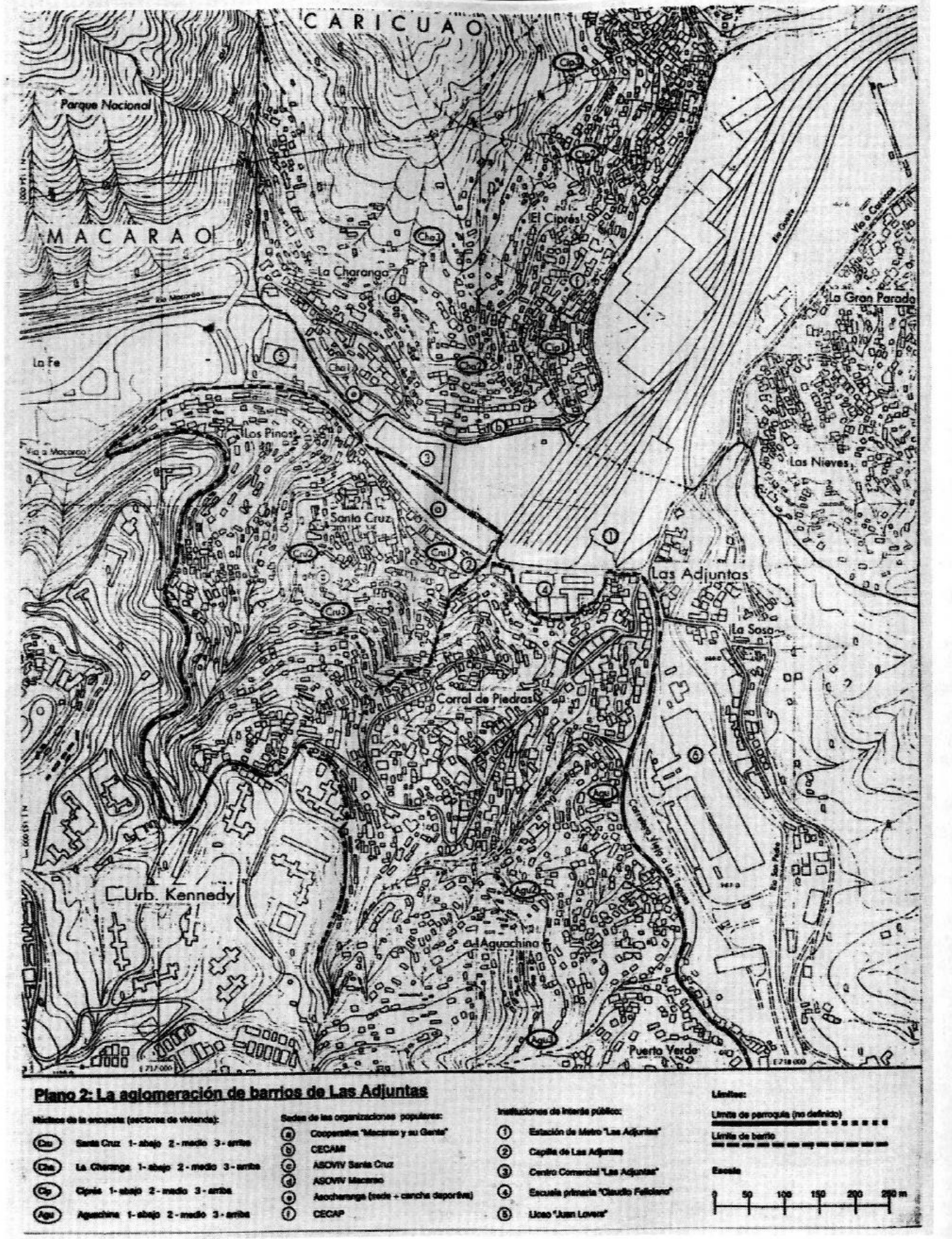
The effects of the crisis in the popular organizations after the 27th of February of 1989 contributed to a decrease in the level of organization in the barrios, with



Map 1. Location of Barrios in Caracas and Barrio "la Moran" (Fadda 1990)



Map 2. Urbanizaciones (light gray), Built up Barrios (black), Expansion area of barrios. Location of barrio "Las Adjuntas." (Gohmann 1996)



Map 3. Neighborhoods in barrio "Las Adjuntas." (Grohmann 1996)

subsequent structural changes of their associations. As a direct response to these new problems, the notion of the politically oriented organization that used to demand the attention of the state was replaced by the popular organization and its own social and economic projects.

a. With the consequences of the events of the 27th of February, popular forms of organizations consolidated and expanded. This tragic episode in Venezuelan modern history stimulated the desire for organization among low and middle-income groups.
b. The institutional and political crisis and the loss of social control of the political parties over the population motivated the empowerment of these new actors.
c. The acceleration of the crisis altered the attitude toward personal economic problems. Until this moment, the population tried to solve their problems individually. Starting in 1989, collective action in response to problems began to rise in form of more organized cooperative, community associations, and other forms of independent organizations.
d. More responsibilities are shifted to private and non-profit organizations. In this process, a good portion of the programs were left out of the reach of the political parties. The new social programs mainly benefited those self-organized groups promoted by non-political interests and received strong support from international donors.
e. The emergence of NGOs as new institutional forms of resource development influenced the creation of community and popular organizations in connection with social programs. They promoted initiatives at the "bottom" of society, providing financial support, supervision, and training. With the appropriate advice in new autonomous projects, NGOs actively promoted new self-managed enterprises in the communities.

THE REALITY: THE CONTEXT OF THE BARRIO.

Three case studies taken from the literature help us visualize the struggles that the population in the poor barrios have to face in a continuous effort to house themselves. Most of the time, the way in which communities and government communicate and solve the barrios' problems are influenced by political decisions or the intentional intervention of political parties. Two of the cases describe barrios that were established more than fifty years ago and, despite all the effort and programs implemented are still dealing with basic problems. Local participation and coordination of mutual help provide the framework for possible solutions when the inhabitants themselves do not find effective answer to their demands.

THE CITY OF CARACAS

According to Lovera (1998), Venezuela will have a total population of 26.4 million inhabitants by the year 2000, which is an increase of 7.2 million since the 1990 census. This increase represents 1.4 million families and a total national requirement of 1.26 million new housing units, of which 77% would be consumed by the low-income groups. The Metropolitan Area of Caracas (AMC) covers a total area of 777 sq. km, of which 230 sq. km are urbanized. Even though the city's population grew only 1.6% from 1981 to 1990 compared to a 24.7% at the national level (table 1), it faces all kinds of problems related to inadequate housing and service provision for the population. This population also generated a great demand for housing and urban services that the city could not provide, and these deficits have become a very serious issue. Solutions also became more costly while unhealthy barrios developed on a daily basis (Caracas 2000, 1981, 129). Consequently, the population built individual spontaneous solutions, creating precarious settlements, which have become part of the so-called "marginal areas" or simply

	1990	1990	1981	1981	%
Venezuela	18,105,265	100.0	14,516,735	100.0	24.7
Caracas	2,103,661	11.6	2,070,742	14.3	1.6
Metro Area	4,092,000	22.6			
Maracaibo*	1,249,670	6.90	899,981	6.20	0.7

Table 1. Total Population and Population Growth,* Boueiri 1997, 55.

	Housing Units	Low-income Housing Units	
National	2,431,800	1,832,200	74.50%
Metro Area	582,700	341,800	59%
Maracaibo			

Table 2. Housing Units, 1985, Source: Lovera 1998, 180

	Total	Urban	Rural
Venezuela	16.8	10.9	48.6
Distrito Federal	7.5	7.0	50.4
Zulia State	22.5	18.2	7.8

Table 3. Percentage of housing without water supply by residential area, Source: Venezuela Census 1990

	Total	Urban	Rural
Venezuela	9.4	5.2	32.5
Distrito Federal	4.3	3.9	35.7
Zulia State	8.8	6.8	24.8

Table 4. Percentage of housing without electricity, Source: Census 1990

	Total	Urban	Rural
Venezuela	19.6	12.4	59.1
Distrito Federal	2.8	2.5	29.1
Zulia State	20.4	15.7	57.2

Table 5. Percentage of housing without sewage or septic tank, Source: Census 1990

City	Total Popul.	Pop. in Barrios	%	Area Barrios	Density
Caracas AM	2,685,901	1,085,543	40.42	4053.22	267.82
Maracaibo	1,249,670	802,807	64.24	11886.56	67.54

Table 6. Population in Barrios. 1991, Source: OCE, III Inventario Nacional de Barrios (Echeverria, 1995: I-6)

labeled Barrios, which correspond to 44.9% of the total area of Caracas (Guerrero 1996). 59% of the housing stock is represented by low-income housing solutions, 7.5% does not have access to appropriate sources of water, 4.3% to electricity, and 2.8% to sewage or septic tank to disposed treated water. According to OCEI8, the housing deficit for Caracas in 1990 was 68,430 units.

This chaotic situation has had a tremendous impact on the quality of the environment and the wellbeing of the city's population. Maps 1 and 2 show the urbanized areas and the location of the urbanizaciones (regulated housing developments), the location of uncontrolled barrios and their area of expansion in 1983. The poor barrios in Caracas are located on land of very irregular topography, most of the time illegally acquired, and are subject to natural hazards, such as landslides. Pollution and health issues are a constant problem. In 1985, approximately 60% of the population lived in precarious conditions in segregated areas (Fadda 1990, 58). Due to their illegal nature, the government does not provide assistance; if any is provided, it is scarce and not always enough to satisfy the demand. In 1990, only 40% of the young scholars had access to education, 22% of the ill had no access to proper health attention, and the condition of the recreational areas were reduced or are effectively nonexistent. The general situation has not improved on a constant basis, but these problems have stimulated more efficient and organized community integration to find better solutions.

THE CITY OF MARACAIBO

The barrios in Maracaibo also confront political interests that definitively affect the forms of organization, the procedures used to demand services, and the outcomes in terms of neighborhood improvements. They exist in a highly politicized society and in recent years, community associations have increased in number, and NGOs are playing a major role in community development projects. Although the University is a State Institution, it is a perfect setting to develop and carry out this kind of project without political interference. There is an increasing trend among scholars to become more sensitive to the local urban reality.

From a total population of 1,249,670 inhabitants in 1990, 802,807 lived in barrios, representing 64.24% of the entire population of the city. With a population density of 67.54 inhabitants/ hectares, the barrios in Maracaibo occupied an area of 11,886.56 hectares (Table 2).

CASE STUDIES

BARRIO LA MORAN, CARACAS (TAKEN FROM FADDA, 1990)

This barrio was established in 1948 during the dictatorship of Perez Jimenez and developed rapidly in 1959 with the restitution of democracy, as new land was illegally taken from an area defined as recreational and green zone (see map 1 for location). In that same year, the first intent to unify the community secured the occupied land. In 1960 the inhabitants organized themselves to find a solution to the lack of basic infrastructure and services (water, electricity, sewage, stairs, school, and chapel). The municipality responded by providing the materials while the community supplied the labor force. By 1970 the church, as an active organization in the barrio, created the bases for active participation by promoting the construction of a new health center. Town meetings were held to discuss issues such as delinquency, family, drugs, and the common problems already mentioned above. Five schools are self-built, and the barrio has organized their maintenance and operation.

The first problem arose in 1974 when a municipal decree required the demolition of the entire barrio because it was located on unstable soil. According to the decree, families should be relocated to a government housing development in another part of the city and the land returned to the Sistema de Areas Verdes de la Zona Metropolitana de Caracas. At that moment, the community realized the effort it took to organize and plan the redevelopment of their neighborhood, having a major impact in the way they reacted against these measures. In 1979, the barrio met to discuss and analyze the decree and, though the media accused the government of displacing families and destroying the infrastructure they themselves built. In a response to this attitude, the government shifted its policies; it suspended the relocations and replaced them with an urban renewal and low-income housing redevelopment program, which relocated the population to better sites. In subsequent phases, the community was not considered in the decision making process. The new housing units were not enough to satisfy the demand, new apartments were assigned without legal controls, and financing strategies did not consider family incomes. The community tried to confront the government publicly without results. The situation in 1978 was dramatic. Only 10% of the apartments were effectively assigned. From a total of 6,500 new units, only less than 2,800 were built, of which only 800 were given to the inhabitants of La Morán.

In 1980, after six frustrating years, the new administration of Inavi stated that its new policy would be geared toward the redevelopment of barrios instead of their relocation, and that the allocation of new apartments was not possible. Despite this initiative, La Morán did not qualify for this program due to its unstable condition. Facing this situation, Inavi offered the community alternative solutions, and the community agreed on their relocation in other sectors of the city (250 families in 1980, 50 in 1981, 70 in 1982, and 80 in 1983). The result? The people who after years of unifying in order to defend themselves against what they consider government repression, to protect their land and houses, and their improvement works, broke ranks and dispersed.

SECTOR LAS ADJUNTAS, CARACAS (TAKEN FROM GROHMANN, 1996)

This barrio began to develop when inhabitants from other sectors of the illegal city occupied a hill site in 1958, at the time democracy took root in Venezuela (see map 2 for location). Some of the land, owned by the Banco Obrero (later known as Inavi - Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda), was given to the new occupants as part of the new government's emergency plan to help the poor. The rest was illegally taken. Before the 1958 elections, the government provided the inhabitants with construction material and helped them build stairs and roads. The pro-barrio neighborhood group was influenced by the communist party, which made the government take measures to repress it, therefore making the assistance more difficult. New housing with proper materials was not allowed and the inhabitants had no other choice than to build their houses with cardboard or build them at night. In this way, the housing and infrastructure construction became a collective task.

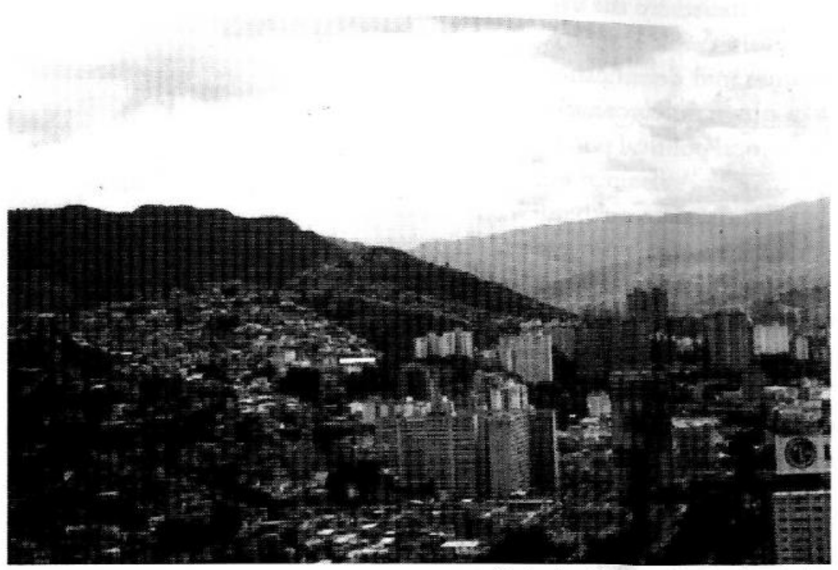
In the 1960s the community itself was threatened by the construction of a planned government housing development on the site (urbanización Kennedy) where it was settled. This process encouraged a more rapid densification of the barrio since land became less accessible. Subsequent programs to consolidate the barrio mainly helped the political parties to build their local political power structures and to manipulate the population for their own interests. Assistance was always punctual (one thing at a time) and always associated to the electoral periods.

In addition to the development strategy from the top, the processes of colonization and consolidation were also determined by the Las Adjuntas' inhabitants themselves. The most effective way to develop the neighborhood and upgrade the housing stock was through self-help and mutual reciprocity. An organized network of solidarity and mutual help was also present in the barrio in the 1970s and 1980s. It was not until 1987 that the community faced new problems with the construction of a new metro station. The metro took over an existing residential area and recreational facilities and a group of families had to be relocated, but the vocal opposition of the neighbors and the media prevented it from happening. Subsequent conversations between the community association and "Metro de Caracas" helped reduce the number of houses to be torn down, and to realize the need to relocate those families living on unstable soil. Despite their resistance, a cultural area was also demolished, and those displaced were compensated.

What we see here is how the community organizations in the barrio Las Adjuntas reached the level of coordination and unity to fight a common enemy: "El Desalojo". The external agent was represented not by a state agency but a private municipal service provider. As a result, the organizations encouraged the construction of new recreational facilities and families were properly relocated. The level of organization and a shared vision contributed to the creation of a larger organization: "Maracao y su Gente." Today, Maracao y su Gente coordinates all the independent organizations in four barrios (El Cipres, La charanga, Santa Cruz, and Aguachina), with a population of 14,556 inhabitants and 2836 houses in 1990 (see map 3). In addition to the traditional political parties, the politicized neighborhood associations, and the religious groups, other forms of autonomous organizations in the barrios were formed. They represent community organizations, neighborhood associations, housing credits cooperatives, popular library and cultural group, sport activities, health care and education, pre-school and education for parents, and the barrio newsletter. Some of them adopt the traditional state model, hoping to get benefits for the barrio by means of their legal recognition; others turn toward self-management and try to tie better actions with the participation of the population.

BARRIO VIRGEN DEL CARMEN, MARACAIBO (TAKEN FROM BOUEIRI, 1997)

The settlement was established in 1989 by a group of individuals belonging to the Wayuu ethnic group that, in a spontaneous and peaceful manner, illegally occupied a site that was vacant for many years. The first settlers reserved for themselves certain privileges such as the selection of the better locations, lot dimensions and the amount of parcels in which the area was subdivided. Immediately after the first occupation, all of the occupied parcels comprised an area of 20 hectares. From the total population at that time, 75% did not have a place to live previous to the invasion. From the very beginning, there existed great uncertainty due to the constant possibility of removal. There was only one attempt to push the inhabitants



Contrasting lifestyles of the developed urban core and surrounding barrios, Caracas.

out of the area (two months after the invasion), after the legal owner informed the municipal authority and demanded legal action. When the community was threatened by the presence of the authorities, the inhabitants organized themselves for the defense of what they called their space. A neighboring community leader recommended that the group organize a committee to find out about the ownership of the lot and to represent them in the negotiations with the authorities. These negotiations tried to find a definitive solution to their illegal situation. The organization of the community went beyond the need for negotiation. The inhabitant accomplished the internal spatial organization of the barrio (measured plans of the area, as seen in Map3) and made the necessary negotiations with the appropriate agencies to legalize their presence.

In 1991, after two years of unrest, the organized community made an important discovery: the legal owner of the lot did not pay the local government the amount of money he owed to the agency (the lot belonged to the State government until 1985 when the first negotiation was made). By this time, and due to this situation, the property of the lot was transferred to the Municipal government, which later sold the lot to the organized community.

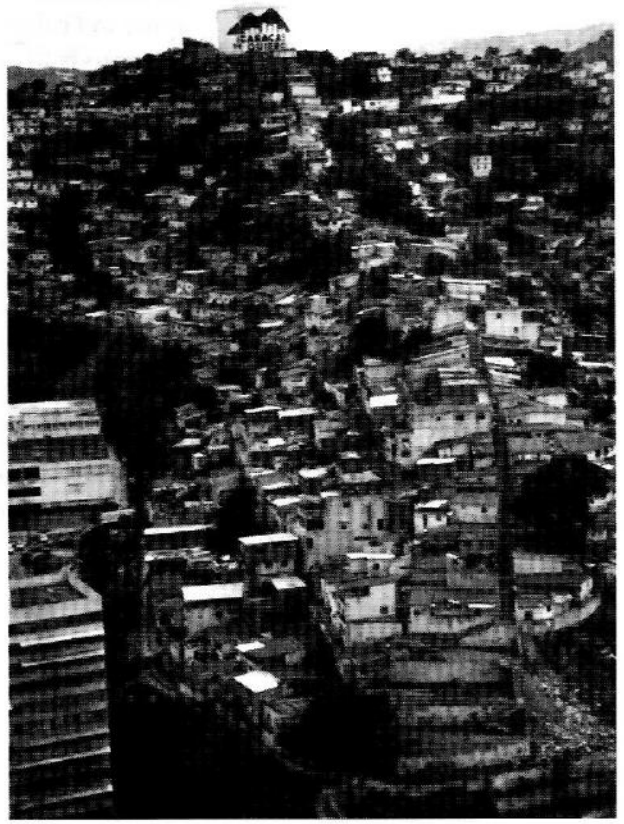
Actually, the barrio Virgen del Carmen, in its 20 hectares, has 39 blocks and 770 parcels. The majority of the streets are still unpaved and there are no buildings to house social service activities such as education, health, cultural or sport activities. In addition, the majority of the inhabitants have mentioned that, even though they have legal electricity, they do not have access to legal water or gas systems. The barrio does not have sewage infrastructure.

Regarding the participation of the members of this community in social-community organizations, only a small percentage of individuals (6% of inhabitants asked in a survey conducted by a group from Universidad del Zulia) are members of groups such as neighborhood associations or political organizations. The barrio has demonstrated a small tradition of participation, which is only seen in cases of extreme urgency. There are rivalries and lack of interest and cooperation among the different groups operating in the barrio mainly strive for the political control of the community. Individual interests and clientelistic behavior still prevail, which in fact, works as an obstacle against the possibility of developing projects that would benefit the community.

OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The cases of the barrios la Morán, Las Adjuntas, and Virgen del Carmen provide an example of the precarious way many areas have been developed in the cities of Caracas and Maracaibo, and how the decrease in people's income has forced the

poor population to find cheaper solutions to their housing needs. We see how the structures of the state, since the beginning of the democracy, have not really provided the poor Venezuelans with a framework to improve their living conditions in the barrios. People have had no other choice but to learn how to organize their efforts and to develop self-help projects with limited or no governmental assistance at all. In fact, in the two cases, the level of organization of the inhabitants to solve their problems, self-build their communities, and accept the negotiations and influence of some state interventions are all indications of a certain degree of empowerment.



Hillside barrios of Caracas

Nevertheless, communities that took years to establish and organize may be affected by government decisions. This is the typical case of the relocations, usually necessary because the land is not legally owned or because the soil represents a constant hazard to the inhabitants. When relocation is needed, the plans and projects are usually developed independently by the state agencies in charge. A real empowerment of the local populations is difficult to achieve because the state imposes obstacles that hinder the free rising of independent popular associations and their performance. At the local level, most decisions are still in the hand of elected mayors and *consejales*, and are most of the time associated to their political interests and not to those of the communities they serve.

The creation of the community associations has not escaped to bureaucracy and corruption. Recently, the neighborhood associations and their members have been highly criticized, and more and more, the political parties have penetrated this form of local power. FACUR (Federación de Asociaciones de Comunidades Urbanas) criticizes the annual budget that the state expends in supporting 3300 employees in 982 associations in the country (calculated in millions of Bolivars), and recommends replacing them with Juntas de Administración Parroquiales, in which members should be elected in independent electoral processes. In this way, the community groups represented by neighbors, environmentalists, cultural activities, women, etc. with non-political affiliation will have a better opportunity in front of the traditional political party structures.

The level of organization in the Venezuelan society remains defensive against the formal institutions and, despite the existence of a network of organizations, it is still weak and centered on local issues. The state should promote reforms in which the communities themselves achieve greater control over decisions that affect them through political participation in decentralized structures of government, with self-determination, cooperation, and mutual responsibility. As seen in the two cases, self-management (auto-gestión) has become a form of organization of the social and administrative activities for the production of goods and services. The decisions regarding the way these activities are conducted are made directly by those who participate. Self-management also implies overcoming differences among those who make the decisions and those who implement them, and overcoming the pressure of third parties in the decision-making process. Self-management does not only imply the satisfaction of the basic needs or the participation in pre-established schemes. Instead, the organized communities start developing autonomous social-economic and cultural projects supported by their own force and integration.

In any study that tries to explain issues in a context of illegality and informality such as this, the data are not always consistent and mainly come from individual case studies. The number of necessary housing solutions changes constantly and is usually misinterpreted. In Venezuela, according to the Federación Nacional de la Vivienda, from the total deficit, seventy percent corresponds to existing ranchos that may only need to be rehabilitated. Independent experiences can also help provide a better picture of the reality behind the community organization. They have helped to convince the government that not much is achieved by building houses and relocating families. The present reality demands more and more efficient provision of services in existing low-income neighborhoods and not big and expensive housing projects. The effects of the crisis are still present. Venezuela's new government seems to be willing to address problems such as bureaucracy, corruption, and increase participation. Yet, the new processes are still linked to new forms of dependency. The poor expect the government to solve their problems and provide them with the solution to their needs. Is governmental paternalism still present? And is it increasing?

Most of the regional and local public agencies that are responsible for slum upgrading programs are highly dependent on the central government. Despite the fact that the decisions and planning are made at the local level, limited access to funding, due to the current economic crisis, and the delay of the central government in delivering financial resources make the work of local and regional agencies a difficult and frustrating task. In a highly politicized environment, community participation in housing or community improvement projects is still a stagnant process where only a small group of communities or individuals benefit, while a large portion of the population tries to find different ways to solve their housing problems. It is in this environment that local community organizations are organizing themselves in a spontaneous way, bypassing the government as a component of their project. This may be the result of a social and political process where the state has proved to be inefficient, corrupt, and far from the reach of the expectations of the poor.

The decentralization process has provided local and regional government with a framework to carry out different kinds of development projects in a more successful way. Currently, local and regional initiatives play a major role in the present and future success of these projects. It is still desired that more community participation be involved in every project that will affect the well being of the local population. At this moment, the current president, Hugo Chávez, has strong support from a majority of the population. He is demanding more and more public participation and opening a window for the poor to communicate and express their desires. It is not clear for many Venezuelans how all the problems are going to be solved with the economic crisis that the country faces.

In the years to come, we should try to analyze the impact of current measures in the way people perceive community participation and the role of the state. These case studies may not provide the whole picture. Also these local experiences generalize certain patterns of interaction between the state and the civil society; further

research should study these organizational structures, their goals and their outputs in more detail. I also consider it necessary to expand the number of barrios in the study, and include secondary cities in other regions to make the results more accordant to the national reality.

About the Author:

Hugo Rincon is a Ph.D. candidate in Community and Regional Planning at the University of Texas at Austin. He has an architecture degree from Universidad del Zulia in Maracaibo, Venezuela. He earned a Master's in Community Planning from the University of Cincinnati. He is currently a faculty member at the Universidad del Zulia.

Notes

1 The Local Agenda 21 concept was formulated and launched by the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) in 1991 as a framework for local governments worldwide to engage in implementing the outcomes of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED)

2 The main objective of these organizations was the consolidation of the barrios (housing, infrastructure, land legalization, etc).

3 The best definition in Spanish is: carácter reinvindicativo

4 OCEI, Oficina Central de Estadística e Informática. Caracas, Venezuela

5 Data for the community-based groups are for the year 1988 (CESAP). They include children care, environmentalists, cultural groups, health, etc.

6 The government allocated lots of land with basic infrastructure through credit programs.

7 One month after Carlos Andres Perez's inauguration in office, massive riots erupted in Venezuela as a consequence of a new macroeconomic stabilization program, which included the elimination of exchange control rates, price controls, reduction of public spending, floating interest rates, privatization, fiscal and financial reforms, as well as the deregulation of all sectors of the economy (Naim 1993: 49-50). The riots started on February 27 1989 and lasted for more than two days. The outburst took place in eight major cities and began as spontaneous protests against an increase in public transportation fares, which were brought about by a hike in the price of gasoline. Following the first day of protest, the poor descended from their barrios and started to loot commercial establishments in almost all areas in Caracas. The magnitude of the rebellion, and the limited police capacity to deal with the disturbances forced the government to call ten thousand soldiers into the street, leaving more than three hundred persons dead and more than one thousand injured (Penfold-Becerra, 28).

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POINT/COUNTERPOINT

Questions about the Future of Light Rail in America

Edited by:
Martha Arosemena and Maria Lane

In order to explore the public transit issues that many communities are facing today, Planning Forum sent several questions about light rail transit (LRT) to a panel of transportation experts. We present here the replies of eight respondents, including five academics, three transportation consultants and one director of a major metropolitan light rail system.

Wendell Cox is a principal for Wendell Cox Consultancy. He has served on numerous committees for the American Public Transit Association, and worked with a host of cities and countries on transportation planning. He is currently a member of the Amtrak Reform Council.

Hank Dittmar is President & CEO of the Great American Station Foundation and Chairman of the Board of the Institute for Location Efficiency. Dittmar has a Masters in Community and Regional Planning from the University of Texas at Austin.

Susan Handy is an Associate Professor in Community and Regional Planning at the University of Texas at Austin. She is known for her research on the relationships between transportation and land use and served for a year on the Board of Directors of the Capital Metropolitan Transit Authority in Austin. She holds a Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley.

Peter Gordon is a Professor in USC's School of Policy, Planning, and Development and in the Department of Economics. He is also Director of USC's Master of Real Estate Development program. Gordon received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1971.

John Kain is Director of the Cecil and Ida Green Center for the Study of Science and Society at the University of Texas at Dallas (UTD). He is also Professor of Economics and Professor of Political Economy at UTD. He received his Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley.

Steven Polzin is a senior faculty member at the Center for Urban Transportation Research at the University of South Florida in Tampa, Florida. Previously, he was Manager of Systems Planning for the Dallas Area Rapid Transit and worked for the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority and the Regional Transit Authority in Northeastern llinois. He has a Ph.D. from Northwestern University.

John Schumann, Senior Planning Engineer at LTK Engineering Services, is an internationally recognized authority on rail transit. He managed planning and design of Sacramento's successful LRT project and has managed or contributed to transit planning and engineering work in over 30 cities. Presently, he chairs the Committee on Light Rail Transit of the Transportation Research Board.

Roger Snoble is President/Executive Director of Dallas Area Rapid Transit (DART). Under his leadership, DART introduced the first light rail and commuter rail projects in the Southwest U.S. Prior to joining DART, Snoble spent 15 years as President and General Manager of the San Diego Transit Corporation.

Brian Taylor is an Assistant Professor of Urban Planning in the School of Public Policy and Social Research at the University of California, Los Angeles. At UCLA he also serves as the Associate Director of the Institute of Transportation Studies. Taylor holds a Ph.D. in Urban Planning from UCLA.

QUESTION 1: WHY SHOULD COMMUNITIES SUPPORT LIGHT RAIL TRANSIT (LRT) WHEN EVEN HIGH RIDERSHIP LEVELS MAY NOT HAVE A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON TRAFFIC CONGESTION?

Susan Handy: Even proponents of light rail now mostly admit that the impact on traffic congestion of new systems will be negligible. But that doesn't mean there are not reasons still to invest in light rail. For one thing, most road projects being built these days have a negligible impact on traffic congestion except in the short term. Traffic congestion has always been a problem in healthy and vibrant cities, and we can't expect to eliminate it. Instead, we can provide alternatives to congestion – the choice to sit in traffic or not. Light rail is one way to do this, for the parts of the community served by the system. Still, it can be hard to justify light rail on a cost-benefit basis, even if indirect and intangible benefits are factored in. Communities must be realistic about what light rail will do for them, they must manage their expectations for the short-term and the long-term, and they must be careful not to sacrifice existing transit services.

Steven Polzin: Unfortunately, no single project for any mode is significant in the context of overall urban travel demand in major urban areas. If light rail can attract choice travelers out of cars in key congested corridors at peak periods it can have a corridor level impact on congestion – but that is a lot of "ifs." Careful analysis can determine the extent to which LRT projects can impact local congestion. Blanket assertions regarding the congestion impacts of rail can be misleading or inaccurate. LRT projects need to be evaluated in relative terms with respect to what they can accomplish versus what could be accomplished with other transportation investment alternatives; and in absolute terms regarding how effectively and efficiently the investments attain the community's goals. Building support for high ridership light rail projects is not the dilemma most aspiring light rail cities face. The greatest challenge is for those cities that have modest current transit use and modest or moderate forecasts of light rail ridership. Should they be building light rail systems based on the hope that demographics and/or travel behavior will change enough to result in the investments being prudent public expenditures? That is the question that many cities are debating.

John Schumann: As metro areas grow, people become increasingly frustrated by traffic that worsens year by year. Adding highways doesn't seem to help. They just fill up with more people making more trips; we can never build our way out of congestion. However, we can build light rail transit (LRT) as a practical alternative many people will ride to avoid being stuck in traffic.

LRT will form the main artery of the transit system, connecting with CMTA buses at key stations to offer transit riders an enhanced and coordinated system. Motorists will benefit because people on LRT won't be competing for road space.

If LRT initially carries about 1,500-2,000 peak hour trips, that's the equivalent of a freeway lane's worth of traffic, or two lanes of a busy surface arterial street. Those people can ride on just eight two-car trains; but the system can handle up to 20 three-car trains per hour, so once the line is built, there's plenty of room for growth just by adding trains...not like a freeway where you have to build more lanes to handle more traffic.

Wendell Cox: Light rail ridership levels do not have a perceivable impact on traffic congestion. Moreover, light rail, like other transit modes (bus and subway) provides an alternative to the automobile only for downtown-oriented, home-based work trips. Because downtowns represent only 10 percent of metropolitan employment, 90 percent of work trips are beyond transit's practical capability. Transit is a realistic alternative for an even smaller percentage of non-work trips. In a few small high-density enclaves, transit plays a more significant role, such as the central cities of New York, Chicago and San Francisco. Transit's fundamental role is to provide mobility to people who have no access to automobiles, and that represents, according to the Nationwide Personal Transportation Survey, 70 percent of ridership. For this market, light rail does nothing but consume funding that would be more effectively spent providing higher levels of service.

Hank Dittmar: Transit's libertarian critics typically critique a light rail line in a particular corridor by claiming that it has no effect on area-wide congestion, or on national mode splits. These claims ignore three key points:

* According to the census, more than half of Americans lack access to any form of public transit. They couldn't ride the bus or the light rail if they wanted to.
* To use metropolitan or state level congestion statistics to demonstrate that a particular rail line has failed is unfair. One wouldn't expect a particular road in one part of a region top relieve congestion in another part of a region either. Yet this is what the critics have done. Instead, we should look at the corridor where the rail line has been put in place, and there we can see dramatic impacts. For instance, in the San Francisco Bay Area, the BART system carries over 100,000 people across the San Francisco Bay each day. The Bay Bridge is still congested, but now 100,000 people a day can avoid that congestion and the region's downtown can continue to be a growing employment center.
* In addition to helping to deal with congestion and providing a travel alternative to support a key metropolitan corridor, light rail can serve to support mixed-use pedestrian oriented development, and thus slow exurban sprawl.

John Kain: This question seems to presume that light rail systems have high ridership levels. In fact, none of the LRT systems built in the United States since the end of World War II pass this test. The numbers of riders who would have used a car for their trip is even smaller as most persons using new rail systems are former bus users. Other benefits claimed by advocates include urban development around rail stations. In fact, there is no reliable evidence that such benefits exist. Where such development does occur, it is unlikely to be incremental. Rather in most situations it is a redistribution of development that would have occurred in other parts of the region and in many cases is primarily the result of substantial public subsidies.

The fundamental problem with LRT schemes is that they seldom, if ever, result from careful analyses of the benefits and costs of building them. Rather, transit agencies and public officials typically start with a predetermined decision to build a light or heavy rail system and carry out analyses to support their prior decision. The reasons, given the extensive evidence on the limited benefits of LRT investments and high costs, are hard to understand, but appear to result from notions, such as, "we must build rail so that our city will be recognized as a world class city."

Roger Snoble: Light rail is only one tool in the transit planner's toolbox. Large urban areas need multi-modal (bus, rail, High Occupancy Vehicle lanes, etc.) solutions. Commuters need options; that's why cities across the country are looking at every possible tool to improve mobility. Dallas Area Rapid Transit (DART) has been a national model for cities looking for multi-modal solutions to transit problems, seeing an increase in all modes of transit (bus, light rail, HOV, commuter rail) since the introduction of light rail in 1996.

Light rail offers more than just relief from traffic congestion. In Dallas, light rail has spurred economic development along rail corridors. More than $800-million in private funds have been invested along the DART rail corridor since the introduction of rail in 1996. That's nearly a dollar-for-dollar return on the public investment of $860-million to build the DART light rail starter system.

Brian Taylor: Embedded in this question, I think, are two others. First, why *should* communities support public transit even if it may not significantly affect traffic congestion? Public transit (outside of New York City and a few other large downtowns) is becoming, first and foremost, a social service. This emerging role for public transit — as a conveyor of those unable to fully utilize the auto-dominant system — is in my view a compelling rationale for the public subsidy of transit. While many in the transit industry focus much attention on whether public transit services attract auto drivers and, thus, reduce private vehicle travel, I see overwhelming evidence in the demographics of transit patrons that carrying people who would not otherwise have made the trip is the most important role played by most transit systems today.

Second, why *do* communities support light rail? This growing role for public transit as a conveyor of the young, old, poor, and disabled pains many in the transit industry greatly. They observe a diminishing voter interest in redistributive social programs in general, and are loathe to draw attention to transit's increasing role as a social program. In contrast, the collective problems of auto dominance are undeniable — chronic traffic congestion and air pollution foremost among them — and very much on voters' minds. So in cities around the U.S., transit officials, along with environmental advocates and public-works-minded elected officials, have formed influential political coalitions that have secured financial support for transit capital investments. These coalitions are able to secure broad support, in part, because they do not directly affect automobile use: parking remains free and plentiful, auto-oriented development continues, and auto drivers are not asked to compensate society directly for the delay they impose on other drivers, nor the emissions they add to the air. Pursuing these pro-transit and pro-auto policy paths simultaneously obviously diminishes the effectiveness of any major transit initiative, but it is also what makes transit capital initiatives politically attractive in the first place.

QUESTION 2: HOW DO THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF LIGHT RAIL COMPARE TO THOSE OF BUS RAPID TRANSIT? WHAT DOES LIGHT RAIL OFFER THAT BUS SYSTEMS CAN'T? WHAT DO BUS SYSTEMS OFFER THAT LIGHT RAIL CAN'T?

Susan Handy: Many U.S. cities are now considering bus rapid transit (BRT) systems partly because the initial investment can be considerably cheaper and the competition for funding for rail systems is so fierce. In many ways, BRT is a much better fit for Sunbelt cities because of greater potential coverage and flexibility in comparison to light rail. Many proponents of light rail argue that BRT does not have the same potential to encourage higher density development in station areas, but available evidence suggests otherwise. In Austin, for example, hundreds of apartment units have been built along University of Texas shuttle bus routes in the last decade. Every city considering light rail should also take an honest look at the BRT alternative. Unfortunately, BRT must overcome a pervasive bias against buses among both decision makers and potential new riders.

Steven Polzin: For rail transit the public costs include the track and station infrastructure as well as extensive communication and control systems. Rail costs are also high partially due to the lack of standardized components and limited economies of scale due to the generally low volume of vehicles and systems built annually. Litigation sensitive design standards, accessibility requirements, safety standards, station art, DBE/MBE requirements, and amenities or alignments designed to broaden the coalition of supporters all influence project costs. BRT can be less infrastructure intensive, which reduces costs. Many BRT elements such as vehicles and the roadway surface, however, may have shorter lives than rail components, thus life cycle costing should be considered in making comparisons.

What does light rail offer that bus systems can't? Light rail is perceived differently than regular fixed route bus services. Rail transit, especially light rail, is often considered the only mode capable of offering an alternative to the auto that is affordable, sufficiently attractive to be competitive with auto travel for choice riders, able to motivate the public, business, and local community leaders to commit funding, and, perhaps, able to motivate complementary investments and land use changes. To the extent that there are very high volumes that justify trains of vehicles and station infrastructure is kept modest, rail can provide operating labor efficiencies over bus services that require one operator per vehicle.

What do bus systems offer that light rail can't? They are generally lower cost and, therefore, more affordable. Capacity is more than adequate for most urban corridors in the U.S. resulting in greater cost effectiveness as costs are more in scale with ridership. They are more flexible in design, alignment specification, and implementation. Bus-based systems can be upgraded and new technology may be more readily integrated as the components (such as vehicles) have shorter lives. Important to travelers, they enable a no-transfer trip as collector distributor route segments can be handled by the same vehicle that subsequently operates on an exclusive or semi-exclusive right-of-way.

John Schumann: Anti-rail propagandists claim buses are cheaper, but if you really look at costs of a so-called "rapid bus" system which would approximate LRT quality of service and connectivity, you would have to provide a semi-exclusive right-of-way, stations, self-service ticket machines to allow all-door boarding (very important with 60-second headways), a bus detection system interconnected with traffic signals, a central control system to keep things humming, park-ride lots, transit centers, and a maintenance base - all the things also needed for LRT. When costs of vehicles and all facilities are carefully added up, capital costs for LRT tracks, bus roads, stations, maintenance facilities, etc. are more nearly the same for LRT and comparable busway systems, but bus operating costs will be higher. It would take at least 150 buses, 2.5 times the number of rail cars needed to carry LRT's "ultimate" peak hour load; and the bus fleet would have to be replaced at least once, probably twice during the life of the system. Moreover, each bus and train require a driver, at a ratio of 150 bus drivers to 20 train operators. Nationally, in 1998, buses cost $0.61 per passenger mile (PM) to operate and maintain, while surface LRT cost $0.33/PM - 46% less. San Diego, the most efficient LRT system, cost just $0.17/PM.

Operationally, running 2.5 buses per minute on one route throughout the peak hour is impractical and unmanageable. In fact, you wouldn't do this. Instead, you would run a large number of commuter express buses extending off the busway into suburban neighborhoods. Cities like Houston do this with some success, but the results are often lackluster because the largely "radial" express routes don't connect with other lines. Even though they offer direct no-transfer service from suburbs to downtown, radial lines miss the network effect that transit needs to serve dispersed suburban trips in addition to its traditional downtown-oriented base.

Theoretically, there should be no difference between a rail system and a bus system offering the same or a similar service at the same or similar fare. However, the real world differs from theory. In the U.S., for whatever reason, there are many people who would not dream of being seen on a bus, who will happily use rail transit. In Sacramento and, more recently, Salt Lake City, surveys of LRT riders have found more than 75% had a car available that they could have used instead of rail. These people chose to use LRT to avoid traffic; most of them won't try the bus.

John Kain: Investments in costly LRT systems are inappropriate and ineffective choices for improving transit and increasing transit ridership in low density and dispersed metropolitan areas. An extensive body of research demonstrates that far larger increases in ridership can be obtained by equivalent outlays to increase vehicle (bus miles) of service and subsidizing fares. High performance bus systems can provide more service miles (increased coverage and frequently) per subsidy dollar and thereby provide more options for actual and potential users. Many supposed benefits of LRT systems, such as lower operating costs and a greater attractiveness to high-income, auto owning households disappear on close inspection.

Hank Dittmar: Rapid bus transit has become the untested darling of anti-rail zealots all over the country, and it's largely a misnomer. Except where it is provided its own dedicated guideway - i.e. a bus only roadway - the bus is inherently slower than the automobile, as it must share road space with cars and stop frequently to pick up passengers. Few U.S. cities have been willing to provide buses with priority treatment at traffic signals, so the bus remains the workhorse of transit, and the local provider of service. Buses offer a degree of flexibility which rail doesn't, as buses can change their routing at the will of the transit system. It is for this reason, along with their image of being crowded and smelly, that buses do not offer the same advantages as light rail in terms of land use planning. Bus stops can be moved simply by moving the sign, while rail offers the kind of permanence that developers can count on.

What's needed is not a bus vs. rail mentality, but a recognition that we need a more balanced transportation system. Buses are part of hierarchy of public transportation choices that begins with the taxi and the van shuttle and increases in performance and capacity through local bus, express bus, trolley and light rail and extends to heavy rail and high-speed rail. All have their place, and all have their capacities and uses. Light rail is particularly suited to congested corridors where one wants to concentrate mixed use development near the stations, and where one can plan a system to go faster than congested roadway speeds. In these cases, Federal Transit Administration research has shown that transit can provide relief for both the motorist and the transit rider.

Roger Snoble: It's important to match the mode to the corridor. DART uses bus and rail services to reinforce each other. DART has increased both bus ridership and bus miles since the introduction of rail. With the introduction of the 20-mile rail starter system, buses formerly used in rail corridors are being used to enhance travel options for bus customers. This has given DART the flexibility to add more off-peak (late evening and weekend) bus service in addition to more inter-suburban service between member cities.

Brian Taylor: By asking which of two trunk-line-oriented transit services is best, this question implies that a significant transportation problem is a lack of trunk-line transit service. To paraphrase former House Speaker Tip O'Neill: (nearly) all travel is local. Most auto and transit trips are relatively short and dispersed, meaning that the focus in metropolitan transportation planning on corridors and trunk-line trips is generally misplaced.

For the members of transit coalitions in many cities, the transportation problem is a lack of rail transit, for which the solution is obvious. But clearly transportation problems are more fundamental and more nuanced than that. People who face significant barriers in getting to work, to school, to medical care, or to see family or friends have transportation problems. Chronic traffic congestion and excessive emissions are transportation problems. And so on. In weighing the wisdom of a light rail investment, one should ask, "could the money to be expended on the light rail line better address our most pressing transportation problems if used in some other way?"

QUESTION 3: WHAT ARE THE KEY ELEMENTS NECESSARY TO MAKE A LIGHT RAIL SYSTEM TRULY SUCCESSFUL? ARE THESE ELEMENTS PRESENT IN THE RAPIDLY URBANIZING SUNBELT CITIES?

Susan Handy: The success of a light rail system can be measured in many different ways - actual ridership that meets or exceeds projections, increased density around light rail stations, an overall increase in economic activity for the city, etc. One could argue that a light rail system is successful if the community over time is satisfied with the investment and feels that its financial contribution was money well spent.

Peter Gordon: My version of "successful" involves costs and benefits. There is nothing to be done on behalf of light rail. People cherish personal transportation. This is a powerful and universal preference. One day planners (perhaps not soon) will figure this out.

Steven Polzin: Success, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. The fact that virtually every urban area that has rail is seeking funds to expand and virtually every mid-sized or larger urban area is studying rail is seen as prima fascia evidence that rail is successful. Others argue that as long as the public cost per person mile of travel is higher for new rail proposals than roadway projects, then the project is not successful. Reasonable criteria most probably rest somewhere between these extremes. Goals for building rail are diverse and numerous, thus the criteria for measuring success are similarly numerous.

This discussion is restricted to two key criteria, ridership and land use influence. Ridership requires high travel volume corridors and this requires concentrations of people - dense concentrations of residential and employment land uses or other trip generators. Many Sunbelt cities don't now have dense residential areas and don't have other large concentrations of activity. The second major goal for some LRT systems is to influence land use. Clearly LRT can influence land use but we have seen that the presence of LRT alone is not sufficient. It requires a strong market for development in the target location and roadway transportation capacity constraints coupled with development enabling policies. Building an LRT from a generic suburban area to a downtown won't necessarily attract development unless market and policy conditions are right

Wendell Cox: I would define genuine success as providing a significant amount of mobility at a cost less than any alternatives. The elements that would make light rail truly successful are (1) very low automobile ownership rates, (2) population densities five to 20 times the present, (3) central business district market shares averaging five times the present and (4) the unavailability of buses. This was the situation from the 1880s to approximately the end of World War I, and light rail (then called streetcars or trolleys) was successful. Automobiles meant that people could live and work in more decentralized locations, so that population densities fell drastically, and central business districts became far less important. Buses rendered light rail more expensive and less flexible. Obviously, the factors that could make light rail successful do not exist in Sunbelt cities or anywhere else in the United States. And, they never will again.

John Schumann: Though it certainly helps, "population density" is not required to achieve "rider density," as often mistakenly asserted by rail opponents. People can get from low-density neighborhoods to rail "arteries" by riding feeder buses and/or by driving to park-ride lots. In Canada, Edmonton's LRT line depends almost entirely on bus feeders; on other new LRT lines in the U.S. – St. Louis, Salt Lake City, Denver – LRT parking demand exceeded the initial supply of spaces at stations.

Another key element is "connectivity" among the routes making up the transit system, as described above. One line will serve some destinations; but an interconnected network of many routes, arranged in a hierarchy ranging from the heavily-used main lines (arteries) down to local neighborhood circulation routes (capillaries) is needed to serve all parts of the community. Such system design is especially important in sprawling Sunbelt cities, because good ridership depends on making transit usable for trips to destinations that are dispersed throughout the region.

Do these elements exist in Sunbelt cities? Of course they do, just look at Dallas, Denver, San Diego, Sacramento, etc.

Hank Dittmar: These are some of the right questions to ask as a region considers investing in rail:

1. Is rail transit being pursued as part of a comprehensive strategy for accessibility and mobility? Will it provide competitive travel times in a congested corridor, or provide capacity in a corridor where additional highway capacity is constrained? Is the rail link being integrated into the existing transit and paratransit service in a comprehensive way — operations, service and fares?
2. Is rail investment being pursued as part of an integrated land use and growth management plan for the region? Are local leaders willing to direct future growth to the vicinity of the rail system by changing zoning to allow additional density and by protecting open space in areas not served by rail? Are communities developing station area specific plans that integrate mixed use development, including housing, retail and services in the vicinity of the rail system?
3. Is the rail corridor one that has significant levels of existing demand? Does it support or maintain existing centers of activity, such as traditional downtowns, special event sites or nodes of development? Is the technology proposed appropriate to travel characteristics in the corridor?
4. Does the community support the system? Do business leaders support the system? Are voters and elected officials willing to commit local funds to build the system? Is rail transit part of an overall environmental strategy for the region? Have communities been involved in planning station areas?
5. Will the proposed system increase overall and individual access to jobs, services, opportunities and markets? Is this enhanced access serving the transit dependent population as well as so-called "choice riders"? Is rail complementary to bus service, or does it replace bus service? Is rail access being provided to communities of color and low-income communities? Have they been involved in the decision making process?

The Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex has certainly shown itself willing and able to undertake the kind of planning needed to make rail succeed and the overwhelming majority of the region's residents support expansion of the system. Sunbelt cities still have the opportunity to do much to shape their region, and whether they can succeed with rail investment depends largely on whether they have political will to pursue rail as part of a comprehensive package of smart growth policies.

Roger Snoble: Public input and support is essential. DART receives public input through an aggressive outreach program that touches business, community, education and citizen groups in every part of the region. The DART System Plan, as approved by the Board of Directors and supported by each of its 13 member cities, very clearly sets out the construction program for the next several years. DART's expansion plan also is the result of an extensive public process that identified very specific needs and programs to respond to those needs. Paramount in this process was the identification of the need for quality service. Providing convenient, comfortable, safe and secure service in a way that saves lots of people in a travel corridor time and money is the best formula for success.

A poll conducted last fall by The Dallas Morning News shows riders and non-riders alike overwhelmingly believe DART is worth the one-cent sales tax collected in each member city. Of those surveyed, 75% said DART is doing a good to fair job and 10% rated it excellent. A 1998 DART survey of service area residents showed a 90% approval rating when asked if they support their city's membership in DART. Nine out of ten respondents said DART is making significant improvements, generating economic returns, and planning effectively for our region's transportation needs.

John Kain: Light and heavy rail systems are most effective in serving dense urban areas with large employment concentrations. These are precisely the features of urban development patterns that are absent in rapidly urbanizing Sunbelt cities. It is extremely difficult to provide cost-effective public transit services for the residents of these cities. To provide transit services for a significant portion of these areas requires a dense network with many miles of routes. LRT systems have just the opposite characteristics. They provide few route miles of service at a high cost per route mile. Transit systems in cities with LRT systems often try to compensate for their limited coverage by reorienting existing bus networks to serve as feeders. Since users hate the inconvenience and time entailed in transferring from one service to another, these decisions by transit authorities often increase the travel times of actual and potential users. The result is often a decrease in total ridership, where ridership is correctly measured to reflect the total trip.

QUESTION 4: WHAT KINDS OF POLICIES, INVESTMENTS, OR INNOVATIONS DO YOU THINK WILL HAVE THE GREATEST IMPACT ON URBAN TRANSPORTATION IN THE COMING DECADES?

Susan Handy: Ultimately we're going to have to rely more on pricing strategies to address our transportation problems. Traffic congestion isn't so much a problem of having too little capacity relative to demand as it is a problem of having variable patterns of demand that don't match our fixed level of capacity. Charging drivers higher prices during periods of high demand, for example, can lead to more efficient use of existing capacity. In addition, most of the costs of driving are paid indirectly so that any particular trip feels practically free to the driver, which leads to "over consumption" of driving. New technologies to facilitate more direct and variable pricing of transportation are already available, but the political will necessary to implement the pricing approach is not.

Peter Gordon: The politically popular stuff is high-cost and low-benefit. Politicians like to move large amounts of money to favored constituencies. By definition, these have no impact except as drains on the fiscal (and long-run economic) side. Economically sensible ideas, including privatization, deregulation and pricing, do not have a political constituency. This appears to be the catch-22 that we are stuck in.

Steven Polzin: Americans are concerned about congestion and perhaps feeling a little guilty about the environmental consequences of internal combustion engines

Transit on the Web

Planning Forum also asked its panel of transportation experts to name two or three websites that would be helpful to planners who want to know more about light rail and alternative transportation. Their responses have been compiled into the list that follows below and on the facing page.

American Public Transit Association
www.apta.com

Center for Transportation Excellence
www.cfte.org

Demographia
www.demographia.com

Federal Transit Administration
www.fta.dot.gov

Great American Station Foundation
www.stationfoundation.org

Institute for Location Efficiency
www.locationefficiency.com

and sprawl. This may motivate more proactive land use/transportation planning initiatives. Policies to direct development trends toward designs and densities that are more conducive to public transit may become more common. This is critical for public transit's success as a high capacity mode. There has clearly been a shift in spending priorities toward more investment in transit. Transit will have to deliver by showing an ability to attract travelers and play a meaningful role in meeting capacity requirements. Ultimately, there will need to be significant improvements in public transit use or urban areas will tire of spending huge shares of revenues on a mode that handles none of the freight (truck) travel demand and only a few percent of passenger travel demand.

Innovations, particularly in technology, add an intriguing complexity to the future of public transit. The environmental and energy saving advantages of public transit have been seriously eroded as autos have become cleaner and more efficient while transit has become less efficient per passenger mile as a result of modest use and more infrastructure intensive investments. Underutilized buses and trains don't save energy or help air pollution. The development of fuel cells and other efficiency and air quality improvements for automobiles may undermine a key strategic justification for public support of transit. Meanwhile, cell phones are now making auto travel more flexible and productive and technology is improving auto safety.

The single biggest opportunity for transit is if innovative technologies enable transit infrastructure to be scaled to be cost effective in the lower-volume, dispersed travel markets that characterize current development patterns. Either development needs to be concentrated to make high capacity transit effective, or transit needs to evolve to where it can be resource efficient in lower-volume markets. Perhaps progress on both fronts will provide an opportunity for both BRT and LRT systems to serve our urban areas in the future.

Wendell Cox: The most important impact will be the result of improved on-vehicle air pollution technology. Air pollution is likely to be much less of a problem for most cities within 20 years. Traffic, however, is another matter. There, regional planning policies are likely to have the greatest effect. The real question is the extent to which Portland, Oregon-style corralling and densification policies will prevail. Where the Portland model is implemented, traffic congestion will get much worse, because the critical mass of density and centralization necessary to compensatingly reduce automobile usage will not have been remotely approached. Moreover, such policies could lead to much longer commute trips, as higher housing and product prices force middle and lower income people into new satellite communities well beyond the exurban fringe. Portland policies are also likely to repel some growth, which will be diverted to other metropolitan areas, especially those not adopting draconian land use regulation. There, road construction and road pricing may combine to contain or even reduce traffic congestion.

Hank Dittmar: As city after city comes to realize that over-dependence on the automobile is resulting in greater congestion, worsening quality of life, and the loss of the characteristics that make a region desirable in the first place, more and more cities are considering some sort of intensified investment in public transit. At this point, there are about a hundred cities in the queue for federal new starts dollars, and funding for only seven or eight new starts over the next five years. To me this intense level of interest and competition for funding suggests three things: first that

Light Rail Central: The North American Light Rail Information Site
www.lightrail.net

Rail~Volution
www.railvolution.com

Reason Foundation
www.reason.org

Surface Transportation Policy Project
www.transact.org

Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century
www.fhwa.dot.gov/tea21

Transportation Research Board
www.nationalacademies.org/trb

University of California Transportation Center – Access Magazine
violet.berkeley.edu/~uctc/access.html

U.S. DOT Bureau of Transportation Statistics
www.bts.gov

Victoria Transport Policy Institute
www.vtpi.org

Wendell Cox Consultancy
www.publicpurpose.com

elected leaders and the public may know more about this subject than the so-called experts; second, that the competition for funding will advance the integration of land use and transportation planning, as communities try to leverage private dollars into their projects; and third, that we need to identify more funding.

Perhaps this will also force state transportation departments to be more responsive to metropolitan problems. State highway agencies continue to prescribe the same solutions they prescribed in the 1950s, and these solutions don't fit today's needs for balance, redundancy and choice in our transportation system. At the same time, we need to revamp zoning codes, comprehensive plans, parking ordinances and street standards to allow more traditional mixed-use neighborhoods to be built. There is a market demand for pedestrian- and transit-oriented development, and it is being artificially constrained by outmoded government regulations that require cookie cutter suburban development.

John Schumann: In 1975, only seven U.S. cities had LRT systems. Over the past 25 years, the number has grown to 20. This has occurred largely in response to the chain of successes in terms of better transit systems that these new starts represent, supported by increased availability of federal, state and local funding available for or even dedicated to transit projects. Without funding, projects do not get built. Policies to fund rail projects should be continued so that Austin, Seattle, Houston and all the other cities planning rail can build the systems they want and need, and that the record has shown people will use.

John Kain: Ninety percent of the urban transportation problem arises from the gross mispricing of a small fraction of urban roads and streets by government. This mispricing results in congestion, imposes large delays on individuals and commercial vehicles, dramatically reduces the speed and performance of transit vehicles, and increases per-trip costs. Mispricing of street space and the resulting congestion is the root of the urban transportation problem and congestion will not be eliminated or significantly reduced unless or until policymakers correct this mispricing. Unfortunately, policymakers show little interest in policies that would be effective. Instead, they choose policies, such as the construction of costly and ineffective rail systems and huge subsidies for transit that do not address the root problem and have little chance of success.

Roger Snoble: Transportation is always the biggest piece in fitting together a large-scale urban picture because everyone is affected by it — each a little differently. With good planning, our central cities can have a higher density and greater travel options — walking or taking the bus or train — rather than building bigger and bigger freeways. A near-term solution should include balanced investment in intelligent transportation system technology, HOV lanes, improvements in bus and rail facilities and the completion of complementary freeway and arterial projects. Long-term solutions rest in better policies pertaining to land use: how land use generates or attracts vehicular trips. Most urban areas have not demonstrated an understanding of this relationship, but the best solution is comprehensive planning, underpinned by strong public policy and investment.

Book Reviews

Every year Planning Forum tries to have at least one book review to help expose new literature about planning to our readers. This year we have three reviews covering the works of Wallace Stenger, a great group of children's books about planning issues and a review of "What Your Planning Professors Forgot to Tell You", by Paul C. Zucker. We hope you decide to pick up all of these titles and give them a whirl.

A Sense of Place: The Writings of Wallace Stegner

Review by Susan Handy

That my father's favorite book was Wallace Stegner's *The Big Rock Candy Mountain* was something I just always knew as a child, I'm not sure why. Maybe it's because of the Big Rock Candy Mountain cake my father and brother once baked for a cub scout cake walk – a mound of cake at least a foot high covered in thick green frosting that won the dubious distinction of being the last cake selected. If I hadn't known of Stegner as one of my parents' favorite writers, I'm not sure I would have known of him at all, let alone actually read one of his books. As it was, I didn't read any of his novels until well after college and none of his essays or histories until well after that.

For such a widely acclaimed author, Stegner is surprisingly unknown. My mother has on more than one occasion expressed to me her shock that so few of her acquaintances have ever heard of him, even though she lives in the community where he spent much of his adult life and where several of his novels are set. What I find even more dismaying, however, is how few of my planning students, as well-educated and as tuned to natural and man-made places as they are, have read any of his work. An historian and environmentalist as well as a writer, Stegner has much of importance to say to planners, particularly planners in the American West. Throughout his writings, by showing how the western landscape has shaped its people and how the people of the west have shaped their landscape, he guides his readers to a richer understanding of the sense and meaning of place.

In his novels, Stegner captures the essence of a place and time with a clarity and persuasiveness that few writers can match; the settings for his stories are themselves important characters in those stories. In his best-known work, *Angle of Repose*, winner of the 1972 Pulitzer Prize, he follows his heroine, Susan Burling, as she marries Oliver, a young and promising engineer, and moves from the sophisticated literary circles of the east to the raw and rugged mining communities of the west in the later decades of the Nineteenth Century. In creating the context so essential to Susan's story, her struggle to balance her own dreams and desires with those of her husband, this engrossing book vividly portrays the landscape of the west and the first efforts to extract and reshape its resources on a large scale. In Oliver's dogged determination in the face of continual defeat, one glimpses what was behind the long and painful and only partially successful struggle to settle and tame the west.

His other novels provide a sense of contemporary place and time. *A Shooting Star*, published in 1961 and set in the suburbs south of San Francisco, is not often cited by critics, but includes insightful observations and elegant commentary on the mass-produced and sanitized suburbs being built at the time. One morning, Leonard MacDonald, who lives in Greenwood Acres, a new housing tract, "awoke and lay listening for the sounds that traditionally meant morning, and heard none of them… What Greenwood Acres awoke to were the sounds of the over-crowded future, where what is good is what annoys least. Morning in Greenwood Acres was zoned out." When Sabrina comes to visit the McDonalds late one night, she finds the entrance to the tract – "the brick gateposts that had once marked the service entrance of an estate she knew" – but remembers only that their house is on a street named for a shrub:

> A street named for a shrub? They were all named for shrubs. From blurred street light to blurred street light the maze led her in circles and figure eights at whose re-entrant curves she found delusive names: Acacia, Laurel, Laburnum, Palo Verde. They were all fictitious – they were all the same street. The dark roofs were the roofs of the same six or eight houses, dismantled behind her and set up again ahead by some smooth stage machinery hidden in the fog…

When Sabrina finally finds their house, she says to the MacDonalds:

> "I was thinking while I ran this maze finding you. Interchangeable houses, interchangeable cities, compulsive traffic, we never know where we're going. We need an Ariadne and a good long piece of string. How can you and Bobbie, who aren't stereotypes at all, stand to live in a place where nobody is distinguishable from anybody else?"

How can we help but lose our way in such placeless places?

Among environmentalists, Stegner is perhaps better known for his essays, in which he expresses a deep reverence for nature and for the landscape of the west. His Wilderness Letter, written in 1960, argued for the federal protection of wild places and was used to introduce the bill that established the National Wilderness Preservation System in 1964. "Something will have gone out of us as a people if we ever let the remaining wilderness be destroyed," he wrote. We need wilderness "because of the incomparable sanity it can bring briefly, as vacation and rest, into our insane lives." We need wilderness "because it was the challenge against which our character as a people was formed." We need wilderness "because it is there – important, that is, simply as idea." The Wilderness Letter endures as an eloquent and impassioned articulation of the beliefs so many of us hold.

Where the Bluebird Sings to the Lemonade Springs, published in 1992, brings together sixteen of Stegner's essays written mostly in the 1980s. Ranging in subject matter from his own childhood in the Rocky Mountain West to the work of other writers of the West, these essays show Stegner's unique strength as an observer of western history, cultures, and landscapes. Three essays in particular – "Thoughts from a Dry Land," "Living Dry," and "Striking the Rock" – capture what is unique about the western landscape and explore the ways in which the arid landscape of the West has shaped its society. In one especially beautiful passage, he explains,

> Aridity, more than anything else, gives the western landscape its character. It is aridity that gives the air its special dry clarity; aridity that puts brilliance in the light and polishes and enlarges the stars; aridity that leads the grasses to evolve as bunches rather than as turf; aridity that exposes the

> pigmentation of the raw earth and limits, almost eliminates, the color of chlorophyll; aridity that erodes the earth in cliffs and badlands rather than in softened and vegetated slopes, that has shaped the characteristically swift and mobile animals of the dry grasslands and the characteristically nocturnal life of the deserts.

But the characteristics of the western landscape that make it so unique also leave it fragile and vulnerable to intentional as well as unintentional exploitation and ruination. His warning for those of us who love the West and like to think we are its good stewards is simply this: "we may love a place and still be dangerous to it."

In "The Sense of Place" Stegner talks about "placed" and "displaced" persons and how we Americans are some of both: we are "lovers of known earth, known weathers, and known neighbors both human and nonhuman" but we are also the opposite, "explorer not inward but outward. Adventurous, restless, seeking…" Of himself he says "I know about the excitement of newness and possibility, but I also know the dissatisfaction and hunger that result from placelessness." We may never get "the motion out of the American," yet we need also to connect to places, to find meaning in places:

> So I must believe that, at least to human perception, a place is not a place until people have been born in it, have grown up in it, lived in it, known it, died in it – have both experienced and shaped it, as individuals, families, neighborhoods, and communities, over more than one generation. Some are born in their place, some find it, some realize after long searching that the place they left is the one they have been searching for. But whatever their relation to it, it is made a place only by slow accrual, like a coral reef.

I find so much in Stegner's writings that rings true about the relationship between people and places – and about my own relationship to the places I have known. For one thing, his writings have helped me understand why Austin, sitting as it does at right about the 98th meridian that defines the eastern edge of the West, is about as far east as I feel comfortable living. I suspect that every reader finds different truths in Stegner's writings, but I know that whatever truths one finds, the exploration will be a reward unto itself. Now, I can only hope I've gotten a few more of you started on that exploration.

What Your Planning Professors Forgot to Tell You: 117 Lessons Every Planner Should Know

by Paul C. Zucker, AICP. APA Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1999, $26.95.

Review by Craig Raborn

What Your Planning Professors Forgot to Tell You is a collection of anecdotes tracing Paul C. Zucker's career from an entry-level planner to planning consultant. Each story also has a point, allowing Zucker to share his experiences, and the lessons he's picked up along the way. Some of these lessons relate directly to planning, some to working as a professional, and some are simply about life.

Zucker started as an entry-level planner in the 1950s, progressing rapidly. It is clear from his stories that he was fortunate to have knowledgeable and creative mentors throughout his career, allowing him to learn more than just the 'hows' of planning, but also the 'whys.' The lessons he relates aren't about planning techniques, but rather they are about the real world of planning. The lessons in this book deal with making decisions, interacting with the public, interacting with co-workers, and much more. Teaching these skills are part of precious few planning core curriculums, yet they are integral to being a planner. In this way, Zucker's book helps to fill a critical need in planning education.

Axiomatically, *What Your Planning Professors Forgot to Tell You* is lighthearted, even when dealing with difficult or controversial subjects. There is an underlying tone that Zucker knows that the material is important, yet he refrains from proselytizing. He simply offers his stories, tells what he learned from the experience, and allows the reader to determine the value of his advice. With 117 stories and lessons, it is likely that most readers will doubt some lessons, and dismiss Zucker's advice. But among the 117 lessons, they also will likely find valuable and relevant advice. Experienced planners and current planning students alike should be able to take Zucker's stories and place them into the context of their own experiences. Readers will probably find themselves reviewing decisions they've made and re-evaluating some of their own experiences in a different context.

Two aspects of Zucker's approach make this book useful. First, the overwhelming collection of 117 lessons and topics means that even the most experienced person will find something new and applicable. Second, his ability to take a specific experience and draw a generalized conclusion should allow readers to then take his generalized lessons and apply them to similar types of specific experiences.

Readers expecting clear, specific and arbitrary lessons will be disappointed. In fact, some lessons directly contradict one another. But the value in seeing this is that readers should be able to understand that there are rarely firm rules, especially when dealing with the politically charged planning field, and when dealing with the wide variety of people and concerns that planners encounter.

As stated earlier, *What Your Planning Professors Forgot to Tell You* isn't just about planning. Zucker now runs his own management consulting firm, with planning agencies as his primary clientele. The book clearly reflects this interest in making people and systems work more efficiently and effectively. Transitioning from being a practicing planner into managing other planners is certainly difficult, but is a mandatory step in the progression of most professional careers. Making this change requires strong interpersonal skills, confidence in others' ability to do your previous job, and the ability to make good decisions. Because the lessons in this book trace Zucker's long planning career, many of them directly address these important skills. And his advice carries a certain legitimacy, since his stories are based on his own experiences as a planner, a manager, a planning director, and as a consultant.

One important aspect of this book is that it isn't entirely a collection of happy anecdotes and stories of victory. Many of his lessons are based on failures, not successes. Fortunately for readers, these lessons are probably among the most valuable. Failure often leads to success, and a common phrase in life is to always avoid making the same mistake twice. Zucker's offering of some of his own failures might allow readers to avoid making the same mistake once.

In reading *What Your Planning Professors Forgot to Tell You*, don't get caught up in questioning his lessons, trying to find value in every little word, and evaluating one's own experiences. This book is not planning's "Seven Habits of Highly Effective Planners," or "The One-Minute Planner." It was written to be a collection of useful anecdotes and lessons. Perhaps the most valuable lesson that comes from this book is one that isn't stated outright, but is certainly present throughout…'Lesson 118: Have a sense of humor about yourself and the difficulties that you encounter.' Luckily, Zucker's long career as a planner shows that this lesson doesn't detract from the importance of planning and being a planner.

Planning For Children and You

Review by Thomas Butler

Recently, while reading an article on restrictive covenants, I was reminded of a book that I read in second grade called *The Big Orange Splot*. In the book, Mr. Plumbean "lives on a street where all the houses were the same" and, as the author explains, all of the neighbors, including Mr. Plumbean, like it like that way. But when a seagull inexplicably drops a can of orange paint (Ahh, the simple beauty of children's books) on the house and leaves, you guessed it, a big orange splot, Mr. Plumbean decides that he likes the way his house stands out. In fact, nonconformity appeals to him so much that he soon paints his house blue, pink, green and yellow, builds a clock tower on the roof, and plants "Baobab" trees in the front yard.

The consternated neighbors speculate on his sanity and visit him one by one, attempting to convince him to restore the uniformity and neatness of their street. Instead of convincing Mr. P that he's being unreasonable, each of the neighbors who visits him goes home after a long conversation and changes their home to reflect their own personality. This continues until the entire street looks like . . . well, like something out of a children's book, with houses resembling ships, hot air balloons, and castles.

Daniel Pinkwater may not have been thinking of restrictive covenants when he wrote *The Big Orange Splot*, (If he had been, Mr. Pinkwater would, no doubt, have been the target of a lawsuit or two.) But the subject of neighbors trying to control their neighborhood is nothing new to any planner. After remembering this book, I started wondering if I could find other children's books with themes related to planning. Children's books, after all, often tackle adult themes. For example, Theodore Geisel (aka Dr. Seuss) taught several generations of children about the evils of prejudice with *The Sneetches,* introduced them to environmentalism with *The Lorax,* and poked fun at the lunacy of the arms race in *The Butter Battle Book*. I didn't have to spend much time in the library before I found some titles that I thought planners might especially enjoy reading to their children, or perhaps, if you enjoy books that appeal to the imagination, you might enjoy reading them yourself.

The first two books I found, *The Window* and *Where the Forest Meets The Sea*, are both by Australian author Jeannie Baker. In both of the books Baker used highly textured and visually stunning collages to illustrate problems associated with sprawl. Her skills have earned awards both from literary and environmental groups.

In *The Window*, the author chose to use collages, with no accompanying text, to tell the story of a young boy growing up in a house that, on the first page of the book, is in the country, but which, by the last page, becomes surrounded by suburban sprawl. Each page is a view from the same window, letting us see the changes from page to page. When the boy is two years old, for example, no other houses can be seen, only forested hills and a field with a small pond. On the following page, which a birthday card on the windowsill indicates is two years later, a road and a new house have taken the place of open fields.

Later illustrations document the clear cutting of the hills and the replacement of the trees with homogenous rows of houses. Other changes are less obvious, like the pond that eventually becomes filled in and the disappearance of the kangaroos that used to bound by in the background (Remember, Baker is Australian). Also very interesting, bearing in mind the publicity given in recent years to the deleterious effects of domestic cats on Australian wildlife, is the boy's pet cat, which appears in several pictures stalking native birds. My personal favorite is a page showing a view completely devoid of the natural beauty that once existed. Only one tree still stands on a site that was once thickly forested, but on the side of a tall building has appeared an ersatz mural of a rural scene, much like what had once existed.

On the final page, the boy, who is now a man, has moved away and is standing, holding his own child and looking out of a window in his new house. The view from this new window is similar to the first view from the other window: thick forest and teeming wildlife. However, lots nearby, completely devoid of trees await the arrival of the suburbs and, in the background, the city the boy moved from looms, showing what will soon happen to the rural paradise where he has come with his family. The author's message is plain: if we continue to let sprawl and unplanned development go unchecked, we will lose the very things that most of us claim to value; preventing that loss, the last picture says, requires some personal sacrifice.

Baker's other book, *Where the Forest Meets the Sea*, uses text along with more of her dazzling collages to deliver a variation of the same message. In this book, a boy and his father have traveled to a secluded beach for the day. While the father fishes, the young boy explores the neighboring rain forest and imagines that he's among the dinosaurs that once lived there. Examining a newly sprouted tree, he wonders how long it will take it to join the canopy high over his head. He also wonders if aboriginal children played in the same spots he's now exploring. Baker instills the same sense of wonder and timelessness in the reader by including ghostly images of the forest's former residents in many of the pictures.

As in *The Window*, Baker makes her point on the last page. As the boy and his father pilot their small boat away from the beach the boy wonders if the forest will still be there the next time they come to visit. The view of the beach on this page no longer shows the pristine spot they just left. Instead, Baker has superimposed an image of what might happen to the beach: hotels and condominiums line the water; in the bay floats a boat with the unlikely name *Paradise Real Estate*; and, worst of all, two children sit on the concrete patio next to a swimming pool watching a TV, their lifeless faces the antithesis of the boy's. Again, Baker has targeted sprawl and gives the reader a subtle reminder that what happens to the natural world depends on what choices we all make.

Here in Austin, a neighborhood of older single-family homes on the edge of downtown has been the focus of a controversy. The owners of many properties want to sell to developers who will probably tear down the houses and build higher intensity and more expensive uses. Austin's downtown commercial center looms at the edges. The controversy is over low-income renters in the neighborhood who will be displaced and the potential destruction of historic homes. It's not an uncommon situation, unfortunately, and many planners have dealt with similar problems.

It's the kind of situation Virginia Lee Burton wrote about in her book *The Little House* in 1942. The house in the book stands alone on a hill in the country, surrounded by apple trees, ponds and streams, and other staples of rural landscapes. Burton uses pleasant primary colors and scenes of horse-drawn sleighs, farmers plowing fields while walking behind mules, and children rolling hoops to illustrate a simple way of life. In the text she reveals that the man who built the house did so with the intention that it would provide a home for not just his children but for his great-great grandchildren's great-great grandchildren.

The pictures change halfway through the book as the city begins to creep out toward the house. Eventually, the apple trees and hills disappear to make way for new development. The country lane in front of the house becomes a blacktopped thoroughfare packed with speeding cars, and high-rise buildings sandwich the house. Leaving little doubt about her feelings for urbanization, Burton represented the city with dark, forbidding colors and inhabitants are drawn indistinctly marking the anonymity of city life. The house built for seven generations sits amid all of this, vacant and dilapidated. The prerequisite happy ending comes when a descendent of the house's original builder recognizes the house from a picture, buys it and has it moved back to the country. Although such a deus ex machina rarely appears in real-life, like for the homes in downtown Austin, they are one of the most enjoyable aspects of many children's books.

The deleterious effects of a city's growth on rural inhabitants is also the subject in the book *Letting Swift River Go* by Jane Yolen, in which she tells the story of an entire community doomed by the construction of a dam. Yolen points out to her young readers that the necessity of the dam to provide for the thirst of all the people in the city doesn't make the loss of a place any less painful, nor any fairer. The story comes to readers through the words of a woman remembering her childhood in a town soon to be inundated. As she describes nights sleeping outside by the river, picnics in the local cemetery, and catching fireflies in jars, the woman shows how memories are intertwined with and inseparable from place. She tells about seeing the places of her childhood memories dismantled, as workers move houses, cut down trees, and disinter graves. The heart of the book lies in the message that though change will always occur, those guiding the changes need to keep in mind the individual lives affected, for better or worse, by their decisions. Equally important is the accompanying message that those affected by changes must have the courage to resist unfair changes, while accepting inevitable ones.

Each of these books is enjoyable for the simplicity of its message, though we may recognize the situations addressed as more complex than those messages may indicate. That recognition is one element that makes books like these enjoyable even for adults. The fact that we deal with the real life complexities in our profession may be what makes them refreshing for planners.

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