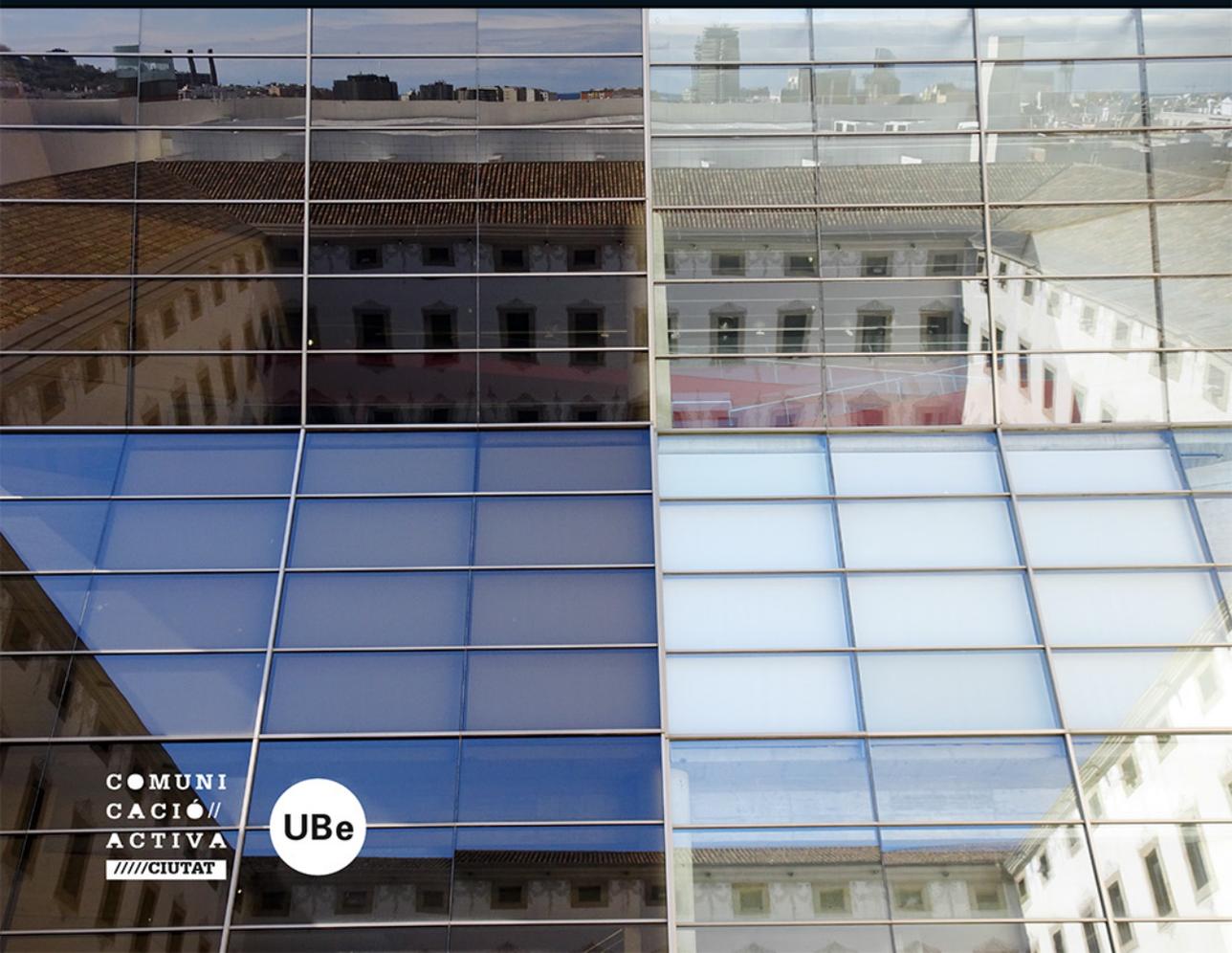


THE ART OF URBAN DESIGN IN URBAN REGENERATION

INTERDISCIPLINARITY, POLICIES, GOVERNANCE, PUBLIC SPACE

Antoni Remesar (ed.)



COMUNICACIÓ // ACTIVA
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Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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INTRODUCTION

This volume contains the contributions presented at the International Seminar “CITIES. Interdisciplinary Issues in Urban Regeneration, Urban Design, Public Art and Public Space” organized by the POLIS Research Centre and the PAUDO (Public Art and Urban Design Observatory) network in December 2013.

The book traces the paths of economic and political theory concerning the role of urban regeneration processes, from an overview of the policies implemented in Europe to the achievement of their impact on job creation and local innovation policies. It addresses physical aspects of urban design processes, analysing an interdisciplinary project regarding the urban regeneration process of the riverfront of Lisbon, and proposes some ideas of how to deal with climate change in the construction of public space in cities. Finally, the book concludes with a reflection on the new modes of urban governance that can make an urban environment more liveable thanks to the involvement of neighbours reconvertng their role, from consultive actors to active agents of the physical (urban design) and symbolic (public art) transformation of their community. Thus, the book confronts the reflection on urban regeneration, with contributions from disciplinary fields as diverse as Economics, Public Policy, Urban Design and Architecture, Landscaping and Public Art, pointing out the need for further interdisciplinary work, as a continuation of the work presented in the journal *On the w@terfront* and various competitive research projects that are summarized in the credits of this book.

In “Evaluating the Policies of Urban Regeneration in Europe”, Montserrat Simó develops an overview of the processes of urban regeneration in Europe, highlighting the relationships between implemented policies and the results obtained. The article considers the concepts of rehabilitation, renovation, revitalization and urban renaissance, often confused with the concept of urban regeneration. Simó argues that the concept of urban regeneration implies the existence of a strategy of urban transformation with integral vision and tries to answer the complexity of the phenomena giving a

multidimensional response. Urban regeneration implies that the actions carried out under this umbrella are aimed at transforming an area as a whole, viewed as a whole, hence its integral character. Integral means that in a complex reality and in an area that encompasses multiple problems, the solution should also be in the same line and, therefore, a complex solution must be provided. It would involve all aspects of the region: economic, physical, social and environmental.

In “Employment, Social Cohesion and Territory. Integrating labour market policies into urban regeneration processes in Catalonia: *Treball als Barris* case study”, Nemo Remesar explores the overall perspective of urban regeneration processes, focusing his attention on active employment policies and their impact on the territory, noting that although job creation has been considered, in many cases, a subsidiary goal of urban strategies related to urban regeneration processes, the current socio-economic context makes it necessary to further boost such policies and actions aimed at increasing the skills of residents in order to combat the growing problems of segregation and urban fragmentation. The text argues for a comprehensive approach. Urban regeneration processes must be understood from a comprehensive perspective, as they move beyond the goals, aspirations and achievements of urban reform and urban development. Thus, going beyond the spatial transformation, they are oriented towards socio-economic transformation and a change in forms of governance.

Through the texts by Montserrat Simó and Nemo Remesar we appreciate the importance of the Neighbourhood Law of the Generalitat de Catalunya.

In “Climate Change and Urbanism. A new role for public space design?”, Maria Matos and J. P. Costa provide an interesting insight into one of the problems that cities may face in the near future. Climate change adaptation has reinforced the urban agenda in recent years, as the inevitability of climate change impacts has progressively been recognised among climate scientists. In this context, the article discusses the possibilities of urban design and of public space design by analysing some experiences in different countries. Some examples of adaptation measures applied in the design of public spaces are already known. The positive effects of these measures can be gauged not only by their capacity to reduce local risks (more specifically, flood risk, considering the cases analysed here analysed), but also as beacons of new urban values aiming to face up to contemporary challenges. “Considering public space as an ideal interface for adaptation action, we argue whether the assessment of adaptation initiatives should consider: 1) if the design of a public space comprises adaptation measures and, from a reverse perspective, 2) if the application of adaptation measures comprises the design of a public space.”

Jordi Henrich, in “Campo das Cebolas – Doca da Marinha. A continuous system of pedestrian public spaces open to the city and the river”, presents a public space project conducted for the city of Lisbon. “We develop the proposal with instruments of public space – the design tool for urban quality – integrating the historical, the architectural, the landscape and the artistic and technical values in a synthesis and simplification trying to recover the urban context.” The project involves the articulation of existing public spaces in the city with the proposed new spaces in the regeneration of the river fringe – the riverfront – of Lisbon. This presentation includes the project report submitted to the contest by a Catalan-Portuguese interdisciplinary team in 2013.

Finally, in “Urban Governance and Creative Participation in Public Space and Public Art, or, Is it possible to creatively empower neighbours”, Salas, Vidal and I explore the possibilities of creative citizen participation in order to solve problems of public space, civic memory and urban governance. This work was developed “in the framework of the relationship between the concept of civic participation and that of urban governance, analyses the experience of citizen participation in the Barcelona neighbourhood of Baró de Viver. Two of the results of the process, the Monument to the Cheap Houses and the Wall of Remembrance, enable us to discuss the role of the relationship among technicians, politicians and neighbours in the context of specific project decision making”. It evaluates the results of a citizen participation process we held (2004-2015) in the Barcelona neighbourhood of Baró de Viver, cooperating with the neighbourhood associations and the District Council of Sant Andreu (Barcelona).

I do not want to close this introduction without making a brief mention of Anthony Bovaird and Pedro Brandão. The former, an economist and researcher on local policies and governance, always believed in the interdisciplinary project summarized in this book. The same can be said for the latter, an architect, whose work on interdisciplinarity is a reference point for those who collaborated in this book. Also, I am grateful to Prof. Zuhra Sasa, University of Costa Rica, and the trust shown in organizing, a couple of months before the completion of the CITIES Seminar, the Ibero-American Seminar “Interdisciplinarity in Urban Design” held at the University of Costa Rica. Finally, I thank all the researchers associated with the POLIS Research Centre and the PhD programme Public Space and Urban Regeneration at the University of Barcelona for their cooperation organizing and attending the CITIES event.

ANTONI REMESAR

/ Evaluating the Policies of Urban Regeneration in Europe

Montserrat Simó Solsona¹

> Introduction

Cities have large concentrations of problems: physical, social, economic, environmental and issues related to social stigma. Such a multi-problematic reality requires a multidimensional solution. Public policies focussed on urban regeneration are actions to alleviate the intimately linked issues of urban segregation and social segregation.

The aim of this chapter is to reflect on urban transformation strategies in the built environment. Firstly, an overview is given of the many terms used to refer to these strategies. Similarities and differences between different concepts are analysed in order to give a definition of *urban regeneration*. This is followed by a review of strategies in various European countries with extensive experience in planning policies, and a description of the influence of the Spanish and Catalan contexts in relation to urban regeneration. Finally, there is an analysis of the contributions and weaknesses of one of the most recent and relevant examples of urban regeneration policy in Spain: the 2004 Ley de Barrios (Neighbourhood Law).

> The processes of urban transformation: multiple concepts

The terminology of political actions to rectify the spatial and social degradation suffered in urban areas varies widely: rezoning, remodelling, revitalisation, regeneration,

¹ Research Group for Creativity, Innovation and Urban Transformation. Universitat de Barcelona.

and so on... The inconsistent use of these concepts, along with the lack of differentiation relative to theoretical tradition, does not help when it comes to defining specifically what these political actions involve.

The significance of the concepts of urban regeneration is manifold, according to the varying realities within which they are framed. Some urban transformation projects in marginal neighbourhoods work on rehabilitation, defined as physical action, generally on housing aiming to ensure the structure, maintenance and safety, but also to adapt dwellings to the current regulations on quality standards and energy efficiency (Rubio del Val, 2010). Del Val gives this definition of rehabilitation based on the Building Law (Law 38/1999, 5 November 1999, CTE) and other complementary regulations. He states that the concept of *rehabilitation* has been widely applied to very different situations, such as one-off repairs and maintenance of buildings or demolition and rebuilding. Looking at it this way, he raises serious doubts as to whether these actions can all be referred to as rehabilitation. Rehabilitation involves actions which ensure adequate living conditions.

Rehabilitation is different from *restoration*. Restoration is used to refer to repair work on buildings which are special because of their artistic, cultural or historic heritage, while rehabilitation is used when referring to ordinary buildings (Montaner, 2011). Related to rehabilitation is the process of demolition, when done with the aim of building new dwellings, though this is not always the case. It generally involves rehousing the residents and has major implications for them. Careful demolition is part of the *esponjamiento* (sponge) strategy, which is defined as a specifically directed physical action that must include consensus on planned demolition of a highly degraded urban fabric, with the aim of improving the area and so regenerating it. As an action, it is considered as a form of microsurgery² (Tapada-Berteli and Arbaci, 2011).

Another term used to define transformations for improvements is *urban renewal*, which includes strategies of demolition and replacement of buildings (Rubio del Val, 2010). This is accompanied by the concept of *rezoning*, which is widely used in Italian literature to refer to programmes for rehabilitation of buildings or urban areas which are already partly or fully built. It is applied particularly to rehabilitation on brown field land (Rancati, 2003). Within Spain, zoning and rezoning (*calificación* and *recalificación*) are the terms used in several land use laws. Rezoning as a strategy for urban transformation refers to changing the use of urban space, either allowing building ac-

² Medical terminology was used as an analogy at the end of the 1990s to express the philosophy of urban renovation. Territory was compared with an unwell body which should be made healthy using precise and specific actions.

tivity on formerly undeveloped land or changing the specific function of a developed area. This is formalised in planning procedures by assigning a new code (*clave urbanística*) to the land.

The term *revitalization* is well known in North American tradition. It involves local decisions being taken by agents in the community. They are traditionally programmes of a socio-economic nature, based on individual and neighbourhood development. In a 2011 conference organised by the Instituto Valenciano de la Edificación, the concept of rehabilitation was used by speakers referring to physical actions, while the concept of revitalization was used when referring to other, non-physical aspects, such as boosting the economy and social issues. According to Rubio del Val (2010), the concept of revitalization is used incorrectly, given that the word implies “giving life”, and it is not that these areas have “lost their lives” but rather that they have followed a different path of development.

Similar to the concept of revitalization, there is *urban renaissance*, understood to be the desired re-emergence of cities as centres of generalised social wellbeing, of creativity, vitality and richness, also taking into account environmental equilibrium (Porter and Shaw, 2009).

And finally, there is the concept of *regeneration*. This involves comprehensive actions, which, therefore, cover more than just physical actions. These combine actions focussed on building rehabilitation, renovation (demolition and new construction), and on the redevelopment of public space to favour the global transformation of territory, re-activating the economy and improving the quality of life of the residents (Roberts, 2000).³

This means that the term *urban regeneration* can be analysed from two points of view. Firstly, as an instrument for public policies, that is, as a strategy to direct urban actions on specific areas suffering a number of problematic situations. And secondly, from the point of view of the “philosophy” that aims to impregnate urban actions, aiming for a comprehensive change and a sustained curb on the course of the reality of urban areas.

> The concept of urban regeneration

A comprehensive urban strategy of transformation aims to respond to the complexity of the phenomena, giving a multidimensional response. Urban regeneration implies

³ It is necessary here to differentiate between urban regeneration and residential urban regeneration. Residential regeneration is understood to include actions in areas where people live. In contrast, urban regeneration has a wider scope and includes spaces which are not only residential, such as the improvement of brownfield land. When referring to urban regeneration in this chapter, we refer to residential regeneration.

that the actions carried out under this umbrella are aimed at transforming a zone in its entirety, seeing it as a whole. So the actions must have a comprehensive character, which implies that, faced with a complex reality and in zones which combine many different kinds of problems, the process must follow the same line and a complex “solution” must be offered. All aspects of the zone are involved in the transformation: economic, physical, social and environmental. From this perspective, the definition of *urban regeneration* is understood to be that of Couch et al (2003). It should achieve reactivation of economic activity, restoration of social functionality, social inclusion of residents, and restoration of environmental quality, i.e., in areas with existing facilities, economic activity and where the space already has a social function.

The previous definition opens the door to a great diversity of actions to achieve urban regeneration. In practice it is difficult to find well-balanced comprehensive solutions: programmes allocate actions (and budget) to some aspects more than others. As such, urban regeneration projects include proposals to economically reactivate the area. Different projects can serve as examples: improvement of job opportunities for residents, promotion of the area for tourism or businesses, or projects to fight poverty. The importance of the economic situation (in its widest sense) is underlined as a cause of spatial segregation and social exclusion in neighbourhoods. This means that, even with a comprehensive vision for urban regeneration projects, the focus is often on specific spheres, and the economy is one of them.

In these regeneration projects, the work situation of residents also plays a fundamental role. McGregor and McConnachie (1995) talk of an “economic reintegration” of those out of work, and so excluded from the labour market. Also, starting from a multisectoral strategy, they propose two basic types of action for economic reintegration: the creation of job opportunities in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and building links between these neighbourhoods and the job market. Achieving a degree of effectiveness in economic reintegration requires long-term investment: contributions to educational skills, work training courses specifically designed for the long-term unemployed, and so on. However, the delivery of future results is hardly compatible with programmes of a specific duration. There is also the risk that these strategies only benefit targeted individuals and do not extend to the whole urban area, which, in the worst case, may mean those who benefit may leave the neighbourhood as a result of the higher social mobility achieved. The interlinking of other actions is necessary in parallel to economic reactivation: the reconstruction of social capital to ensure social cohesion in the territory and to improve competitiveness. The social capital should be the trigger to encourage reinvestment; it unites the advantages of the physical and economic capital of marginalised neighbourhoods (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001, p. 2168).

Some urban regeneration projects have focussed on actions in the building sector. Examples can be found in Britain in 1980s developments. The aim of these initiatives was to restructure the housing market, making vulnerable neighbourhoods more attractive. But two questions arise from this focalisation. The first concerns how this benefits residents with low income. The second is the extent to which it causes residents to move away, those residents for whom housing is no longer affordable, leading to a process of displacement and gentrification. Cameron and Doling (1994) analysed the *City Challenge* programme in Great Britain, and showed how economic restructuring of the housing market did not cause displacement of the old neighbourhood residents or gentrification, but did not bring economic improvements to the area either.

Actions related to housing predominate in urban regeneration policies (Kleinman and Whitehead, 1999). They are focussed on improving the quality and quantity of housing, to favour access by members of the population with fewer resources. Spain and Catalonia tend to operate differently to other European countries, such as Great Britain and the Netherlands. The Catalan government has played an active role in this area, despite the predominance of private ownership of housing, which reduces the possibility for action by the public administration. Two further restrictions condition the role of the Catalan government. One is that the main directives of housing policy are decided on by the central Spanish government, and the other is the importance of agreements with banks. All in all, this means that the Autonomous Communities only have a complementary role in housing. Countries such as Great Britain and the Netherlands, with more public housing available through housing associations, have ensured that housing rehabilitation programmes are common practice because they can be more easily carried out. Demolition and re-housing of residents present fewer complications when the housing ownership is centralised and public, not as in Spain, where apartments are largely private property and blocks are segmented between the various residents. Faced with these characteristics in Spain and in Catalonia, the physical rehabilitation of buildings is more complicated, as it is harder to achieve consensus on the course of action and to establish priorities, because there are more stakeholders and their interests may also be divergent.

Access to housing, closely related to spending capacity, is a central element in explaining poverty in vulnerable neighbourhoods. Madanipour (1998) found a tight correlation between poverty in the population living in these areas and the housing market. The lack of regulation of the housing market combined with certain urban planning actions influence socio-spatial segregation, and therefore intervening in access to housing (with regard to resources as well as decision-making processes) is

important in the fight against social exclusion. This social exclusion has a territorial dimension, occurring mainly in the neighbourhood, and is the result of the physical organisation of the space, the social control over it, and of the prevailing written and unwritten laws.

Improving public spaces is also an important factor of many urban regeneration programmes. Generally, the public areas in vulnerable neighbourhoods are rundown and dirty, and a focal point of civic problems and dirtiness. Investment in public spaces, often associated with creating facilities, is part of the process of physical regeneration by the local government. Public spaces are relevant elements for regeneration because they can change the whole image of the neighbourhood, making it more positive and appealing for potential investors, although this also involves the danger of gentrification and consequent displacement of local residents. McInroy (2000), using Garnethill Park in Glasgow as an example, underlined the importance of public areas as places for social interaction, creators of civic democracy, co-existence, and to stimulate a feeling of belonging among residents. Despite this functionality, the local community must be involved and feel that the public space belongs to them and can become another driving force to allow the neighbourhood to undergo a full process of transformation.

Urban regeneration and the fight against social exclusion have been two aspects intimately linked to this type of urban action. Social actions such as improving education and hygiene habits of residents, or actions directed towards risk groups, are some of the strategies considered as driving forces for change. Social improvement is an indispensable factor in the recovery of dynamism and community feeling in a neighbourhood. This may be achieved by encouraging participation through more formal representations, such as forming partnerships, or recovering the neighbourhood identity through exhibitions on its history. The community is the hinge that makes social actions effective in the neighbourhood, as it is the residents themselves who identify the major problems (Atkinson, 2000). The community becomes the agent of change, and as such requires the creation of a map of actors which is much more participative and includes members of civil society.

This is why policies of urban regeneration include citizen participation as a key part of the process. One of the instruments to articulate this participation is through the configuration of the partnerships. As defined by the EFILWC (1998), partnerships have a formal organisational structure to manage the policy, mobilisation of the alliance of interests, agreement between the different representatives, a common agenda and multidimensional programme of action to work with unemployment, poverty and exclusion, and promotion of social cohesion and inclusion. A partnership brings

together a form of networking to achieve a common goal, combining effort and different points of view. In urban regeneration policies, partnerships are the way to cooperate, establishing vertical institutional relations as well as including public and private actors to manage the programmes. Although the partnership is a key instrument for combining private and public interests with those of NGOs and of the community, its evolution is not a neutral process (Atkinson, 2000). The distribution of power within it is not in equilibrium, and is simply another instrument of the political machinery. Fighting social exclusion through partnerships still has its risks: ensuring representation of the community, especially those most excluded; achieving continuous, stable participation throughout the process, and ensuring that any disappointment does not result in demotivating the actors involved.

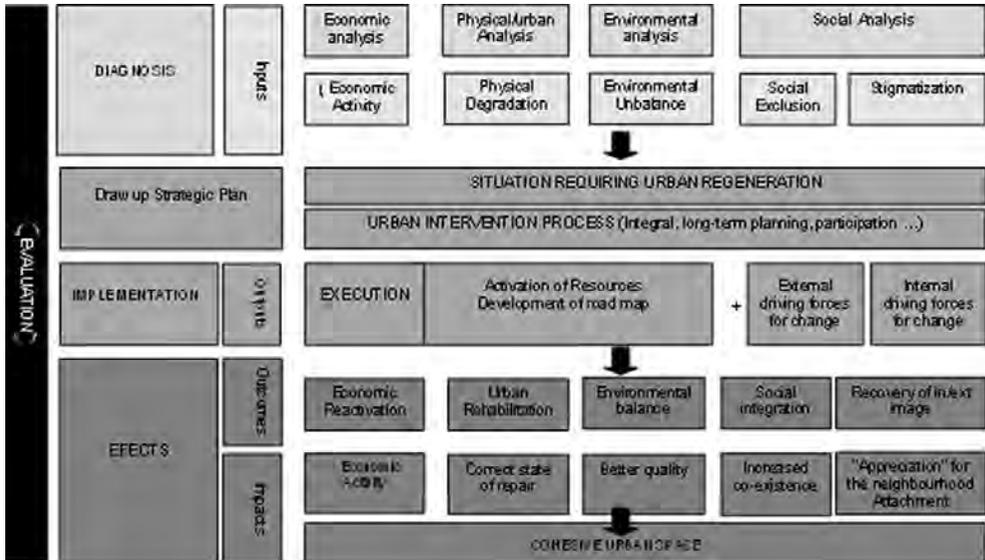
Physical separation is a first explanation of why a certain neighbourhood is stigmatised. Ignorant attitudes and misunderstandings also contribute to increasing a bad reputation, and so increase not just the physical, but also social distance. Urban regeneration programmes include actions to fight against this stigmatisation of neighbourhoods in vulnerable situations. Poverty, delinquency, drug use, crime, a high level of unemployment and the urban structure of the neighbourhood are some of the other elements which help give a neighbourhood a bad name, and the people who live there (Hastings and Dean, 2003). It is difficult to rectify the negative image projected, both internally – that perceived by the residents themselves – and externally.

What is rare in urban regeneration projects is the inclusion of environmental improvement aimed at sustainability in the neighbourhood. Generally, projects aiming to favour sustainable development are actions related to economic development, so it is difficult to find programmes with specifically defined environmental measures. Most programmes of urban reform end up being “slightly” green, when it comes to ecological and environmental improvements in a neighbourhood (Couch and Dennermann, 2000). The elements of the Agenda 21 have only been incorporated at a very basic level in urban regeneration programmes, and when they have existed they have normally been treated as parallel programmes. In Catalonia, the Ley de Barrios marks a changing tendency: neighbourhood actions themselves go along the lines of favouring local environmental sustainability.

What can be understood from the previous references is that simultaneous experiences in many fields of urban regeneration are needed if it is to be considered comprehensive. If not, actions just in specific sectors – be they economic, housing, social destigmatising or environmental – do not achieve change in the course of development of the neighbourhood, and so do not activate enough force to break the downward spiral of marginalisation. The following figure demonstrates this necessary holistic ap-

proach from the phase of diagnosis to the moment when the effect of the actions can be appreciated.

Figure 1. Urban Regeneration Process



Source: author's own creation.

> Policies of urban regeneration in Europe

The origins of urban regeneration policies can be found in Great Britain, where they were based on prior experiences with similar problems. Despite this, what differentiates urban projects of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries from those further back in the past is the type of problems faced: the latter-day problems are of greater magnitude and complexity. British cities were the precursors of urban regeneration policies, with political actions clearly correlated to industrial development. It was not until after the Second World War that the majority of cities in the rest of Europe began work on neighbourhoods then obsolete or destroyed during the war. From the late 1960s, and in a more generalised way, each country implemented programmes more geared to the regeneration of housing and of neighbourhoods as a whole.

In the mid-1970s, the trend in Great Britain changed again, followed by the rest of Europe in the mid-1980s. The economic problems caused by the 1973 oil crisis made the social costs of capitalism apparent again. Unemployment and the decline in the in-

dustrial sector helped to single out those companies which were able to increase productivity: those that could not were destined to disappear. The crisis, together with previously unsolved social problems, radically transformed the economic base of old urban areas: traditional industry disappeared from the urban landscape and moved to the outskirts, while the service sector began to grow. The fight against unemployment and poverty was at the core of the majority of policies. But the style depended on the country: while political authorities in Great Britain relegated functions to partnerships, increasing the range of participating actors, local authorities increased their role in countries such as France, and local and regional governments in Germany worked together until reunification of the country (Couch, 2003).

With the creation of the European Union, the general form of urban policy making changed. While each member state continues to plan specific and local strategies for action, the common framework means that urban policies may be impregnated with a different style. This includes the possibility of implementing common policies, easy transfer of experiences, and opportunities for research on urban environments. Examples of some of these are the URBAN, INTERREG and ERDF (European Regional Development Fund) programmes.

The most recent period of urban regeneration policies in Europe began in the 1990s, when elements were incorporated to deal with the complexity of urban, social, environmental, economic and image problems detected across the territory. These elements include long-term planning, sustainability and citizen participation. Some specific references of urban regeneration at the European level will now be looked at.

In the UK, the first recognition of the situation of urban areas was in the 1950s, with the 1957 Housing Act. This was to regulate projects being implemented, in order to move away from a policy just of slum clearance to one of urban renovation. In the 1970s, this renovation was not limited to problems related to housing, bringing about another change in policy. There was an apparent need to consider social problems, such as offering more equal opportunities and improving the level of education, as well as resolving problems of mobility of the population.

The policies of urban renovation of the Conservative governments from 1979 to 1997 had a very strong economic character, incorporating the private sector in the process. Effort was made to maintain factories operative with the participation of more actors and financial mechanisms. From the second half of the 1990s, regeneration in Great Britain was directed towards sustainability, partnerships as an instrument for bringing together actors and interests, and establishing a practice of mainstreaming:

Mainstreaming is seen as central to the sustainability of neighbourhood renewal. The government is critical of what it describes as the over-emphasis on special programmes and short-term initiatives may provide one-off improvements; the national strategy emphasises the role of mainstream service providers in delivering long-term change on the ground. This is to be done through 'bending' mainstream budgets towards areas of decline through a coordinated strategic approach to service delivery (Clark, 2006, 179).

The situation in France is very different, both for timing (it began later) and for the type of problem dealt with by urban regeneration policies. Urban deterioration was concentrated mainly in the historic centres of cities, some of medieval origin, run down as a result of uncontrolled migration before and after the Second World War. Despite this, the priorities were the restructuring of the industrial fabric and improvement of living conditions and housing, with initiatives for building social housing from 1950 to 1965. Later on, the *Zone d'Aménagement Concerté* (ZAC) programmes were a mechanism basically to act in areas where public authorities had control of the land and the private sector rarely invested. In this period, the main objective was to prevent social problems and begin to renovate housing that was in a bad state of repair.

What characterises the 1980s is a strong ideological nuance, as urban policies were conceived as a political resource by socialist governments. Those in charge of public policy recognised the effects of the industrial crisis in city centres, observing how they were abandoned. During this period, the style of urban regeneration was similar to that in the UK:

Interestingly, the development of urban policy (*la politique de la ville*) in France is in some ways the mirror image of that in Britain, in that the initial approach to urban management in the 1980s was through the funding of a range of physical renewal schemes, employment and training programmes, and so on at the geographical scale of the neighbourhood (known as the *développement social des quartiers* or DSQ) (Clark, 2006, 180).

The integration of immigrants, particularly younger ones, became a key instrument in the elections. Riots such as that in Les Minguettes, and the analysis of their causes accelerated a considerable amount of legislation and reports on dealing with the urban problem, for example, the *Report Dubeddout* and *Banlieue 89* (1989), and the creation of government commissions such as the Comité Interministerielle des Villes and Direction Interministerielle des Villes (DIV) (Belmessous, F. et al, 2004). These mechanisms meant a considerable advance in French urban policy, since they recognised the complexity of the problem and included a demand for analysis in multiple areas in order to be able to carry out a project integrating all the relevant factors.

In the 1990s, the trend towards agreement between different political parties also became apparent in urban policies. Projects such as the *Gran Projets Urbains* (GPU) were begun by the socialist government and continued by the conservative prime minister. The difficulties for implementation and the importance of social and national aspects led to this situation of consensus. The legislative programme *Loi de Solidarité et Renouvellement urbain* (SRU, 2001) is along these lines. The aim of this law was to group a series of initiatives developed in the 1990s, such as the *Programmes d'Insertion*, *Zones Franches*, *Les Zones Urbaines Sensibles*, *Les Zones de Redynamisation Urbain* and *Grands Projets Urbains*. But the intention was, from this moment, to treat economic, physical and social problems as a unit within projects of urban renovation (Couch, 2003).

Housing estates represented a key aspect, politically speaking, for Central and Eastern European countries. They symbolised where the socialist system could create a “melting pot”, and so do away with class differences and varying lifestyles (György and Durkó, 1993. Cited in Szemző and Tosics 2004, 11).

Specifically, West Germany had rehabilitation policies since the mid-1960s. With the main stress on physical renovation of historic centres, improvements in housing estates were achieved by the mid-1980s. In contrast, East Germany went through a period which was characterised dominantly by a policy of constructing new neighbourhoods (Droste and Knorr-Siedow, 2004).

Germany was based on an idiosyncrasy different from those countries previously described: the system of subsidiarity. Public administration, represented by the regions and municipalities, had the maximum responsibility for housing policy, even though the offer was in the hands of market agents. From the 1950s to the present day, three overlapping trends have been followed in housing policy: urban renovation began in the mid-1960s, several waves of rehabilitation of large residential neighbourhoods (from the mid-1980s), and the dominant trend for supporting house ownership through direct and indirect subsidies (begun in the mid-1980s). In the 1990s, the reunification of Germany and evaluation of the different policies demonstrated the need to design strategies more orientated towards exchange of space and socio-economic problems than to the typology of the building (Droste and Knorr-Siedow, 2004).

> Urban regeneration in Spain and Catalonia

The historic evolution of urban regeneration policies in Spain and Catalonia is rather different from other European countries. There is no uniform policy – from central government, the Autonomous Communities or at local government level – for taking on

responsibility for the renovation of urban neighbourhoods (Pareja Eastaway et al, 2004). Different contextual elements contributed to this situation, but the most important are the political decentralisation between the levels of government, the weakness of the Welfare State, and the strong resident involvement, the latter not only as a movement demanding neighbourhood improvements but also one against the dictatorship and, as such, with a political character.

In Spain there was mass construction of housing, particularly on the outskirts of the cities. This is similar to elsewhere in Europe, though there the objective was to rebuild after the Second World War, while in Spain it was to offer housing for those migrating from rural communities to the city in search of work and a better life (Pareja Eastaway and Simó Solsona, 2006, 17). In some cases there was a transformation from “shanty towns” to “vertical shacks”, creating cities with a high density of housing (EARHA, 2001).

In the 1970s, Spain began a process of decentralising responsibilities to other administrative levels, such as the Autonomous Communities and local governments. This process is ongoing, but it has conditioned the initiatives for urban improvement in the neighbourhoods. The lack of a central policy and the assumption of responsibility by regional and local governments has meant that regeneration and remodelling of neighbourhoods took on a different format, depending on the relationships between different administrations (Pareja Eastaway and Simó Solsona, 2006). On some occasions there was a transfer of responsibility, but the resources were often insufficient to implement the projects planned. A change in policy was brought about on entry to the European Union in 1986, especially regarding the source of funding: Spain qualified as a receiver of money from the Cohesion Fund, among others, to implement a range of policies in urban matters.

Urban regeneration policies in Spain have followed two approaches. On one hand they have been physical projects in the built-up areas, including improvements to housing, buildings and common spaces; and on the other, they have involved elements of the social fabric of the neighbourhood, such as schools, work training and health programmes. Recently, the need for a comprehensive focus seems to have definitively impregnated urban regeneration policies. In addition, it became clear that there was a need for complementarity between the initiatives begun by regional or local authorities (top-down) and those more spontaneous, by the residents themselves (bottom-up) (Pareja Eastaway and Simó Solsona, in press).

In the Catalan panorama, urban regeneration projects have battled with the structural deficiencies of housing stock, with major resident participation claiming facilities, housing, roads and public transport. As in the rest of Spain, house ownership

was mainly private, thus conditioning urban projects from the 1960s to the present day. The main characteristic of these projects has been to address the housing problem, particularly public housing. And it is only in the last ten years that a more comprehensive view has been adopted, with the example of the Ley de Barrios (Neighbourhood Law) (2004), which applies to all public property in built-up areas, leaving aside private housing. This Neighbourhood Law will now be discussed since it is considered the current policy of urban reform implemented by the Catalan government.

There are two particularly well-known antecedents to this law: the Planes Especiales de Reforma Interior (PERIs) and the Programa de Remodelación de Barrios. The PERIs, from the 1980s, formed part of the local zoning plans, many resulting from the demands of local residents claiming more global action in their neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood movements made strong demands and applied pressure to incorporate some of their social demands in these programmes (Llop et al, 2008). The PERIs were tools for planning, necessary and urgent urban plans to relieve the shortage of housing and services in the territory. The fundamental characteristic was the physical nature of works, involving renovations and demolitions. They were projects financed by the appropriate government office for each area. Even though some PERIs were never completed or did not function correctly, they were an antecedent for the Ley de Barrios. They could operate over a wide range of fields, were not limited to a single typology of urban area, had a legal framework, and were based on socio-economic studies (García Ferrando, 2007, p. 14).

The Programa de Remodelación de Barrios (1985) arose as a result of a specific context: the transfer of responsibility for social housing from the central government to the Catalan government. The defence of social housing rapidly became more intense as a reaction to the collapse of a building in Turó de la Peira (Barcelona, 1990), with one fatality. The programme was focussed on alleviating structural deficiencies (such as aluminosis), particularly in public housing. Like the PERIs, it was also mainly physical. The remodelling programmes were implemented through agreements at different administrative levels: central government was mainly responsible for financing, the Autonomous Community took the lead, and local government was involved when pertinent, such as when it involved land and housing it owned.

In 2004, the three-party coalition in the Catalan government approved the Ley de Barrios. Its full title clearly explains the concept which it was based on: a law to improve neighbourhoods, urban areas and towns which require special attention. To achieve this end, it set two basic objectives: firstly, to establish an economic fund to carry out integrated programmes, and secondly to promote cooperation between stakeholders.

Inspired by the urban development programmes of the European Union, the idea was to address the diverse and complex problems which exist in these areas through a comprehensive project. The intention was to go beyond sectoral activities to coordinate the actions within a single project in an area requiring “special attention”. Comprehensive action is directed towards promoting physical rehabilitation of public space from the point of view of environmental sustainability, social welfare and economic revitalisation. Through these improvements, local communities should be able to develop a social and cultural fabric in a favourable environment for social cohesion, encouraging social and cultural roots.

The underlying philosophy of the Ley de Barrios is that of significant action within a set period (four years with the possibility of a two-year extension), in a limited area and in a multitude of ambits. The aim was for this law to be the driving force to change the process of degradation and avoid the social and spatial segregation historically present in these urban areas. In this way the differences between neighbourhoods can be reduced and an amalgam of a cohesive city created (Simó Solsona, 2012).

To end this section, the main strengths and weaknesses of the Ley de Barrios are analysed, as an example of an outstanding urban regeneration policy in Spain.

Among the main contributions, repeated throughout this chapter, is the concept of applying a **comprehensive focus** to urban regeneration. This characteristic refers to the project being global in the fields of action – physical, economic, environmental and social – and in the field of improving the image (both external and internal) presented by a neighbourhood. Also, the project benefits from a **strong political will** at the different levels of government, which means it can be supported financially and have priority in the political agenda of the administrations involved. A comprehensive project of these characteristics involves a high level of coordination between the different administrative bodies as well as between the different departments of each. This **inter-departmental action** was one of the main difficulties as the organisational structure cannot work with these synergies, but it is relevant to highlight the effort made in the interest of coordination. Another strong point in the Ley de Barrios is the **medium and long-term view** it incorporated. Starting from the premise that changes to the landscape and of people are slow and require time, ephemeral programmes were never sufficiently strong to provoke the hoped-for change. Plans of action over a minimum of four years allow adaptation in the project area on the basis of the context and difficulties encountered.

One of the characteristic features of this law, throughout its process of implementation, is the importance of **citizen participation** in proposals, decision making, and

project evaluation. Although there is still much to be done with reference to citizen participation, it should be underlined that the public administration incorporates, in its top-down view, the opinion of members of society who live in, walk around, and enjoy their neighbourhood.

The Ley de Barrios introduced the principle of **universalisation** in two fundamental stages: at the time of selecting the projects and in the implementation. This means establishing **selection criteria** which, by awarding points, allow the selection of projects which best bring together the needs of the neighbourhood, and secondly that all urban areas should implement their own Plan de Barrios (four-year action plan), structured in eight fields, but with enough **flexibility** to be able to adapt the plan to the idiosyncrasies of the area. This last characteristic added comparability for evaluation of the policy.

The introduction of the **scale of the neighbourhood** has allowed for the design of programmes more in agreement with the needs of the area, and detection of the representatives of society who can take part throughout the process. The positive effect of being able to design policies on this micro scale is prejudiced when the neighbourhood does not actually exist as an administrative unit and therefore creates difficulties, for example, in the elaboration of a careful diagnosis and demarcating the project area.

To conclude the strengths, two more capacities included in the Ley de Barrios should be highlighted. The first is the leadership of city councils both in financing (providing 50% of the investment) and in implementation. The decisive role of the city councils has a number of advantages. One is a greater proximity of the administration to the citizen, and another is greater precision in defining the problems and actions to be carried out. A third contribution is one difficult to achieve with other, similar initiatives: the possibility of implementing a programme with a vision of a “**city project**”. This is, in fact, the second capacity deriving from direct involvement of local councils. That is to say, the neighbourhood programme of regeneration is not only an action for the neighbourhood, but also signifies an impulse to facilitate cohesion between all neighbourhoods, and an improvement to de-stigmatise those most underprivileged.

The main weaknesses of the law include an **excessive predominance of physical action**. Even though a regeneration programme may be qualified as comprehensive, and the projects selected are those which allocate available funds in the eight fields of action, much of the investment has been concentrated on remodelling or construction of public space, relegating social, economic and environmental aspects to a secondary position.

Another difficulty with the Ley de Barrios is the **lack of skills and experience in executing and managing the projects**. The budget of some of the selected projects has been considerable, while the staff involved had no expertise in the execution of such a large-scale project. This lack of experience in managing, together with the **excessive bureaucratic complications between administrative offices**, made it difficult to manage and implement projects while meeting the deadlines. The wide diversity among selected projects has led to further problems in project management. We find major distinctions when comparing the investment per inhabitant of the project area. For example, investment in the old centre of Solsona, 9 hectares, was € 8920.79 / inhabitant, while in the old centre of Tortosa, double the size, this figure was € 6623.59 / inhabitant.

But if the greatest difficulty had to be underlined, it would be the **economic crisis** which has undermined part of the execution of the projects. It has led to a failure to meet deadlines. In the worst of cases, insufficient local funding has led to the interruption of already-started projects, particularly those focussing on social problems. Sadly, it is when an economic crisis makes living conditions worse for people resident in these underprivileged neighbourhoods that action (social more than ever) is most urgently needed.⁴

And to end, there is just the need to highlight that the greatest negative contribution of this Neighbourhood Law is in its interruption. The Catalan government, claiming a lack of resources, has not published calls for new projects since 2010.

> Conclusions

The aim of this chapter is to evaluate the different experiences of urban regeneration in Europe, with special emphasis on Spain and the example of the Ley de Barrios as a paradigm of comprehensive urban regeneration.

Of those analysed, some common elements have been identified which should be taken into account to be able to ensure sustainability of urban regeneration policies. One is the comprehensive character of the project, which involves global action in the area, rather than just physical action. In addition, the long-term view should be mentioned, along with the need for political will, stable and active collaboration with the citizens, and the setting of clear objectives.

⁴ It is necessary to carry out research to analyse the impact of the economic crisis on the implementation of the projects and the situation of the residents.

In Spain and Catalonia, the approaches developed in matters of urban regeneration policy have been characterised by their fragmentation and discontinuity. Despite this, and even given the economic restrictions suffered by the public administration, the objective of social cohesion in vulnerable neighbourhoods should not be neglected.

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/ Employment, Social Cohesion and Territory. Integrating labour market policies into urban regeneration processes in Catalonia: The Employment in the Neighbourhoods case study

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Abstract

The article aims to raise awareness of the importance of considering labour market policies when shaping guidelines and strategies for urban regeneration. It also presents a reflection on the importance of (productive) economy and employment as elements that should generate social cohesion and wellbeing. This is feasible only to the extent to which this has a bearing on the need to incorporate an interdisciplinary approach, and by expounding the elements that urban regeneration projects must take into account through the adoption of a local development approach. The article concludes with a description of The Employment in the Neighbourhoods project (*Treball als Barris*), an example of a project that applies this method.

> Introduction

Urban planning policies and, more specifically, urban regeneration processes are often associated with physical transformations in a specific territory. While it is true that this manner of transformation has been applied more frequently in urban planning, there are also cases where interventions have been carried out in a more or less integrated way through a combination of sectoral policies aimed at transforming the territory beyond mere physical improvement. However, these are not the most common in Spain. Taking the current socio-economic context into consideration, it seems necessary to reconfigure local political agendas so as to promote planning policies and projects that adopt a holistic approach which specifically considers their ultimate objective, which continues to be the creation of conditions to improve the quality of life and the wellbeing of the local residents (Borja, 2009).

Spain has suffered the consequences of the imbalance in planning policies marked by local political agendas which, over the last few decades, have focussed on stimulating urban development (Iglesias et al 2011; Subirats and Blanco, 2014). While it is true that this could be the result of lack of funding caused by an imbalance between the provision of public services and a local government tax revenue (Jiménez, 2012; Remesar and Borja, 2014), it is also a consequence of consolidation of the neo-liberal agenda at all levels of public administration. This has led to progressive deregulation and the overturn of public policies - of the Welfare State - and dispossession and privatisation of rights acquired by the citizens, such as those linked to employment, healthcare and housing. It has also meant the use of criteria of economic efficiency to relax the rules on market regulations. This process has eventually led to more pronounced inequalities (Esping-Andersen et al, 2002) and an overall decrease of citizens' welfare, as seen in the situation today in Spain (Navarro et al, 2011; Navarro et al, 2013).

Bitter proof of this is the high number of unemployed people in Spain which, in 2014, stood at 5,600,900 according to the national statistics institute (INE, 2014). Though the economic crisis is having a global impact, from the point of view of the labour market, there are differential effects since unemployment has hit the working population very unevenly, depending on the kind of economic activity and occupational status (Recio, 2011). The approval of new labour regulations in 2012 was meant to reduce the strictness of the system of unemployment benefits by closing the gap in protection between temporary and permanent workers in order to stimulate job creation. Though the objective was to stimulate the creation of jobs (OECD, 2013) such changes have eventually led to degeneration of working conditions, deterioration of the labour market and, by extension, of the whole economy (Navarro et al, 2013). The issue of unemployment cannot be analysed in an isolated way since it is interdependent from other problems linked to dispossession and increased vulnerability (social, psychological and economic) leading to an increase in tensions and urban conflicts. It should be kept in mind that 42% of the unemployed in Spain did not receive any form of allowance by the end of the second semester of 2014 (Fundación 1 Mayo, 2014).

The crisis has also had an uneven impact at the socio-spatial level, affecting areas with a high concentration of the most vulnerable sector of the population. With the negative aspects of globalisation hitting hard, the crisis has unquestionably accentuated poverty and social exclusion in certain areas and neighbourhoods in large cities and metropolitan regions. In these areas, the population tries to cope with demographic and social transformations suffered over a short period of time, including increased migratory flow and shifts in the labour market due to changes in employment

following the decline of certain sectors of production. To give an example, the Ciutat Meridiana neighbourhood in Barcelona, with 11,000 inhabitants, 40% of which are immigrants, concentrated the largest number of mortgage default evictions in Spain in 2012 and had an unemployment rate of 19.5% at the end of 2013 (CESB, 2013).

With this in mind, it is reasonable to assert that local political agendas have been overwhelmed by the growing complexity of urban dynamics, involving a concentration of problems and opportunities, and the coexistence of individualisation processes leading to social segmentation that tend to separate functions and individuals (Subirats and Blanco, 2009). The intervention capacity of municipalities in areas such as transportation, employment, economic development and housing has been limited to the extent that its dynamics have gone beyond geographic boundaries, creating new metropolitan dynamics. At the same time, local response has been segmented and specialised due to the low level of articulation and the non-comprehensive nature of local urban policies, so characteristic of the Fordism-inspired urban development model that has had a major impact in Spain (Subirats and Martí, 2014).

Certainly, the management of an ever-growing urban complexity has generated the need for an interdisciplinary approach which is involved in levels of decision-making that are differentiated along the lines of Landry et al. (1996), favouring a change of paradigm through a holistic vision of both the urban territory and the professions involved in its transformation (Remesar and Ricart, 2013). This change of paradigm of urban management must have the support of planning notions which see the public and the social realms as the defining elements of cities and territories. In this context Jordi Borja has stated that,

[...] urban planning is not financial management nor, at the outset, architecture or engineering; it works on empty space, it is the framework that will condition the lives of people and order future relationships between physical elements. It is based on social and economic dynamics, on the restrictions imposed by the environment and the resources, on cultural values and political goals, on the power relationships between the actors taking part in the process. The management of urban planning is, above all else, politics. (Borja, 2003: 95)

This view of planning requires a political dimension that surpasses legal standards (Borja, 2003) and must allow the reorientation of urban policies to increase the capacity to approach urban problems from a position of social involvement and close contact with the citizen (Iglesias et al, 2011). This is to take place in two ways. Firstly, through establishment of territorial networks between the various local actors to enhance the level of vertical and horizontal coordination in the design and implementation of territorial and sectoral policies and projects which integrate the large number of mechanisms

of multi-level intervention (Subirats and Blanco, 2009). Secondly, it is necessary to adopt an integrated approach for holistic action in a given territory, incorporating within a single action framework all the sectoral public policies necessary to, “produce an urban plan that improves the quality of life of less affluent areas of population by providing access to housing, facilities and services, public spaces, security, etc”. (Borja 2009:166). To this we might add, for example, the creation of steady and decent jobs.

Although in many cases the job creation has been considered at least a subsidiary objective of planning strategies linked to urban regeneration processes (Hart and Johnston, 2000), in the current socio-economic context, policies and actions which are meant to increase the capacity of the citizens should be further stimulated in order to combat the ever-growing phenomena of urban segregation and fragmentation. To achieve this, one of the main objectives of these strategies must be to strengthen local labour markets from a territorial point of view. It is necessary to reclaim the role of labour market policies (among others) with the articulation of urban policies and, more specifically, in the development of planning strategies, since, as we will see in the Employment in the Neighbourhoods project, these may play a very important role in social and economic development of the areas where planning development interventions are carried out.

> Labour market policies, urban dynamics and the local development approach

At present, there exists a widely spread notion that work is becoming increasingly less important in shaping our lives. While it is true that leisure activities and consumption patterns define individual and collective identities more and more, work has never ceased to be an element that shapes our lives. Despite the transformations the world of work has experienced, through technological progress and the gradual recognition of workers' rights, it continues to contribute equally or even more than before to generating inequalities. It is a field of social tension, in which old inequalities persist while new ones arise related to the dynamics generated by globalisation (Santos Ortega and Poveda, 2002).

Today, unemployment is one of the main problems that western governments have to face, particularly in those countries where this is very high, as in Spain. To cope with this problem, governments need to use all possible means to protect the unemployed. These measures need to be aimed at creating and securing employment and improving the skills and competences of the workers. Altogether, the measures can be grouped as a set of labour market policies.

While there is no generally accepted definition of what labour market policies are or what exactly they include, the following definition by Hernando can be taken as valid:

Labour market policies may be defined as those policies that comprise a set of structural measures that affect the creation of activity, employment, the evolution of unemployment and the model of labour relationships. In addition, they affect aspects such as costs of dismissal, unemployment benefits, labour flexibility, decentralisation of collective bargaining, regulation of working hours, wages and the institutions responsible for the labour relationships system and the active labour market policies. (Hernando, 2007:13)

It should be noted that labour market policies cover two broad categories: passive and active policies.

While the first comprises measures which aim to respond to the needs of the unemployed, assuring a certain level of income and sometimes including schemes to promote early retirement, the second category includes all the measures aimed at directly influencing the functioning of the labour market to increase the level of employment or reduce unemployment. (Fina, 2001:406)

In Spain, passive labour market policies have traditionally had more weight in the configuration of labour market policies due to the issue of unemployment benefits. While it is true that in the short term these passive policies are necessary to alleviate the most direct effects of unemployment, in the long term they are not that effective because they drain off substantial financial resources without contributing to reducing the problem of unemployment (Fina, 2001). This is precisely what has happened in Spain where the number of unemployed has varied in both directions independently of the resources provided and the jobs generated. In this context,

[...] it is necessary to apply complementary measures as a reaction to the country's high levels of structural unemployment. In a situation of severe unemployment [such as the one we are currently in] the only active policies that can be justified are those intended to stimulate the creation of employment by offering dedicated funding geared towards establishing new jobs in the private sector, and by direct job creation in the public sector, if possible aiming to open up new areas of activity. (Fina, 2001:410)

Therefore, active labour market policies focus on the balance between supply (improving workers' employment possibilities) and demand (stimulating the creation of jobs) through the establishment of conditions. Creating and securing employment

take place, on the one hand, through promotion measures and adaptation of the workforce to the needs of companies, basically involving training, and on the other hand through procedures which use job placement services to match supply and demand by providing relevant labour market information (Hernando, 2007). However, to achieve a greater impact, these policies must be directly supplemented with other sectoral policies such as initiatives to improve vocational qualifications and training, economic development and business development: all in all aiming to generate a multiplier effect in a given territory.

Labour market policies are usually conceived as people-centred policies that give response to the needs of large groups of population with greater difficulties to access the labour market, such as the unemployed in general and those specifically over 45 years old, young people with few qualifications, women and immigrants. At the same time, in many cases, these policies have not sufficiently addressed the specific features of the territories where they are applied, becoming clear examples of space-neutral policies (Barca et al., 2012). While these policies may represent a positive approach for improving people's lives by ensuring equal opportunities regardless of where they live, the characteristics of the policies require that they also incorporate a territorial approach to respond more adequately to the conditions of local labour markets (Alburquerque 2007). Here, it is particularly important to take into account the very uneven territorial distribution of unemployment (Fina, 2001). This is precisely the point where the role of the local administration should be reclaimed as the level of intervention where most programmes and initiatives of active labour policies in Spain are carried out.

The territorial approach is exactly what can help favour the proactive nature of active labour market policies in the face of the complexity of urban dynamics, since, by delimiting a target area, policies can be designed with adjustments to the specific needs and problems of the territory in question. This is especially relevant in non-rural areas and in particular in large cities since

[...] they are, and always have been, the central arena of changes in the economic and productive system and of the reorganisation of the institutional system (...) therefore it can be affirmed that cities play, and always have played, a strategic role in the evolution of societies and in developments in all historical periods. (Vázquez-Barquero, 2005:95)

Vázquez-Barquero argues that the city, faced with ongoing processes of urbanisation, has ended up being a priority area for relationships and exchanges in economic development, due to the great availability of resources and the productive, commercial, cultural and social diversity which attract companies and workers.

However, these urban settings also feature the emerging realities of social exclusion to a much larger degree (Blanco, 2005). According to Blanco,

[...] there are compelling reasons for this. Wilson (1987), for example, argues that the decline of traditional manufacturing, especially notable in major urban centres, has brought with it a process of professional disqualification for large sectors of the population which, in addition to being confined to these urban spaces, also live relatively far from areas where there are still opportunities to find suitable jobs. Furthermore, Sassen (1991) points out that large cities have a greater ability to attract immigration, which tends to increase the levels of social inequality and widen the margins of vulnerability. Finally, Young (2000: 208) points out that the urban environment favours indifference to situations of need which certain social groups suffer. These collectives end up being the victims of invisibility and isolation compared to the majority of the population. (Blanco, 2005:3)

Certainly, the appeal of cities and large urban areas is directly proportional to their pace of development and transformation, causing imbalance in the social, economic, cultural and other spheres and which eventually lead to problematic situations. A clear example is the problem of unemployment, mentioned above. This should not be understood as a short-term problem in the context of a crisis, but as a structural problem resulting from processes of urban transformation that have weakened the productive urban economies and as a direct cause of poverty and inequality (Hart and Johnson, 2000). This is why it is necessary that both labour market policies and all planning policies are able to anticipate problems and pre-empt, for example, possible situations of mass unemployment. This will be possible only possible to the extent to which territorial approaches are adopted and integrated projects carried out.

> Local labour markets and urban dynamics

In *El Reto del Empleo*, Lluís Fina describes the labour market as,

[...] a social institution where the entrepreneurs (the buyers) gather information on wages and on the 'quality' of the workers, and then hire them, and the workers (the sellers) look for information on the availability of jobs and on wages and other conditions that are offered. The 'territory' is an important factor in the development of these market processes. (Fina, 2001: 427)

Fina also warns of the enormous complexity involved in delimiting local labour markets, because they do not match with administrative divisions and have very little to do with the varying conditions of the economy. The local labour markets are config-

ured according to qualifications and gender and there may be several local markets and submarkets of varying size that partially overlap in a given geographical area. They are defined by employment itself (including the particular branch of industry) and by certain personal characteristics (such as gender or age) as well as other territorial features such as spatial segregation.

To address this complexity, it is necessary to involve the 'local' level – in the broad sense of the term, beyond political-administrative boundaries – as being the most appropriate to tackle the problem of unemployment, but paradoxically, according to Fina (2001), the geographical areas that fall under the competence of local authorities are normally smaller than the local labour market, which complicates the design and implementation of policies that link with the 'real' markets. In these 'open' markets, demand does not match the supply of work, i.e., there may be an excess or deficit of workers and jobs. This is mainly due to improvements in transport and communication infrastructures which may, among other things, lead to workers being able to commute longer distances.

Today it is clear that many of these urban dynamics have taken on a metropolitan dimension (Borja, 2009). However, in Spain such dynamics have been developed only minimally at local level, mainly within municipalities. This is due to the rigid structure and lack of adaptation of the various local and regional governments, which adhere to a hierarchical and jurisdictional perspective that organises power in a pyramidal structure and relates it to the status of the individual embodying it. Power is defined and shaped by the competences and resources that are formally available (Subirats and Blanco, 2012).

This situation requires close horizontal and vertical coordination among local and regional governments that share competences in the local labour markets as well as greater involvement of non-institutional actors. This is, without a doubt, one of the main challenges that local governments today need to deal with since

[...] coordination and integration issues are becoming more difficult for the institutions of government and governance in the context of increasingly complex multi-agent and multi-level systems operating across and between a range of geographical scales. (Pike et al, 2006:267)

To address this challenge, a territorial approach is required that integrates, for example, labour market policies with local economic development strategies (Albuquerque, 2007). But it should also be complemented with other, no less important and interconnected, sectoral areas such as housing, education, transportation, social services and healthcare. In addition, the territorial approach of policies requires the mo-

bilisation and involvement of an ample group of local actors (public and private) in the design and implementation of such policies enabling them to play an active role.

To some extent, the increasing complexity of economic development processes and employment promotion require that the encouragement of these territorial strategies be accompanied by a process of decentralisation which aims to strengthen local democracy, since

[...] these processes are the result of many variables, which include available natural resources, education, culture and the specific characteristics of the institutional framework. They cause the sets of decisions taken by the economic agents to eventually lead (or not) to an increase in activity and demand for labour or increased employability of the workers. To initiate these processes, the local level may also be an advantage since it facilitates contact, informal relationships and cooperation between both public and private agents. (Fina, 2001: 425)

This empowerment of local democracy is brought about through the institutional strengthening of local and regional governments. They have major advantages compared to central governments, because of the higher level of representation and legitimacy towards their electorate, and can therefore be institutional agents of social and cultural integration of territorial communities. Another advantage is their higher levels of flexibility, adaptability and manoeuvrability when faced with changing contexts (Borja and Castells, 1997; Albuquerque, 2001). For this reason, institutional strengthening of local governments can facilitate the establishment of collaboration networks between the various territorial actors, and improved vertical and horizontal coordination between those involved (Rodríguez-Pose, 2001), trying to spread information and find greater synergies in the territorial and sectoral projects. Faced with the challenges linked to globalisation, the strengthening of regional and local institutions has to include the promotion of participatory democracy, administrative decentralization, social cohesion and efficiency in the innovation of production and in business development (Albuquerque, 2001; Vázquez-Barquero, 2005). The strengthening of local governments should be supported by the adoption of a local development approach when designing local and territorial strategies.

> Comments on the local development approach

Approaches towards local development have evolved over time, incorporating social, ecological, political and cultural concerns and perceptions (Pike et al, 2007). At the

same time, the mixture of analytical, strategic, and political approaches makes it difficult to establish a single method of analysis or application.

In this respect, Moulaert and Nussbaumer stress the ample variety of approaches used in practice:

Dans la pratique, on trouve une combinaison impressionnante de principes orthodoxes de développement (croissance économique pure, projets de planification à grande échelle, dérégulation de l'immobilier et du marché du travail) et de principes alternatifs (satisfaction des besoins essentiels, démocratie directe pour les citoyens et les groupes de citoyens exclus, application de principes d'autogestion et d'autoproduction) comme de principes appartenant à différentes traditions de planification urbaine (aménagement du territoire, planification stratégique, planification intégrée) (Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2008:99)

Other authors such as Pike, Rodríguez-Pose and Tomaney (2006) stress it is important the approach be holistic, progressive and sustainable to enable the promotion of knowledge and the integration between the economic, social, political, ecological and cultural spheres, while being aware of the inconsistencies and conflicts that may arise. In this context "holistic thinking connects to the broader notion of development as a wider and more rounded conception of well-being and quality of life" (Pike et al, 2006:256).

In a similar approach, Carrizo and Gallichio state (2006), establish four basic dimensions in which local development takes part:

- Economic: linked to the creation, accumulation and distribution of wealth.
- Social and cultural: concerning the quality of life, fairness and social integration.
- Environmental: relating to natural resources and the sustainability of the models adopted in the mid and long term.
- Political: linked to the administrative possibilities of the territory and the definition of a collective project that is specific, autonomous and supported by the local agents themselves.

In respect of a conceptualization of local development Pike, Rodríguez-Pose and Tomaney (2007) state that:

Progressive local and regional development is based upon a set of foundational, even universal, principles and values such as justice, fairness, equality, equity, democracy, unity, cohesion, solidarity and internationalism (Harvey, 1996). Such ideals are often forged in place and can connect local, particular, struggles – 'militant particularisms' – in a more general, geographically encom-

passing common and shared interest (Harvey, 2000; Williams, 1980). In establishing the principles and value that define what is meant by local and regional development, public discussion and social participation within a democratic framework are integral (Pike et al, 2007: 1263)

It is not surprising that it is difficult to establish consensus on a definition of local development. Nevertheless, it might be interpreted as a process of economic reactivation and local community dynamization which, through the efficient use of local resources (human, economic, institutional and cultural) in a given area, is able to not only stimulate economic growth, but also lead to a fair distribution of wealth, the creation of employment and improvement in the quality of life of the local community (ILPES, 1998). From this point of view, local development should be understood as the formulation of a policy within a subnational and subregional territory in which the socio-economic agents with greater presence and representation in civil society, as well as the local public administrations, manifest, in unison, the desire to act in an organised, planned and programmed way to achieve the objective of promoting those economic activities and creating those jobs which they themselves have determined necessary (Hernando 2007).

Local development is not an aim in itself, it is a process for achieving wellbeing in a given territory. Thus, according to Harvey (2007), the principles and values of local and regional development reflect the relationships and balance between the state, the market and civil society and are socially and politically determined at the local and the territorial level. The distribution of power and local resources in a given society shape economic, social and political inequalities as well as local and regional development policies and proposals.

Strategies based on the local development approach are often devised specifically for each context and particular case since the needs and demands of towns and territories vary. Moreover, each community has a different conception of the priorities that should be incorporated into development policies (Vázquez-Barquero, 2009). Nevertheless, it is possible to establish some basic characteristics all these strategies should have:

- Territorial approach: this starts from the need to ensure the scope of a project focuses on establishing a diagnosis to which strategic and participatory planning is incorporated. This requires everything from efficient organisation of the production chain and company network to all the aspects concerning the local community and the processes of organising and managing local development (Alburquerque, 2004).

- Endogenous nature: since they are based on a specific territory, strategies should be able to articulate a plan of action based on mobilisation and use of the available endogenous resources (human, infrastructural, technological, socio-cultural and institutional). This approach goes beyond the productive sphere as it also covers the improvement of the social and cultural dimensions that affect society wellbeing (Vázquez-Barquero, 2002). In turn, this plan of action should enhance the uptake of exogenous resources and orient them towards the established territorial strategies.
- Adopt a proactive attitude: the need to meet the challenges described above usually requires

[...] a proactive attitude by local governments (and regional governments in general) with regard to productive development and generation of employment. This means local public authorities must take on responsibilities beyond their traditional roles as providers of social, urban and environmental services at the local level (Alburquerque, 2004:7)

At the same time, by adopting this attitude, the strategy has to do away with the mentality associated with the logic of public funding and passively waiting for public authorities to provide solutions (Alburquerque, 2001). Without this attitude, a strategy will barely achieve the dynamism needed to meet the set objectives.

- Integrated approach: To some extent, the adoption of a proactive attitude also implies acquiring the ability to interpret reality in a way which enables connections between different fields of action, disciplines and public policies to be established. This point is particularly important for local government, since gaining the capacity to act in an integrated way allows actors to circumvent traditional sector-based constraints (Brugué and Gomà, 1998). The aim is to overcome the usual fragmentation of sectoral approaches, based on the notion that actions are to be coordinated as a coherent whole. This requires a significant degree of coordination between the various levels of public administration, as well as effective, territorial, public-private cooperation. These two aspects are not always present and require managers of territorial development to prioritise their efforts (Alburquerque, 2004).
- Flexibility: While the adoption of an integrated approach is promoted, flexibility is needed to co-ordinate policies, combine programmes and local initiatives, adjust programme targets and draw on synergies (Gugiere, 2005:30). The incorporation of more flexible management methods may emphasise the role of networks of actors and the need to adopt a territorial approach that makes it possible to

adapt policies to local needs in an integrated fashion and cause leverage of its effects.

- Participative nature: Local development is a participatory process in which local actors are the ones who design, control and implement local development strategies (Vázquez-Barquero, 2011). The need to involve a broad sector of the local community means that great importance is given to participatory processes. A bottom-up approach promotes participatory decision-making by local actors with regard to local development policies. This implies seeking the involvement of local actors and territorial institutions (Alburquerque, 2004), mainly because it provides objectives and direction, and encourages citizen participation and business activity (Rodríguez-Pose, 2001). It is important to bear in mind that local development is not only a political-institutional strategy - since the objectives cannot be addressed solely by the action of public institutions - but that it will be the product of the numerous actions of all the actors (economic, social and institutional) that have a bearing on the territory (Barreiro, 2000). The search for strategic alliances between local public and private actors, in favour of local development and employment, is a crucial issue. However, this requires the creation of a representative institutional body or a territorial forum, which should be given a technical unit so it can implement the decisions agreed upon by the local actors (Alburquerque, 2004).

In relation to the application of the local development approach, Guigiere noted that

[...] local development has become a fashionable topic over the past few years. At a time when globalisation increasingly shapes our jobs and lives, it may be surprising to see so many policy statements pointing to the local level for answers. The diversity of local situations is no longer seen as an obstacle, but a strength, and local characteristics are considered a source of competitive advantage. (Guigiere, 2005: 27)

For over thirty years, as the process of economic integration at the global level has continued to intensify, a large number of local development projects have emerged and developed in poor and in emerging countries (Vázquez - Barquero, 2009).

However, the local development approach has not been applied exclusively in developing countries, but also in countless initiatives in developed countries including most of the EU member states. With regard to Europe, local development emerged and demonstrated itself in the mid-1980s. It was the result of the coming together of an economic situation (crisis in the traditional industries, emergence and extension of the services economy), a social situation (persistent unemployment, new forms of so-

cial exclusion in cities) and a tendency in politics (decentralisation, crisis in the centralised welfare state and, above all, integration of states into the EU) (Alòs, 1999; Barreiro Jiménez, 2010; Calvo González Cardona, 2010; Remesar Borja, 2014).

Finally, it should be noted that the EU has made a particularly important contribution to the advancement of local development initiatives since the 1980s. Through the provision of financial resources and the promotion of several sophisticated measures, the EU established a genuine public policy for socio-economic development and social cohesion in Europe (Jimenez and Barreiro 2009). The combination of financial resources and political will resulted in rural development programmes (LEADER) and European programmes such as Poverty III, Urban Pilot Projects, Urban I and Neighbourhoods in Crisis. They all take the neighbourhood as a privileged level for implementing strategies to combat poverty and social exclusion (Moulaert et al, 2014). One of these programmes, Urban, eventually evolved into URBACT, which, as we shall see later, was the inspiration for the action plan of the Neighbourhood Law drawn up in Catalonia. This law forms the framework for the Employment in the Neighbourhoods project.

> Re-examining local urban management from the point of view of local development

As mentioned in the Introduction, urban policies have often been associated with physical changes in a given territory. In Spain, such policies have focused on creating infrastructures and sanitation systems, construct dwellings and public spaces and build access roads (Iglesias et al, 2011). Most of these activities have been concentrated in built-up areas. However, urban policies should not be confused with spatial planning policies, since urban policies have a much broader scope. Apart from their semantic proximity, the confusion has to do with the fact that development policies (spatial planning) have historically been one of the core competencies of local governments in Spain (Blanco and Subirats, 2012). However, putting urban policies on an equal footing with urban development processes is not exclusive to Spain, since it has been the focal point of planning of many local agendas in a globalised scenario.

There are, broadly speaking, two main reasons for this trend. The first has to do with local governments' need for funding. In the words of Swyngedouw:

Urban redevelopment is considered to be a central strategy in re-equilibrating the problematic fiscal balance sheet of local government. Spatially focused policies aimed at producing increasing rent income, altering the socioeconomic tax basis, and producing profitable economic activ-

ities are among the few options available, particularly in a context in which the structure of fiscal revenues is changing rapidly (Swyngedouw et al, 2002:557).

The second reason is more ideological. The Introduction mentions how the vast majority of local political agendas have incorporated, into their urban management processes, a market logic based on criteria such as financial efficiency and sustainability, which focus on the ongoing need to generate benefits through, for example, the creation of surplus value (Harvey, 2012). Both reasons are of course linked and have led to “a process of homogenization and neoliberal convergence in terms of urban governance practices, new landscapes, discourses of competitiveness and the emergence of cities as strategic economic centres” (González, 2011:466).

Diamond et al. (2009) consider that:

Across those urban and industrial and post-industrial cities, the impact of neo-liberalism has been profound. It is not that the impact has been to write off the place of city hall but rather we can observe a redressing of the relationship(s) between city hall and the business/economic and service sector interests present within the city.” (Diamond et al, 2009:245)

While it is true that, as these authors claim, over the past decades the role of governments has transformed from being a promoter to being a facilitator (Diamond et al., 2009), it is also true that local governments continue to play an active part in the design and implementation of urban policies precisely because, according to Swyngedouw et al. (2002), “planners and local authorities adopt a more proactive and entrepreneurial approach aimed at identifying market opportunities and assisting private investors to take advantage of them” in the configuration of larger-scale market-oriented development projects (Swyngedouw et al, 2002).

In recent decades, the urban context has been marked by the rise of a new management style known as “New urban Policy” focused on the promotion of private investments through land market deregulation (Swyngedouw et al., 2002; Moulaert et al, 2014). In addition, the consolidation of these new forms of urban management has introduced urban entrepreneurship in the local political agenda as a strategy aimed at enabling economic growth through the mobility of capital and consumption.

This approach implies re-imagining the city as an economic, political and cultural entity that should focus its activities on generating a favourable or competitive environment in order to position the territory in question within the globalised market, with the ultimate goal of promoting economic growth through the promotion of business development (Jessop, 1997). Growth is understood as an end in itself. At the same time, emphasis is placed on the positive effects of globalisation, that is, mobilising and rais-

ing capital, while the negative externalities associated with the provision of services to different social groups or certain areas or neighbourhoods are not taken into account.

Today, we have more than enough indicators that economic growth by itself is not synonymous with wellbeing. In many cases, the promotion of this kind of policies ends up looking into continuous processes of capital accumulation linked to urban development (Harvey, 2012). Economic development must be accompanied by a fight against poverty and in favour of equal opportunities. A form of growth must be found that benefits the population as a whole, with the highest possible level of redistribution of wealth. Economic growth without redistribution of wealth will end up being counterproductive for the territory. A territory with high levels of unemployment, economic inactivity and low wages leads to high social and economic costs, not only for the public sector, but for the whole of society. Clear examples of this drift towards neoliberal ideas in urban policies are frequently found in urban regeneration processes, which, rather than leading to reactivation, promote market oriented processes that focus on a revaluation of the space and its uses, causing, in many cases, externalities linked to socio-spatial segregation and increased inequality.

While it is true that many urban strategies aim at improving 'competitiveness' by promoting environments that favour the stimulation of economic activity, it is also necessary and possible to promote, at the same time, a better quality of life for the population. Several local economic development theorists refer to the importance of generating "territorial environments of innovation" (Vazquez Barquero, 2005; Albuquerque, 2012; Desforges and Gilli, 2012), highlighting innovation as a collective and territorial fact that goes beyond the economic sphere and affects the social and institutional organisation of the territories, with market relations coexisting with territorial cooperation. These innovation-friendly spaces do not arise spontaneously as a result of market mechanisms, they require the action of public and private agents who promote strategies for local development and employment promotion in their territories (Albuquerque, 2012). In addition, Albuquerque notes that economic and social innovation should be oriented towards the imperatives of environmental sustainability, seeking the required confluence with the innovation needs of businesses and the labour market.

This approach is based on the ability of civil society to promote new forms of urban governance that apply principles such as inter-administrative cooperation, public-private cooperation and citizen participation (Blanco, 2009), and is underpinned by its own social capital (Putnam, 1993; Barreiro, 2000; Carrizo and Gallicchio, 2006; Albuquerque, 2008) and by the generation of spaces for dialogue and citizen participation (Brugué et al, 2013). It is not easy to adopt innovation policies on a large scale since

they require a favourable environment and certain capabilities to give value to the under-used and unused endogenous resources, taking advantage of the exogenous dynamism and promoting technical, social and institutional changes. To make this possible, proactive policies must be implemented that allow the configuration of specific, territorial-based models of action.

Improving the mechanisms of participation and making them democratic involves having to adjust the scale of an intervention depending on the challenges that arise, ensuring the private sector and civil society as a whole have access to space for dialogue and consultation with local governments. These have to become more responsive while also acting as a guarantor of public goods and interests. The space for dialogue should serve to integrate the territorial, economic, social and environmental needs of the citizens into policies and projects.

This approach should be incorporated into local urban management and urban planning. Subirats and Blanco (2009) assert that it is necessary to give new direction to local urban policies and management of cities and urban areas in order for them to be able to respond better to increasing urban complexity. This is because it is here, in this urban context, where lack of resources and comprehensive response capabilities are noted. Analytical planning, the form of planning that produced the Master Plan and the Development Plan, has proved to be incapable of managing urban growth and the changes taking place in cities (Balbo, 1998). Besides dealing with the physical organisation of space, urban and spatial planning and management have to integrate the dimension of time, uncertainty and strategy. They have to overcome planning logic, since it no longer makes sense to think and plan along the lines of rigid, prearranged and atemporal models. In today's knowledge, the ways urban planning and disciplines whose work is based on a territorial-approach and study reality, have to be modified. Alternative forms of planning the territory need to be established, incorporating elements of flexibility, multiplicity, integrality, participation, consensus and collaboration (Remesar et al., 2013).

The approach should not be limited to a focus on regulating uses of space in a given territory. The idea of controlling all aspects of urban development and the construction of the city should be surpassed, giving way to an approach which has a perspective of governance that goes beyond solving day-to-day problems, one-off projects and emergency intervention, and favours strategic ways of planning and managing the city (Balbo 1998). "This strategic approach, according to Balbo, "requires an organisation, a structure, political and technical manpower and material resources which municipalities do not always have" (Balbo, 1998:118). It also requires the ability to articulate solutions for the needs and demands at different levels of horizontal and

vertical relationships (multi-level governance), and between different levels of government, by adopting a strategic territorial management capacity.

In short, the way of devising urban policies and urban management that incorporates all the elements of the local development approach described above, must stimulate the pursuit of sustainable urban development that allows “equal access to urban goods and services, the creation of new employment opportunities, and the adoption of measures for transfers between sectors and city areas, that is, its objective is a higher level of fairness” (Balbo, 1998: 122).

While there is still a long way to go before this logic can be changed, since it implies substantial transformation in the ways of doing politics and ‘creating the city’, authors, such as Subirats and Marti-Costa claim that, in the Spanish context,

[...] it is possible to see how a change has taken place from an urban policy agenda centred on the ‘urban planning-economic development’ link, towards a greater presence of social, cultural and environmental components. This is happening in such a way that we could say that, without abandoning the planning-economy side, which is always very significant in local government strategies, urban agendas have become more plural and complex, and in response to this, urban policies have assumed a much greater extension and design in recent years (Subirats and Marti-Costa, 2014: 14).

It can be affirmed, with nuances which will be addressed later, that an example of this change of focus in the design of urban policies is present in Catalonia in the form of the *Llei de Barris*, the Neighbourhood Law. The Catalan government made a legislative and programmed effort to add an integral dimension to urban regeneration policies which focus on the combination of physical and social improvements in the project areas. On the one hand, this

[...] enabled authorities to provide special attention to those groups that are most exposed to risks of exclusion (the elderly, young, and recent immigrants), as well as to promote economic activities, boost trade, and foster gender equity in access to services and public spaces. (Nello, 2010: 697).

And on the other hand, a more conventional solution was offered, meant to “reduce deficits in town planning, equipment, and housing conditions” (Nello, 2010).

This was possible after the regional government established a financial framework to finance urban regeneration projects designed by local governments within the framework of the Neighbourhood Law. In addition, it involved a change in the relationship between different tiers of administration, reinforcing the cooperation between

regional and local governments (Nello, 2010). But it also involved the establishment of a framework for internal collaboration within the regional government, between those departments involved in implementing the law. This favoured an integrated approach with a combination of cohesive actions and policies encompassing fields such as urban planning, employment, economic development, housing, healthcare, environment and social services, being tackled together (Remesar and Hernando, 2011). This enabled the creation of programmes complementary to the specific urban regeneration initiatives, with the aim of addressing specific problems of the neighbourhoods in question, such as healthcare, through the Health in the Neighbourhoods project (*Salut als Barris*), and employment, through the Employment in the Neighbourhoods project.

> Promoting an integrated approach in urban regeneration: the *Treball als Barris* project

This article has insisted on the importance of labour market policies and the need to introduce them at the local level. Mention has also been made of the need to incorporate the local development approach into local urban management in order to deal with reality in a more precise way, so that the challenges and problems of ever-increasing urban complexity can be dealt with. However, this may be easier said than done, as it requires institutional involvement and a profound change in the way urban policies are thought out and implemented.

As mentioned above, unemployment is today one of the biggest urban challenges facing local and regional governments. It is necessary to understand that unemployment is not a short-term problem in the context of the crisis. Rather, it should be understood as a structural problem which is just another symptom of the urban transformation processes that have weakened productive urban economies and are a direct cause of poverty and inequality. Understanding the scope of the problems linked to the labour market requires viewing the interrelations with other areas and policies (Hart and Johnston, 2000). It is necessary, therefore, to overcome the traditional sectoral view when implementing territorial policies and strategies.

The solutions based on sectoral policies, segmented and unconnected with the territorial reality, have not solved this or other urban problems. It is necessary to promote actions which lead towards improving the wellbeing of socially and economically disadvantaged areas. As stated before, this requires adopting an approach for action from a territorial point of view, taking into account the need for a strategy that allows comprehensive action through all the public policies involved. The aim of this

section is to provide an example of the implementation of the local development approach in the design of projects focused on labour market policies in the context of urban regeneration processes. This is the Employment in the Neighbourhoods project (*Treball als Barris*), in the framework of the Neighbourhood Law promoted by the Catalan government.

> Towards comprehensive urban regeneration

Urban regeneration processes have to be understood from a comprehensive perspective, as they operate beyond the objectives, aspirations and achievements of urban reforms and urban development. They go beyond the transformation of space, because they are oriented towards socio-economic transformation and a change in governance forms. Also, their targets are much more delimited than those of revitalisation and rehabilitation processes. In all, urban regeneration is a

[...] comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change (Roberts and Skykes, 2000:17).

In addition, Roberts and Sykes (2000) state that these processes are usually designed as a result of the interaction between various sources of influence and the responses to the opportunities that arise in a specific place and at a specific moment in time. These actions, quite intensive at the spatial level, require a strategic nature for the processes to allow coordination of the set of transversal actions in the areas involved (urban planning, economic development, social services, healthcare, etc.). In many cases, urban regeneration processes are part of a broader regional strategy (city, metropolitan area, etc.).

To some degree, these processes incorporate elements of the local development approach described above. So these processes must be configured on the basis of the specific characteristics of the territory where action is required. It is necessary to take into account that urban problems differ depending on the city or area undergoing intervention, therefore no specific intervention method or strategy exists (Roberts and Sykes, 2000) because these are set by taking into account the social, economic, environmental and organisational characteristics of the territory in question. Moreover, management of these processes has to be understood, not as usually occurs, as a technical-bureaucratic mechanism, but as *political* management, since interventions

in towns and neighbourhoods are not 'neutral' (Diamond et al, 2009). This type of intervention requires the participation and mobilisation of a group of local actors. In a way, all local development strategies must be accompanied by multi-scale governance processes (Moulaert et al, 2014), something that is equally necessary in the design of urban regeneration processes. To address this need, urban regeneration process "should be constructed with a longer term, more strategic purpose in mind" (Roberts Skykes, 2000: 18).

To be precise, the adoption of a strategic approach derives from, as mentioned earlier, the need for local governments to have at their disposal the necessary human, organisational and, above all, financial resources. Establishing a strategy and specific objectives can favour the search for funding through regional, national and even European, programmes. In addition, financial support from higher tiers of administration can often provide leverage to produce and maintain socially-innovative dynamics for urban development (Moulaert et al, 2014). That is to say:

A successful approach to strategy is likely to be one which combines the exogenous weight of national and European programmes with endogenous benefits of organic, rooted, bottom-up initiatives, fused together in a genuine and inclusive partnership (Hart Johnston, 2000:37).

This is the case of the Law of Neighbourhoods and the *Treball als barris* project described below.

> Background: the Neighbourhood Law

In 2004, due to intensification of the urban segregation processes in certain neighbourhoods and urban areas of Catalonia, the the Generalitat (regional government) decided to introduce a set of policies to reverse the processes of physical and social degradation, improving the conditions for its residents. This set of interventions, known as the Neighbourhood Law and approved by the Catalan Parliament in May 2004, covers several aspects of urban regeneration, such as physical revitalisation, environmental sustainability and social and economic development.¹

¹ In 2004, due to the growing number of increasingly deprived neighbourhoods and urban areas in the region, the Generalitat de Catalunya (Government of Catalonia) decided to introduce a number of policies focused on addressing the physical and social degradation of these areas and improving the living conditions of their residents. This broad intervention, known as the Neighbourhood Law, was passed by the Catalan Parliament on May 2004 and covers many different aspects of urban regeneration, such as physical rehabilitation, environmental sustainability and social and economic development.

The main aim of the Neighbourhood Law is to provide solutions for the array of multi-dimensional urban problems by articulating a territorial approach that goes beyond traditional sectoral initiatives. This integrated approach has a combination of cohesive actions and policies encompassing fields such as urban planning, environment, social services, housing, job creation and economic development (Remesar and Hernando, 2011).

In order to implement the Law, the Catalan government provided funding for collaborative measures between its departments. Under this system, local authorities present project proposals on an annual basis and the departments then approve funding for the integrated action. The underlying idea was to focus on entire projects rather than individual problems (Nello, 2010).

This Law has been a notable legislative initiative since it paves the way for integral intervention, improving on physical determinism and promoting more comprehensive strategies (Pareja Eastway, 2007). It operates on a territorial scale that had never been developed previously in Spain (Martí-Costa et al., 2009) and is comparable to the urban regeneration programmes launched in recent years in other European countries, such as Britain's New Deal for Communities, the Grands Projects de Ville programme in France, and Denmark's Kvarterloft (Parés et al. 2012; Brugué et al, 2013).

During the first two years, activity was confined to urban planning and housing through the Department of Public Works and Territorial Policy. Work in other fields would be introduced progressively in the following years.

In 2006, the Department of Labour, through the SOC (Catalan Employment Service), carried out pilot projects in 13 neighbourhoods and urban areas that had been targeted by the Neighbourhood Law since 2004. These complementary employment and local development measures were carried out through agreements between the SOC and local governments. These projects had a €5m budget and over 1,100 residents benefited from skills training and work orientation, increase in job opportunities and capacity-building.

> The neighbourhood as a space for action

The Neighbourhoods Law was a result of the acknowledgement that the problem of urban segregation is becoming more and more serious. It is necessary to give comprehensive responses adapted to the multidimensional nature of the problems experienced in urban areas in situations of particular difficulty (Brugué and Blanco, 2013). While each neighbourhood or area can have some specific issues, the Law aimed to intervene in a group of neighbourhoods where the segregation processes were intensifying. They be-

gan to stand out in Catalonia from the mid-1990s, as a result of developments in the real estate market and changes in the demographic structure (Nello, 2010). There is no doubt that in these neighbourhoods, most of which had a history of situations of degradation, the residents' situation was aggravated with the re-emergence of problems such as overcrowding, degradation of public space and difficulties in the provision of basic services (Nello, 2010). In addition, they also suffered other structural problems linked to the high levels of unemployment and the lack of skills of a large portion of the residents.

The increasing concentration of pockets of poverty in certain areas or neighbourhoods resulting from these issues is precisely one of the reasons why, according to Forrest and Kearns (2001), there is a renewed interest in neighbourhoods. The authors claim that, starting from certain postulates, "neighbourhoods are not only seen as a social problem in their own right, but also as a more pervasive threat to the moral order or social cohesion of cities" (Forrest and Kearns, 2001:2133).

This view includes the idea that the neighbourhood has 'failed' and that the responsibility for the failure lies with its inhabitants and their inability to deal with the situation (Diamond et al, 2009). Therefore, interventions are required which go far beyond the neighbourhood in terms of scale and objectives. This translates into standardised and homogeneous interventions regardless of the specific characteristics of the areas concerned. This has certainly been the common pattern of many urban regeneration processes of recent decades, influenced by the tenets of the New Urban Policy that dismisses the role of social reality and the neighbourhood (Moulaert et al, 2014).

Apposed to this, the essence of the Law of Neighbourhoods and the Employment in the Neighbourhoods project is based on a different conception of the neighbourhood, considering it an agent of social transformation and not merely a space or a functional support. It must be kept in mind that a neighbourhood can become a creative space for political, social, economic and cultural activity; it embodies urbanity and is where the right to the city is claimed (Moulaert et al, 2010).

To some extent, the idea is not only to reappraise the neighbourhood but also to reclaim its role as a space which generates identity and social cohesion, since it plays a very important role in socialisation and in the generation of social capital, "not only through its composition and internal dynamics but also because of the perception of residents from other neighbourhoods as well as by the institutions and agencies that play a major role in structuring opportunities" (Forrest and Kearns, 2001:2134).

All in all, the neighbourhood has to be understood as

[...] a participatory sphere for reclaiming rights and social cooperation that is reinforced by specific public policies, such as decentralisation, comprehensive plans and programmes that re-

spond to the complexity of situations and demands, the strategy of public spaces and new centralities (Borja, 2003:306-7).

> The Employment in the Neighbourhoods project

As stated above, this Employment in the Neighbourhoods project has been carried out by the SOC since 2006. Through this project, a change in the relationship between regional and local governments has been made possible. The approach focuses on shifting from sector-based implementation to territory and case-specific implementation of local development policies, strengthening local and territorial cooperation between stakeholders, and recognising local governments' role as main actors in employment promotion and economic development (Remesar & Hernando, 2011). The project intends to generate economic activity and boost employment, thereby improving territorial equality and cohesion through the combination of people-centred employment initiatives with location-specific strategies. It integrates local development actions into a single territorial project complementing other sector-based policies (i.e. housing, social services, education and healthcare) allowing actors to circumvent traditional sector-based constraints (Brugué & Gomà, 1998) with an all-encompassing perspective.

The project acts on the levels or stages of execution set out by the broader regeneration scheme of the Neighbourhood Law. It covers a wide range of employment promotion and local development activities including those managed by other departments of the Catalan government. With local authorities taking the lead, collaboration and partnership between the departments is vital for success in, for example, programmes incorporating issues around gender, age and diversity into the activities carried out in deprived neighbourhoods and areas. Therefore, the project seeks to foster the creation of inclusive political agendas in the fields of employment promotion, economic development and urban regeneration. The main actors are: the Catalan government (responsible for the selection of neighbourhoods, the approval of regeneration plans and on-going evaluation), the municipalities (taking the initiative through the design and execution of the intervention), and local stakeholders (who evaluate and participate in the design and execution).

Despite the suspension of the Neighbourhood Law in 2011 for political reasons, the *Employment in the Neighbourhoods* project still continues. It began in 2006 with a budget of €5m, directly benefitting over 1,100 residents in 11 neighbourhoods. In 2013, the project budget was €29m, with measures benefitting 15,598 residents in 127 neighbourhoods.

Direct intervention by local governments is promoted to enable a better response to the population's demands. Subsidiarity has to be shown as the projects have to be executed with the maximum possible territorial proximity, and at the most effective level of administration. Business cooperation and strategic agreements between public and private stakeholders are strongly encouraged to enable the construction of appropriate institutional frameworks leading to an environment that facilitates development (Brugué & Gomà, 1998; Barreiro, 2000; Alburquerque et al, 2008). This is a step forward in recognising the pivotal role of local governments and communities not only for execution and implementation of initiatives, but also in their design and coordination. One of the main features is recognition of the political and institutional leadership of local governments, empowering them to become promoters of local development policies (Remesar & Borja, 2014).

To facilitate this, the project has a Charter of Services that establishes a set of tools which allows local governments to strategically plan multiple actions ranging from structural interventions aimed at reducing long term socio-economic inequality and exclusion to specific actions to tackle immediate issues. These actions are carried out within flexible time-frames that can be programmed for more than one year, which allows for more balanced implementation when addressing long and short term goals. Without flexibility in the timing, coordination, planning and execution of these actions, effective integration aimed at tackling social exclusion would be very difficult to achieve. Therefore, this approach ensures interrelations between policies, multiplying the effects of the interventions.

Table 1. Source: Author, based on 2014 data from the SOC.

Employment in the Neighbourhoods - Charter of services action lines.	
Programme	type of action
A: specific, experimental and innovative programmes to favour social integration and job opportunities for groups with problems in these fields.	A1 Support mechanisms for integration into the labour market for groups with special difficulties.
B: labour skills training programmes.	B1 Comprehensive training actions
	B2 Programmes to help people achieve professional qualifications, and to assist people into employment.
C: Mixed programmes for training and employment.	C1 Trade training Programmes
D: Programmes for acquiring work experience.	D1 job-related actions.
	D2 Actions aimed at improving levels professional practice.
E: local development programmes.	E1 Appointing project managers and technical supervisors.

As shown in the table above, the Charter of Services lists five programmes and seven action types. The SOC provides local governments with the document so they can diagnose, plan, programme, coordinate, communicate and integrate each action within a balanced and sustainable framework. The Charter sets out the requirements for scheduling the annual call for projects. Its goal is to allow local authorities to design and plan their actions in order to establish those more appropriate to the neighbourhood or area being examined. Moreover, the set of actions should be articulated within an integrated approach that consistently complements the overall interventions within the regeneration scheme of the Neighbourhood Law. The Project contemplates collective employment initiatives focused on particularly disadvantaged groups (women, youth, immigrants, long-term unemployed persons, etc.), and also seeks to provide tailor-made assistance for individuals by designing flexible professional programmes geared towards orientation, skills training and, eventually, incorporation into the workforce (Lope et al, 2009).

In short, the overall idea is to foster a territory-specific framework for actions that bring together skills and vocational training, and employment and economic development, with the aim of improving the conditions of access to local labour markets for the population of these neighbourhoods and urban areas, while also taking into account the needs of local productive sectors. However, it should not be considered merely as a training or job-seeking project since its integrated approach means it also considers social, economic, environmental and institutional aspects with the ultimate goal of improving the quality of life of the residents (SOC, 2014). This requires not only the technical capacity to comprehensively coordinate a project, but also the establishment of a mechanism for citizen empowerment and improvements in the institutional dynamics, to strengthen the social capital of the territory. Depending on the degree to which this actually happens, the set of labour-related actions, which directly impact local labour markets, also benefits improvements in, for example, the education system and its links with the local production systems. It will also strengthen the main productive sectors, enabling a valuation and an increase in competitiveness mainly through the promotion of human capital. This endogenous resource, which is often underestimated, should be understood as the set of skills, training, entrepreneurship, individual and collective creativity, and social and organisational innovation that is present in a given territory.

> Urban policies which are innovative, but still have a long way to go

As has been pointed out throughout this article, the application of the Neighbourhoods Law has meant a change in the way urban policies are viewed in Spain. This pioneering Law is a leap forward in the configuration of a framework for more territory-specific action, based on a set of policies which are traditionally more sectoral. In addition, the fact that physical rehabilitation is carried out to complement other projects, such as those for healthcare and employment, has strengthened the inclination to give integrated responses to complex urban problems. Most importantly, this new approach has had an effect of containment, slowing down the progressive degradation of the social, economic and physical dynamics in the neighbourhoods involved as well as in their close environment and the whole municipality (Mier and Botey, 2009).

Thanks to its innovative nature, the Neighbourhoods Law has brought about a new way of understanding and conceiving urban policies for improving the quality of life and social cohesion in neighbourhoods and disadvantaged areas. Its main milestones must be understood from a subjective perspective, in the sense that, beyond the physical changes and the execution of the projects in various fields of action, what is really novel is its capacity to change the grounding and introduce a new philosophy in which bricks and people are not treated as separate things (Brugué et al, 2013) but form part of a single framework for action.

Another important advantage is the possibility to make great progress by configuring a more territorial-based framework for local development strategies. Planning and vertical and horizontal cooperation have led to the construction of new relations and spaces for dialogue. In the field of employment promotion and economic development policies, the project has encouraged the promotion of more flexible local development policies, intended to strengthen local governance and local economies by fine-tuning actions to the specificities of each project, within the framework established in the Charter of Services (Remesar and Borja, 2014).

Despite these milestones, both the Neighbourhoods Law and, specifically, the Employment in the Neighbourhoods project have some weak points. These should be taken into account when consolidating new policies which involve a more territorial-based approach, considering the specific characteristics of each territory and giving a greater role to local stakeholders in the design and implementation of the strategies.

- (1) The Employment in the Neighbourhoods project is not completely tailor-made and is governed by a specific framework (the Charter of Services). Although it

sets a generous and stable time frame to develop actions, proposals must conform to the specific conditions laid down in the annual calls for tender.

- (2) Therefore, the project continues to function under a relationship of dependency between local and regional governments in terms of policy implementation. This effect is more pronounced in the global framework of the Neighbourhoods Law since projects that involve physical regeneration are financially much more dependent. In 2009, for example, 70% of the financial resources was dedicated to public spaces and facilities, compared to 10% for social programmes (Jiménez, 2009). The situation has worsened due to the paralysing of the fund in 2011, complicating the implementation of a large part of public works in the project areas and harming the financial capacity of many local governments which are unable to manage their budgets.
- (3) In spite of the implementation of a philosophy that resulted in a framework of cooperation and transversal operations, everyday practice has shown that the administrative habits and culture of different Departments of the Catalan Government are, up to a point, reluctant to adapt to it (Brugué et al, 2013). Added to this comes the unwillingness of certain regional and local authorities to collaborate, which has generated tensions and limitations in the development and execution of actions.
- (4) There has been a high level of politicisation which has negatively affected the proper functioning of the Neighbourhoods Law. As a result, since 2010, the original criteria for selection of neighbourhoods and urban areas have become more and more distorted by the introduction of smaller settlements, many in rural areas, whose morphology and socio-economic problems have nothing to do with the urban problems of the original neighbourhoods selected for projects under the law.
- (5) The level of citizen participation in the design and execution of projects has been rather low, since the framework for action of the Law of Neighbourhoods is bureaucratised and configured in a top-down approach (Martí Costa et al. 2009).
- (6) It is very difficult to identify the real impact of such complex projects due to the qualitative nature of the outcomes and impact on the territory. Traditional public evaluation techniques ignore or disregard results which are difficult to measure, due to the slow cycle of development of bottom-up approaches for local development (Barreiro and Jiménez, 2010).
- (7) In addition, there have been issues in compiling the data of the diagnosis of the workforce in the project areas, due to the significant rise in unemployment, which in some cases exceeds the rates prior to the implementation of the proj-

ect. Furthermore, assessments of employment programmes seem to be more interested in quantitative matters (Lope and Alòs, 2013) – such as the number of people benefitting from a programme or the number of people who have found a job – rather than qualitative questions related to the effectiveness in improving employment opportunities or promoting better-quality jobs.

- (8) Furthermore, the financial crisis has negatively affected many already deprived subject areas where the increase of unemployment rates and the cutback of funding for public policies have led to an increase in social inequality and poverty: 20.5% of the Catalan population lives below the poverty line (IDESCAT, 2011). As mentioned in the previous points, many socio-economic actions have impacts which will become more clearly visible in the long term, provided the levels of intervention are maintained in order to avoid going backward and undoing progress (Cardona et al, 2009).
- (9) Finally, in terms of the role played by the Catalan Government, the two initiatives have enabled greater complementation of existing sector-based policies. Nevertheless, further change in inter-departmental functioning within the government is required to establish control and coordination mechanisms to streamline the full range of local development policies and actions, taking into account the different territorial realities in Catalonia. Competent organisations must change their position as financers and subsidy providers and assume a supportive role based on the provision of technical assistance in the development of local development strategies. This is precisely one of the major challenges public employment services such as the SOC are facing today (Remesar & Hernando, 2011).

> Final considerations

(1) Throughout the article, it has been argued that urban regeneration processes have a multidimensional approach because the aim is to have an impact on the whole of a territory. Traditionally, processes have focussed on physical action, pushing social and economic aspects into the background. For example, urban policies in Spain have, until now, taken the form of public intervention programmes centred on creating infrastructures and sanitation systems, upgrading settlements, and constructing dwellings, public spaces or access roads (Iglesias et al, 2011). In recent years, efforts have been made to incorporate a more territorial-based framework of action for urban regeneration policies, such as the Law of Neighbourhoods in Catalonia.

(2) The Neighbourhoods Law involves, within a process of urban regeneration, a set of actions to recover neighbourhoods and intervention areas physically, economically and socially. The ultimate goal is to improve the quality of life and the wellbeing of the local population. Policies in areas such as healthcare, employment and economic development are traditionally very sector-based and the goals can only be achieved by promoting the social function of urban planning in its broadest sense, making different public policies more transversal and more complementary, so having a multiplier effect on the territory.

(3) Economy and employment issues have to be part of the strategy of urban regeneration since, as mentioned, unemployment is one of the biggest urban challenges today. This problem, which in many areas can be considered structural, cannot be treated in isolation since it is associated with many other problems linked to dispossession and increased social, psychological and economic vulnerability, increasing tension and urban conflicts. Any urban strategy aimed at improving the quality of life of the local population must include employment as a strategic objective. The idea of employment as a subsidiary objective of urban strategies must be left aside.

(4) Economic growth must be accompanied by fighting against inequality. Today, the fallacy of thinking that economic recovery will only be achieved by the revival of business activity should be avoided. Economic growth, through the stimulation of business activity, must be accompanied by measures aimed at redistribution of wealth which also foster social improvements and social cohesion in disadvantaged urban areas. A form of growth must be found that affects the whole population and is as redistributive as possible. Economic growth without redistribution of wealth will ultimately be counterproductive for the territory. A territory with high levels of unemployment, economic inactivity and low wages poses a high social and economic cost, not only for the public sector, but for society as a whole.

(5) There must be commitment to sustainable economic development. This implies, on the one hand, ensuring conditions for systemic territorial competitiveness, creating an innovative environment for enterprise development. Cities and regions have to attract, retain and generate business activity. For this, they must maintain the necessary conditions for economic growth, and involve the main local stakeholders in establishing a local development strategy.

(6) On the other hand, it is necessary to ensure that this competitive environment generates wellbeing and improves the quality of life for all citizens: the generation of economic and business activity has to have positive effects for the local population through, for example, the creation of new jobs. But not every type of employment is appropriate. In contrast to the current trend in Spain, with mainly temporary and low-

quality positions being offered, quality employment should be promoted, with decent wages and working conditions that make it possible for workers to combine their professional and personal lives and reduce the numbers of working poor. It is necessary to make an impact to improve active labour market policies, with special emphasis on the employment promotion measures (those that seek to encourage the creation of jobs), linking them to local development strategies.

(7) To make this possible, it is necessary to incorporate proximity as a criteria factor, based on the principle of subsidiarity, in the design and implementation of public policies. On the one hand, this facilitates recognition of territorial characteristics and problems and, while on the other, it enables a more effective response. This makes it possible to establish better conditions for access to certain services and also strengthen the formal and informal structures of support, solidarity and cooperation, thereby enhancing the social capital of the territory in question. This is one of the main challenges for labour market policies in Spain, for their design and management model to take into account the local dimension to adapt to the needs of the territory and encourage and support initiatives for job creation at the local level (Calvo & Lerma, 2009).

(8) As the experience of the Employment in the Neighbourhoods project (Treball als Barris) has shown, territorial strategies should be complemented by people-centred strategies. Policies cannot focus only on broad social categories, but rather, they must see the territory as an agent of social transformation, where people live, are interrelated, and participate in a community. Urban regeneration strategies must combine physical improvements and infrastructures, such as schools, community centres, housing and public space, with local initiatives for employment promotion and stimulation of economic activity, initiatives for healthcare, education, and the environment and community dynamics. The revitalisation of the neighbourhood or urban area as a whole can enable not only the struggle against social segregation but also the integration of the neighbourhood and its residents into the dynamics of the city, providing them with better access to, for example, local labour markets.

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/ Climate Change and Urbanism. A new role for public space design?

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Abstract

As evidence grows on the importance of tackling climate change through local adaptation endeavours, cities are faced with new and eminent challenges. In this scope, public spaces are of significant importance. Specifically, as spaces of collective social use, it will be here argued that public spaces are optimal interfaces for the implementation and management of adaptation action. Considering the examples discussed, the positive outcomes from adaptation measures applied in the design of public spaces can already be assessed. Specifically, not only by their capacity to reduce local climate-driven risks but also for their capacity to trigger and evidence the emergence of new urban values. Ultimately, a final question arises: will our future urban projects consider the importance of producing public spaces prepared for new and impending weather events?

> Climate change adaptation in urban areas

Climate change adaptation has reinforced its urban agenda in recent years, as the inevitability of climate change impacts has progressively been recognised among climate scientists. As such, it is still a fairly recent subject, albeit progressively growing as a matter of extreme importance and immediate necessity within the core goals of our governing agencies. While we can still easily identify the cases of implemented climate change adaptation actions in urban territories, examples increase every year.

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The concept of adaptation within human settlements is largely associated with processes that have assessed and managed risk throughout history. Initially, these processes were influenced by the direct experience of climatic circumstances. Adaptation therefore consisted of the methods that reduced vulnerability to climatic threats as well as the methods that helped profit from the opportunities provided. Examples include: the igloo, an ice shelter used by people inhabiting the extreme cold zones; stilt houses, such as the prehistoric pile dwellings around the Alps, primarily built as a protection against flooding; or the Inca settlements that, through extensive agriculture, were able to overcome the adversities of the Andean climate.

Particularly with regard to extreme climatic situations, trends started to be carefully analysed as it was recognized that some hazards could have a smaller recurrence interval. Nowadays, several cities have ongoing assessment studies and updated management plans for the risks to which they are more vulnerable. Current and past trends are evaluated in order to anticipate hazards and to develop strategies that can address them. Likewise, it is also common for cities to have emergency response plans for the eventuality of a disaster taking place. For instance, the European flood directive (2007/60/EC) requires Member States to plan and prepare for the prevention and protection of flood hazards. Only recently was the anthropogenic influence on climate change recognized.

Anthropogenic climate change adaptation (from now on solely referred to as “climate change adaptation”, or just “adaptation”) presents similar perspectives to some of the approaches emanated from sustainability planning; for instance, when considering the value of ecosystem services or the need to promote energy efficiency. Nonetheless, there is a particular characteristic which significantly differentiates both: while sustainability planning supports decision-making by the analysis of past trends, climate change adaptation planning bases its options on the recognition of possible future climates through projections and simulations. Likewise, the field of disaster risk management commonly learns from *ex post* activities, while adaptation processes are mainly associated with *ex ante* actions (IPCC, 2012). More specifically, while the former focuses on the moment or past situations and questions constraints and survival, the latter focuses on the future and supports any opportunity for learning and reinventing. Furthermore, while the former may adjust its practices in face of present or progressing hazards, the latter fundamentally promotes the processes that enhance adaptive capacity and build resilience.

Cities are economic drivers which have the power to influence future national and international adaptation agendas. However, cities are as vulnerable as they are powerful (C40CITIES, 2014). While urban centres may be considered as one of the key

players contributing to the climate change phenomenon, they may also be seen as an integral part of the solution. Not only in reducing emissions, through mitigation efforts, but also in diminishing the vulnerability of those most at risk from the effects of climate change through the implementation and dissemination of adaptation initiatives.

> Climate change adaptation on the local scale

Multiple initiatives have recently emerged at the local level, as can be seen in the examples analysed below. This prompts the questions, what is leading this tendency and how significant can adaptation be within the local scale?

The uniqueness of each place and the intrinsic knowledge of its people, combined with the fact that it is at the local scale where disasters are tangible to a community, are some of the reasons that may explain the uprising of these initiatives. As regards the effectiveness of local adaptation, evidence grows in support of the hypothesis that it strongly influences global climate.

There is “high agreement” and “robust evidence” that “disasters are most acutely experienced at the local level” (IPCC, 2012, p.293). On the other hand, the degree of impact is strongly linked to the existing social and physical local vulnerabilities, “[...] including the quality of buildings, the availability of infrastructure, urban forms and topographies, land uses around the urban centre, local institutional capacities” (Bicknell, Dodman et al, 2009), among others. As “locals respond and experience disasters at first hand, they retain local and traditional knowledge” (IPCC, 2012, p. 298) that includes awareness of (and works with) the existing vulnerabilities. Bearing this in mind, local know-how should always be considered as an added value for adaptation action, particularly when considering a known or often repeated hazard.

Nonetheless, projected scenarios and the already increased record of more frequent extreme events (Coumou and Rahmstorf, 2012) has been leading to unprecedented situations for which localities have no previous experience. As corroborated by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), “extreme weather and climatic events will vary from place to place and not all places have the same experience with that particular initiating event”. In addition, “not all of the extreme events become severe enough to cause a disaster of national or international magnitude, yet they will create ongoing problems for local disaster risk management” (IPCC, 2012, p. 297). Accordingly, local scales are particularly sensitive to every climatic change, be

it punctual or ongoing. At the same time, each unique place will differently receive and respond to the same climatic event.

Environmental change has been mostly evaluated through global models (more specifically, through GCMs – General Circulation Models) in order to anticipate climate change scenarios. Nonetheless, “scientific evidence strongly supports claims that changes in climate are happening at multiple scales from global to regional to local and that there are independent anthropogenic drivers of change at each scale” (IPCC, 2007; Oke, 1997; Stedman, 2004 in Ruddell, Harlan et al, 2012, p. 584). Although regionalised models (Regional Climatic Models, or RCMs), that derive from the down-scaling of the GCMs, are recently being used, these cover a limited area of interest, such as Europe or an individual country, and carry the eventual errors and insufficient data from a broader model (Hewitson and Crane, 1996). As stated by Hebbert and Webb, “these [climatic] effects cannot be downscaled from a regional weather model, they are complex and require local observation and understanding” (2007, p. 125).

Global models are inevitably complex and uncertain, particularly when considering the necessary combination of overwhelming information about all the natural and changing processes. These models have largely been guiding “top-down” adaptation approaches, or the “predictive” approaches so named by Jaap Kwadijk and others (Kwadijk, Haasnoot et al, 2010). In contrast, a “bottom-up” or “resilience” approach is relatively independent of “justifications from atmospheric science” (Ruddell, Harlan et al, 2012, p. 601), and its associated uncertainties and rather focuses on reducing vulnerability by improving the resiliency of a system exposed to particular climate change risks. As stated by Thomas Wilbanks and Robert Kates, although more encompassing scales present vital information on sea/wind currents and greenhouse gas monitoring, “[...] many of the individual phenomena that underlie microenvironmental processes, economic activities, resource use, and population dynamics arise at the local scale” (Wilbanks and Kates 1999, p. 602).

It is important to note that the growing interest regarding local scale does not undermine the importance of global scale investigations and its progressions. What it is here argued is the need to recognise that local understanding is not less than essential for adaptation action. In addition, although it is consensually recognised that climate change and uncertainty go hand-in-hand regardless of the approach, it must be acknowledged that adaptation itself is not a “vague concept” (Bourdin, 2010). Inversely, it is here argued that the “vagueness” that is presented in light of climate change can be countered by the concrete bond within specific localities (Costa, 2013). It is in this line of reasoning that researchers have been deepening their understanding

about how localities can contribute to global climate change (Hebbert and Webb, 2007; Kravčik, Pokorný et al, 2007), how the practice and execution of urbanism influences local climate (Alcoforado, Andrade et al, 2009), and how and why should adaptation measures be applied locally, as will be subsequently analysed.

> The key role of public spaces for climate change adaptation

The distinctiveness of urban territories as major centres of communication, commerce, culture and innovation, empowers successful processes and outcomes of climate change adaptation. According to Jordi Borja, unpredictable and social heterogeneous cities bring interchange of products, services and ideas – presumably, also with regard to adaptation – that “need, are processed and expressed in their public spaces” (Borja, 2003, p. 120, translated by the author). In this sense, and in line with Pelling’s findings that people and communities are not only targets but also active agents in the management of vulnerability (Pelling, 1997), not only it is in the public space where hazards become tangible to a community, but it may also be where adaptation initiatives (pro-active or instigated) may strive.

Acknowledging the fact that “the reality of the public space is so complex that nobody, from a given disciplinary position, is able of approaching it and answering of in an effective way” (Remesar, 2005, p. 135), several authors highlight public space as multifunctional, with a social, political and cultural significance (Ricart and Remesar, 2013, p. 6), as well as a structuring physical space (Portas, 2003) of interdisciplinary nature (Brandão, 2004).

As a space of collective social use, we argue that public spaces may become interfaces where people can be as well as become active managers of adaptation. As it will be further clarified, people may be active managers of adaptation and vulnerability reduction through autonomous individual or communal involvement in adaptation action and management – from art manifestations to community based projects. In addition, people may become active managers of adaptation when awareness is raised through the direct consequence of the formerly mentioned processes or through institutional endeavours such as the design of a particular public space, by the message of a public art or simply by informative signage.



Fig. 1: Provocative “tag” at the Regent’s canal in north London in which the words “global warming” were intentionally cut in half as if suggesting the sea level had already risen. This “manifesto” was made right after the end of the Copenhagen climate conference by the graffiti artist Banksy. Source: www.banksy.co.uk, accessed 19 March 2015.

Climatic hazards, aggravated by climate change, are a real and an increasing threat that affects all the people in a community, particularly the most vulnerable (elderly, children and the, poor, among others). Considering public space as a civic common space, a collective entity of shared concerns, a new claim for climate change adaptation finds its niche in the management, design and fruition of public spaces.

Within this globalized era, people try to improve their liveability and enhance their overall role in the urban environment; in some cities, “community activism helped convert abandoned or vacant lots into vest-pocket parks or neighbourhood playgrounds” (Banerjee, 2001, p. 17). Not only do people want to be the main actors in the urban space, but also they want to be at the centre of space design concerns. Banerjee additionally shows that most of these shared public actions happen in existing public spaces, such as streets, plazas or school amphitheatres, therefore “reasserting the role and sustenance of the public realm” (Banerjee, 2001, p.15). It therefore comes

as no surprise that a new variety of insurgent citizenship is arising within public spaces as the urgent matter of climate change action is recognized, evidencing its characteristic as a “fundamental infrastructure for the development of social and civic policies” (Remesar, 2008, p. 67, translated by the author).

Notwithstanding, given that it is still a fairly recent concern, not all societies are aware of the impending threats of climate change. Even within developed countries, which have already suffered direct consequences of severe climate impacts, some communities have rejected initiatives towards a more adapted urban environment. This was the case with a New Orleans local society, when a group of experts proposed the construction of an adaptation plan after the Katrina incident of 2005.

On a Friday morning in ravaged New Orleans, Louisiana, Joe Brown learned just how fiercely people value their homes. Along with several dozen other disaster experts, the veteran urban planner had been recruited by Urban Land Institute in Washington D.C., to develop a rebuilding plan for the city, which had been devastated by Hurricane Katrina in August 2005 [...] about a quarter of the city lay in utter ruin and remained at high risk of flooding. Brown displayed diagrams that suggested turning some blocks, for the time being, into open space.

Reaction was swift and harsh. A council member accused Brown of aiming to ‘replace these fine neighbourhoods with fishes and animals’ he recalls. A couple of audience members rose up and declared, ‘All we want to do is get back our homes’. The planners were startled. ‘We got shock and amazement to what, to us, were fairly obvious truths’, Brown says (Couzin, 2008: 748).

Regardless that the practice of several construction techniques, such as flood resilient buildings, was met by a distinguishable positive impulse within local society, through the experience of Joe Brown, Couzin alerts the scientific and professional community to the various possible disparities between science and social understanding.

Other communities, in other situations, also did not initially welcome adaptation actions. That is namely the case of the first attempt to implement the currently internationally recognized concept of the water plaza (see section 4.a). Despite a promising start – with an idea expressed in “Rotterdam Water City 2005” report that had won first prize at the 2005 Rotterdam Biennale competition – the first pilot project failed. Conflicts emerged from several areas, from prior disagreements with the municipality, which decided to conduct the pilot project, to the uncertainties associated with an experimental project of this nature. Risks, such as that of children drowning, triggered strong emotional reactions from local citizens who started naming the idea as the “drowning plaza” (Biesbroek, 2014: 121/122).

Having wisely learned from the barriers encountered that prevented the implementation of the first project, the second pilot project had not only a new location, but,

more importantly, a new approach towards technical criteria and social participation. This second attempt was successfully built and is currently considered an exemplary case of concrete climate change adaptation in a highly urbanised area.

Both cases mentioned show that social, cultural and emotional factors can prove to be more valued and respected than the need for physical safety or ecological services. This fact is one that strengthens the importance of further and distinct methods for the dissemination of scientific knowledge alongside continual community involvement within the agenda of climatic adaptation. In this sense, we argue that public spaces can serve as a communication platform, not only to diminish the gap between current scientific consensus and local awareness, but also to take advantage of deep-rooted traditional experience and know-how.

The implementation of adaptation initiatives must, therefore, fundamentally consist of a context sensitive and locally driven approach, attesting the findings from Ruddell, Harlan et al, which indicate, “It is critical to ground support for climate adaptation and mitigation initiatives within local contexts of shared experiences” (2012, p.601). As public spaces are not “mute”, traditional local knowledge may, through this interface, enter the adaptation agenda.

Likewise, through public space, and particularly through its physical characteristics, social awareness can be raised. In this line of reasoning, the water plaza concept can also serve as an example of a design which also encompasses an educative purpose as it unveils part of the urban water cycle dynamics for the citizens that use that public space (see section 4.a). As mentioned in the Rotterdam Climate Proof report, “Water disarms and binds people. In adaptation projects in the city, citizens and different cultures come together. This can reinforce social ties and the sense of safety” (2009, p. 7). The goal of reconnecting people to the surrounding natural systems, which is similarly tackled through other approaches (see sections 4.b,d,e,f), further contributes to reducing vulnerabilities as it favours a disconnection from the potential false sense of safety or the so called “levee effect”.

Reflecting upon the perception of public space as a structuring element of the urban form, additional reasons led to the consideration of these spaces as particularly favourable for the implementation of adaptation measures.

Adaptation measures are strongly correlated with various networks of systems, both man-made as well as natural, from underground drainage infrastructure to a network of green roofs. Alongside, consensus grows on the need to acknowledge public space as a network in the same way that infrastructure or ecological structure are understood. For Portas, this network

[...] cannot be reduced to a simplistic addition of segments, unconnected streets, detached to the territories they cross, more or less urbanized. In the process of solving road issues, it is currently demanded that these works contribute – from the programme to the project – to a sense of structure, a supportive network, of the built and fragmented fabric, opening, through intersections, the generation of new, complementary and qualifying condensations (Portas, 2003, p. 17, author's translation).

In order to take full advantage of the opportunities that may arise from the implementation of adaptation measures, public spaces should thus not only be recognized but also conceived of as a continuous network of spaces capable of embracing several other systems, and not merely as individual and isolated streets or plazas. Considering, for example, the matter of urban flooding, most urban settlements aim to restrict urban drainage in an underground network of pipes. However, when unexpected amounts of rain occur and the system becomes overloaded, water occupies the next available, generally “open” spaces. If the excess of water could, through design, be systemically integrated within the network of public spaces, new urban interfaces would potentiate comprehensive adaptation and vulnerability reduction. As continuous spaces in which new interactions may emerge, public space networks are thus considered as solid grounds for the experimentation, implementation and assessment of adaptation action.

Shifting our focus onto the process of designing public spaces, Madanipour argues that it should be created by different professionals from different disciplines of the built, natural and social environments or by any professional with multi-disciplinary concerns and awareness (Madanipour 1997). As Lefébvre acutely states, “*Suprême illusion: considerer les architectes, urbanistes ou planificateurs comme experts en espace, juges suprêmes de la spatialité...*” (in Brandão, 2013, p. 30).

For Capel,

[...] the subject of urbanism is controlled, perhaps excessively, by engineers and architects that, since the nineteenth century, fiercely compete for its control. The former define the major infrastructures, the latter define the interventions in streets, buildings, free zones, green areas. But all this should be at the service of social needs (Capel, 2005: 92, authors' translation).

Without paying special attention to the theme of disciplines, Capel reinforces the need for professional integration throughout the design of a particular public space, as can be observed in some case studies that opted for interdisciplinary processes. For instance, the way the city of Barcelona integrated the construction of underground deposits underneath different types of public spaces is exemplary, particularly when

comparing it with the approach of other municipalities that choose to isolate this same infrastructure as a monofunctional facility, fencing and controlling its surroundings and exterior space (Matos Silva, 2011).

When considering future climatic projections in the design of a public space, the need to involve uncommon disciplines and stakeholders as “producers”, such as microclimatology or the members of residents’ associations, becomes even more evident. Within urban territories as spaces of “interdisciplinary convergence” (Capel, 2002, p.19), public spaces may furthermore serve as a creative laboratory from which technological reinventions or innovations may continue to arise, such as sustainable urban drainage systems or floating architecture.

At the same time that public space “is of everyone” (Brandão, 2011) and its design “[...] is, thus, not a matter of one sole profession, entity or interest group” (Brandão (Coord.), Carrelo et al, 2002: 19, author’s translation), it should further be noted the importance of global “top-down” strategies as equally significant drivers for successful adaptation action. There is no doubt that agile municipalities, which often have close relationships with their citizens, enterprises and institutions, are quicker and more effective in the implementation and monitoring of local adaptation solutions. Nonetheless, under the risk of not contributing effectively to the achievement of community expectations, and to safeguard public interests and collective resources, not only local but also global and regional strategic views must be taken into consideration. In the same line of reasoning, in the final conference of the R&D project “Urban Deltas” (Costa, Sousa et al, 2013), Han Meyer raised the notion of how to take advantage of the arising numerous local initiatives spread out through the Netherlands. In his view, if local actions are not structured in one global and general strategy, they get lost in scale and will ultimately lose their value. In other words, whilst acknowledging the importance of local-scale responses, they should always be accompanied by a global strategy or, otherwise, they will fail in their purpose.

> Public space design and climate change adaptation, some representative examples

Regardless of the need for a comprehensive approach, which is able to integrate all local initiatives in one common and global strategy, “it is not possible to decouple urban claims from the strength and innovation of local and proximity governance” (Borja, 2003, p. 31, author’s translation). Furthermore, cities’ adaptation to climate driven threats is strongly dependent on “well-designed, flexible public spaces” (CABE, 2008,

p. 2). Other authors believe that “the best way to predict the future is to design it” (Buckminster Fuller in Brinke, Karstens et al, 2010, p. 2).

Given that urban climate change adaptation is a relatively recent subject, initiatives are still faced with numerous challenges (Groot, Bosch et al, 2015, p.177). Nonetheless, every day successful examples grow in number. Focusing on the particular hazard of urban flooding, which is expected to be aggravated in the future (Coumou and Rahmstorf, 2012), eight representative examples of adaptation measures applied in the design of public spaces will be subsequently identified and briefly discussed.

As can be verified, these examples are comprised of processes that have entailed the transposition of uncertainty, and its apparent impediments, into public spaces of multifunctional qualities. Among others, the examples mentioned aimed to include the following qualities: (1) hazard and vulnerability reduction; (2) social and aesthetic outcomes; (3) citizenship involvement, and (4) environmental concerns.

Finally, it is considered important to highlight that this is an unprecedented area of action. Concepts, paradigms and structures are therefore expected to change over time, as are the functions, appearance and complexities of public spaces. Preferably, this ongoing process is grounded in the need to learn; reflecting upon mistakes and generating experience while dealing with change (Berkes, Colding et al, 2003).

> Water Plaza

Location: Benthemplein, Rotterdam, the Netherlands

Start date: 2011 (design); 2012 (construction)

Status: Completed in 2013

Design: De Urbanisten

More information: www.urbanisten.nl

The Water Plaza is a concept that synergises flood tackling with public space renewal. Coupled with strong creativity, it is the public space itself that incorporates the function of retaining the rain water from its corresponding watershed.



Fig. 2: Water plaza, Benthemplein, the Netherlands. Source: Matos Silva, Maria (2014)

It has been considered as an efficient solution for compact urban areas where water does not flow away easily (Boer, Jorritsma et al, 2010). In addition, by making water visible, a closer social approach with regard to water and flood dynamics is instigated. The resulting multifunctional public space is therefore designed in accordance with very different quantities of retained water. While the plaza will remain dry for most of the year, if there is heavy rainfall, water will be temporarily stored within its interstitial spaces.

The particular case of the Water Plaza in Benthemplein, Rotterdam, which can store up to 1,700 cubic metres of water, is widely considered an exemplary case of a climate change adaptation project in a highly urbanised area.

> Coastal Defence – Embankment

Location: Blackpool, United Kingdom

Start date: 2002

Status: Completed in July 2008

Design: AECOM / Jerde Partnership

The Blackpool Promenade is a seafront embankment designed to respond to the threats of sea level rise and more frequent and extreme storm surges while providing an extended waterfront public space. It consists of a multipurpose project that, through an eight hectare area, integrates infrastructure, art and public realm.

In an overall design that attempts to mimic nature through its undulating form, concrete stairs separate the town from the water, fulfilling the apparently contradictory goals of protection and connection. Differentiating itself from the traditional approach to coastal defence, this project therefore intentionally allows part of the public space to be flooded during extreme events.

Other representative examples of climate sensitive coastal defences that additionally integrate public space design include: the multifunctional Boompjes dike protecting the historical Waterstadt waterfront in Rotterdam; the breakwaters designed in the Zona de Banys del Fòrum in Barcelona, and the sculptural wall in Main, Miltenberg, Germany.

> Bioswales

Location: New York City, United States

Start date: 2010

Status: Ongoing

Design: NYC Department of Environmental Protection (DEP)

More information: www.nyc.gov/dep

Through the NYC Green Infrastructure Plan, the DEP has been developing and implementing green infrastructure in Priority Combined Sewerage Overflow (CSO) Tributary Areas. Among others, measures include public on-site retrofit projects such as “right-of-way bioswales” and “storm water green streets”.

Bioswales are a fairly recent technique that optimizes natural drainage processes. It serves to capture, convey and treat storm water runoff from frequent rainfall events.

It provides high infiltration and filtration rates, usually through the application of organic mulch, engineered soil, sand bed and woody and/or herbaceous vegetation. The inclusion of trees is also considered valuable as they intercept precipitation, favour infiltration and dissipate rainfall energy.

This natural drainage system can be applied to numerous types of public spaces, from parking lots to inner court yards or from sidewalks to highway separators. Besides its infrastructural competence, it also may enhance the overall amenity and aesthetic value of the space in which it is implemented.



Fig. 3: A bioswale along a street in Elmhurst, Queens. Source: Chris Hamby [CC by 2.0] via flickr, 2013

There are several other examples of bioswales throughout the US, namely in Portland, Seattle, Chicago and Philadelphia, as well as in other countries such as England, Canada and Germany, as it is a fairly inexpensive measure to implement with immediate and evident results.

> Stream Rehabilitation – Daylighted channels

Location: Cheonggyecheon, Seoul, South Korea

Start date: July 2003

Status: Completed in September 2005

Design: Seoul City Government

For over three decades, Cheonggyecheon river was confined underground, over which passed a multi-lane roadway and an elevated highway. By the year 2000, strong structural fragilities of the speedway viaduct were identified. The costs for its recovery were considerable and as such Seoul City Council considered the alternatives. In a political move, mayor Lee Myung-bak proposed not investing in the renovation of the traffic infrastructure but rather on the restoration of the river's flow.

In two years, the river was daylighted and turned into 5.8 km of linear park crossing the city centre. What was formerly a source of congestion, pollution and aridity is now a blooming and environmentally healthy public space. It is a very popular park among the city residents, with clean water where people can swim and more than a few natural habitats. Sites of historic and cultural significance were also renewed, further indicating how the daylighting of this stream may have contributed to rehabilitating social identity.

More examples of daylighted channels that bring public space to fruition include, among others, the reconfiguration of several sunken canals in the Netherlands, namely into streets, squares or playgrounds. For example, the Westersingel, a canal in central Rotterdam which, since 2012, can temporarily store the excess water from severe storms in a lower-lying sculpture terrace prepared with flood resistant urban furniture.

> Retention and Infiltration Basin

Location: Parque Oeste, Alta de Lisboa, Portugal

Start date: 2005

Status: Completed in 2007

Design: Isabel Aguirre de Urcola

More information: sgal.altadelisboa.com

The new urban development of the Alta de Lisboa neighbourhood is bound by Parque Oeste. This urban park comprises a wet retention basin that, given the known

lack of capacity of the downstream drainage network, essentially serves to regulate increased amounts of superficial rain water flowing from the newly constructed developments.



Fig. 4: Parque Oeste, Alta de Lisboa, Portugal. Source: Matos Silva, Maria (2014)

Besides the potential to store and infiltrate considerable amounts of rain water, this system also controls and reduces the velocity of the upstream flow, minimizing the influx at critical points. If provided with appropriate vegetation, the marginal areas of the basin can additionally serve for water purification. Considering that this measure needs a relatively large implementation area, it is usually associated with urban parks. These systems may also take advantage of the stored water and reuse it for irrigation, floor washing or filling ponds and tanks.

The retention basin of Parque Oeste comprises a lake with a maximum water surface of 17,500 square metres. The boundaries of the lake consist of small “beaches” of grass or sand, concrete walls or gabions. From what is known, no water is reused from the retention lakes. Up until now it could be said that it is a park that serves users of

very low affluence. However, this is more likely related to the complexities of other urban matters (particularly social issues and the uncompleted construction of the neighbourhood) than to the design of the park itself.

In Lisbon, other examples of retention and infiltration basins (wet and dry) that integrate the design of a public space include the parks Quinta das Conchas, Quinta da Granja and Bela Vista, among others.

> Floating Architecture

Location: Yongning River Park, Taizhou City, Zhejiang Province, China

Start date: March, 2002

Status: Completed in January, 2004

Design: Turenscape

More information: www.turenscape.com

Before 2002, the riverbanks of the Yongning River were made of concrete. In order to further control flood and storm waters, the idea to completely channel the river was in progress. Considering the scale of this investment, the local authority was persuaded by the proposition of a less costly and equally effective solution. The alternative solution comprised an ecologically sound and culturally and historically rich urban tidal park. In other words, a project aimed at the confluence of two main systems: an ecological system that could serve floods and wildlife, and a social system of public spaces that would serve people and tourists.

With the purpose of meeting the abovementioned objectives, the concept of a floating garden emerged. More specifically, the park is composed of two layers overlapping one another. One is the “natural layer” and the other is the “human layer”. While the natural layer comprises the wetland and its inherent natural characteristics, the human layer floats above it. As a wetland, the ground layer is frequently flooded for the benefit of its natural habitats and vegetation. Over this group of natural systems floats the human layer, composed of a path network that extends from the urban fabric downwards through the park and a matrix of squares and groves of native trees.

Enjoyment of this site, which was formerly impossible, is thus possible all year round. In addition, its public spaces allow visitors to fully acknowledge the surrounding natural processes of seasonal flooding without compromising their safety.



Fig. 5: The floating square over the wetland of Yongning River enables the fruition of the site during the flood season. Source: Courtesy of Kongjian Yu/Turenscape

Other examples of floating architecture include swimming pools, kiosks, sports fields and bridges. Namely, for instance, the pedestrian bridge at the London Docks, connecting Canary Wharf with West India Docks.

> Urban Greenery – Green walls

Location: Caixa Forum, Madrid, Spain

Start date: October 2006

Status: Completed in December 2006

Design: Patrick Blanc

More information: www.verticalgardenpatrickblanc.com

Green walls are widely known for their functional qualities of thermal regulation, biodiversity and rainwater harvest.

One of the facades of the entrance plaza of the Madrid Caixa Forum is a green wall implemented in 2006. It is four storeys high and it includes over 15,000 plants from 250 different species. Next to the “living wall”, temperatures can be significantly reduced by the water present in the vegetation, by the influence of its albedo factor, and other factors. This wall therefore not only contributes to the climatic amenity of the adjacent plaza but also to a reduction of the heat island effect, which is particularly present in a city like Madrid that is warmed by continuous sun in the summer. Its capacity to harvest rain water also contributes to the amelioration of floods while the diversity of plant species constitutes an oasis for several types of birds and other animals.

The design of the green wall may have additional aesthetic characteristics, particularly considering it as an “environmental art project”. In this example, designed by Patrick Blanc, one can identify a studied pattern of colours and textures that combine art, architecture and botany. For all these reasons, this plaza, highlighted by this wall, has currently become another drawing card in an area already surrounded by famous museums.



Fig. 6: Green facade at the Caixa forum plaza, Madrid, Spain. Source: Matos Silva, Maria (2011)

There are several other projects of green walls that can serve as further examples: at the Musée du quai Branly in Paris and the Rubens Hotel in Victoria, London; or in more modest projects such as a residence at Campo de Ourique, Lisbon.

> Permeable Paving – Porous pavement

Location: Terreiro do Paço, Lisboa, Portugal

Start date: January 2010

Status: Finalized October 2010

Design: Bruno Soares

More information: brunosoaresarquitectos.pt / tecnovia.pt

Starting in 2008, the public limited company Frente Tejo, together with the Municipality of Lisbon, were given the task of rehabilitating most of the city's waterfront. Within a global strategy, a major requalification was envisioned for Terreiro do Paço. This urban requalification envisioned key drainage retrofits, the rearrangement of traffic routes, the reassessment of street profiles and a renewed design for the central square.

Specifically with regard to the pavement design, the project envisioned an "earthen" material crossed by limestone stripes. According to the records of the project's author, while the oblique perspective of the limestone stripes emphasizes the large size of the square and the eccentricity of the statue, the earthen aggregate pavement and texture would recall memories of the square having been a *Terreiro* for 450 years. The aggregate pavement is thus constituted by limestone gravel and stone dust compressed with a colourless synthetic binder. In addition it was further required for the pavement to have a high porosity rate so that it could quickly drain the excess of water from intensive rain episodes or storm surges. According to the building company the pavement used has a porous surface and several drainage layers underneath. Between the bottom layer and the surface layer, there is a height of approximately 15.5 cm, which includes a regulating layer (also permeable) of 6.0 cm.

This simple measure of a pavement retrofit may prove to be of significant importance, particularly when considering that floods affect this square every year.



Fig. 7: Permeable pavement composed of limestone gravel and a colourless synthetic binder, Terreiro do Paço, Lisboa, Portugal. Source: Matos Silva, Maria (2014)

> Discussion

Climate change adaptation is presently recognized as inevitable. As global centres of communication, commerce and culture, cities are well-positioned entities to lead the world in addressing climate change (C40CITIES, 2014). It might, therefore, be reasonable to believe that our future relies on our cities.

Within the multi-scaled scope of adaptation, local scale action is particularly relevant, not only because it very likely influences global climate change but also because it entails immediate repercussions on the reduction of a society's vulnerability. In addition, within urban local action public spaces are of elementary importance, specifically with regard to their social, cultural and political significance, as well as their potential for structuring the physical space and their interdisciplinary nature.

When adaptation actions are applied within a public space, endeavours are no longer an abstract phenomenon for people and communities. In public spaces, adaptation can be implicitly or explicitly addressed, exposing or explaining how and why adaptation it is necessary for future everyday life. As a structuring element of the urban form, public space may integrate several systems necessary for effective adaptation. In addition, in places founded through interdisciplinary means, innovative thinking more easily emerges.

Some examples of adaptation measures applied in the design of public spaces are already known. The positive effects of these measures can be gauged not only in their capacity to reduce local risks (specifically flood risk, considering the cases analysed here) but also as beacons of new urban values aiming to address contemporary challenges. Considering public space as an ideal interface for adaptation action, we argue whether the assessment of adaptation initiatives should consider: 1) if the design of a public space comprises adaptation measures and, from a reverse perspective, 2) if the application of adaptation measures comprises the design of a public space.

Nuno Portas (in Brandão and Remesar, 2003) reflects on different phases of urban projects which have led to different ways that public spaces were produced. In the first phase described, most interventions were held in heritage areas, entailing projects such as the pedestrianization of historic centres or the creation of public spaces as a replacement of old industrial uses. The second phase entailed urban projects that were induced by events such as the Olympic Games, Capital of Culture or International Exhibitions. These projects had in common the aim of generating new facilities suited for leisure, culture or sport. Bearing this in mind, a final question arises: are we on the verge of a third phase in which, in a changing climate, urban projects will also aim to produce public spaces that are prepared for new and impending weather events?

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/ Campo das Cebolas – Doca da Marinha (Lisbon).
A continuous system of pedestrian public spaces
open to the city and the river

Jordi Henrich¹



> Introduction

Our proposal is a response to the requirements of a preliminary programme proposed by the City Council of Lisbon, integrating a system of public spaces that dignify a city

¹ Architect.

and port context of great beauty. We develop the proposal using instruments of public space – the design tool for urban quality – integrating the historical, architectural, the landscape and artistic and technical values through synthesis and simplification in an attempt to revitalise the urban context.

The geometric and tectonic groundwork, specifically *micro-topography*, involves the design of pedestrian spaces, defining and integrating areas of circulation and seeking continuity between new spaces and their context. This takes into account the following:

- (1) The correct movement of surface water; tried and tested pavements with natural stone in Lisbon.
- (2) Work on the vertical structure of spaces with diversification and grouping of trees, linear or irregular, appropriate to the morphology of the spaces.
- (3) Integration of public lighting elements; understated without unnecessary elements and integrated with urban furniture, resistant and of low maintenance, as well as all the mechanical elements of the urban infrastructure, such as underground parking, metro, etc.

The intention is to develop an essential character through simple forms, with quality materials that minimize weathering and maintenance. The result is open public spaces that are airy, flexible, integrated, with their own identity, and that improve the context and are respectful of the context.

> Historical Background



The project area is the former Ribeira das Portas do Mar, or Ribeira Velha, the ancient port of the city. The built facade we can see from the Cais da Marinha corresponds to the layout of the old Cerca Moura or Cerca Velha, listed as a National Monument. Buildings from different periods alternate in this facade; some of them have architectural significance, such as the Casa dos Bicos (1521-1523); the Casa Amarela,

a set for the film by João César Monteiro, “Recordações da Casa Amarela” (1989), and the fifteenth-century Casa das Varandas.

Port activity went ground to sea through various embankments, on which were developed the port and commercial activity. Constructions of various kinds, from the docks (Cais) to “boticas” for retail sales, gradually populated part of the area. The 1755 earthquake and fire also affected this area and precipitated the definitive implementation of *Alfandega Nova*.²

The area of intervention, Campo das Cebolas, is so named because at the end of the fifteenth century the Terreiro do Paço vegetable market was transferred to this location. The area and subsequent embankments densify with new buildings. As the piers invade the Tagus, there is an increase in the construction of support buildings for port activity. Urbanized, the area is being modified with buildings, transport infrastructure and the port activity itself.

In the early 1920s, certain improvements were performed in the area, with the emergence of a public space, but was not until the 1950s that, due to the introduction of the tramline to Santa Apolonia, part of the buildings were demolished. Later, in 1983, with the *XVIIth European Exhibition of Art, Science and Culture*, an initial operation reevaluating the Tagus River was performed. The remodelling of the Campo das Cebolas shaped its present form (project by Alberto Oliveira), through a rebuilding of the Casa dos Bicos (project by Manuel Vicente and José Daniel Santa Rita) that eventually would house the Fundação José Saramago.

Various documents have allowed us to understand the morphological characteristics of the territory from an evolutionary perspective and to highlight its archaeological and historical value, which makes us cautious when establishing the balance between the development of a public space project and the discovery of certain heritage elements that may occur during the course of its implementation. There may be several solutions, some solvable in situ, while others, depending on the findings, would require technical advice and collaboration with the museum policy of the City or of the State.



² New Custom House building.

> 2013 Situation

The Campo das Cebolas is a living and dynamic space, rather unstructured from the point of view of its use. The northern part, the most urbanized along the line of the Cerca Moura, combines commercial, restoration and cultural activities. It has a monumental character with the notable presence of the Casa dos Bicos, the Casa das Barandas and the monument to José Saramago. Active and dynamic, there is an imbalance with the gardens located opposite the former Parish Council da Sé, which make it marginal and, even, a residual space. The street of Alfandega (*Rua da Alfandega*), with heavy traffic resulting from changes in the scheme of circulation in the Baixa, cuts the spatial dynamics of the Campo das Cebolas that extends along the *Rua do Cais de Santarém* to Terreiro do Trigo.



The central area of the Campo is taken up by the end of the tramline and dozens of parked cars. The garden area has slight security problems because there are areas that are not clearly visible and are rarely used. In the festivals of the Popular Saints, the *Freguesia da Sé* uses an important part of this area to host a popular fair.

To the west, in *Rua dos Arneiros*, is a bus terminal area next to the Customs House, with intense movement to the south, to the *cacilheiros*³ terminal and, towards the west, by *Rua da Alfandega*. In the east zone, along *Rua do Instituto Virgílio Machado*, cars enter into the *Avenida Infante Dom Henrique*.



³ Ferry Terminal.

THE ART OF URBAN DESIGN IN URBAN REGENERATION

Except for the Casa Amarela on the north side, the buildings in the east area of the Campo are good examples of urbanity, whereas the warehouses in the backstreets are not, in the triangle drawn by the *Rua do Instituto Virgílio Machado*, *Rua da Alfandega*, *Rua do Cais de Santarém* and *Avenida Infante Dom Henrique*. They produce spatial discontinuities filled by poorly organized parking lots.



On the other hand, the spatial continuity between the Campo and the Cais da Marinha is broken by the *Avenida Infante Dom Henrique*, wide and with heavy traffic, with few crosswalks. The Cais da Marinha, closed to the public, is not visually accessible because the fences limiting the south side of the Avenue, producing an inhospitable area used, almost exclusively, for modal transport interchanges between the Maritime Terminal, the Metro and the bus stops.



> Project Objectives

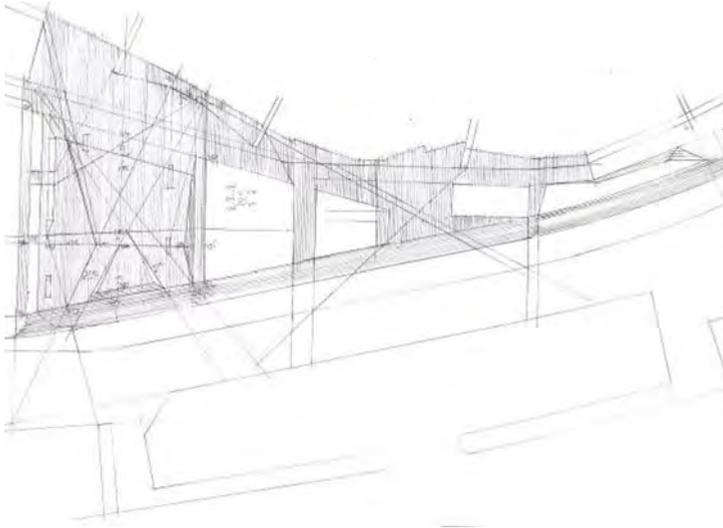
The project provides a response to the organization of the urban area with the creation of a continuous public space between the northern side (the line of the ancient Arab Wall) and the Navy Pier. The main objective of the project is to establish continuity between the city and the river, respecting the specific characteristics of a space with an attractive built environment of great value, to be preserved and to enhance its value.

Through the nature of the project, we try to establish unity between different areas. Furthermore, our purpose is that this new public space in the city can succeed in being able to maintain social differentiation and current environments by providing access to the whole area and the urban areas of Sé and Alfama.



The project aims to highlight the historical value of the area. We therefore propose a project of great visual clarity with regard to the different built facades, the river and the new public space in the Doca da Marinha. Finally, the project aims to be respectful to other ongoing projects for the surrounding area, and includes a roundabout and a design for urban continuity along the river.

> Project Synthetic Description



> Limits





> Mobility



We dramatically transform all public spaces into pedestrian spaces. The presence of moving and parked vehicles everywhere is really negative for these public spaces. We modify the outline provided for road traffic in order to promote the pedestrian character or “shared spaces”. We propose to drastically reduce the presence of vehicles on the roadway of *Avenida Infante D Henrique*, reducing it to four lanes, two in each direction. This way, we place several signalized pedestrian passing areas connecting the structure of public spaces in the city with the Doca da Marinha, and clearly link all public spaces north and south of *Avenida Infante Dom Henrique*.

The west roadway direction turns west of Campo das Cebolas, goes north, and turns back to the west by *Rua de Alfandega*. Thus, all public space is freed of traffic ahead of the built facade of the former Cerca Moura, in an attempt to enhance the relationship between the facades of the Campo das Cebolas and the rest of the city. We locate the roadway going east as an extension of the existing one in Praça do Comercio. Thus, our proposal for mobility connects with the decisions taken at Praça do Comercio and the Ribeira das Naus, distributing, in a rational way, both traffic systems and minimizing impact along the route between Santa Apolonia and Cais do

Sodré. We propose the area of *Rua da Alfandega – Cais de Santarem – Terreiro do Trigo* as a system of single platform spaces in stone. This shared space has access control by retractable bollards for residents and deliveries. We extend the tramline, a mode of public transport associated with the image of Lisbon, to Santa Apolonia, placing there the 180° turn.

The project ensures a pedestrian route, along the river, in continuity with the adjacent areas – Commerce Square / River Terminal – supplemented with a bicycle lane. While also committed with the smooth mobility system designed by the *Câmara* for the connection between Ribeira and the Sé and the Castelo.

> Carparks

To accommodate the vehicles usually parked on the surface of public spaces, we propose the construction of three underground parking lots, two in public spaces and one associated with the new building Block Q1. They are parked on one level, to avoid problems with the groundwater level. They are sited with the top slab about 50 cm below the existing ground level.

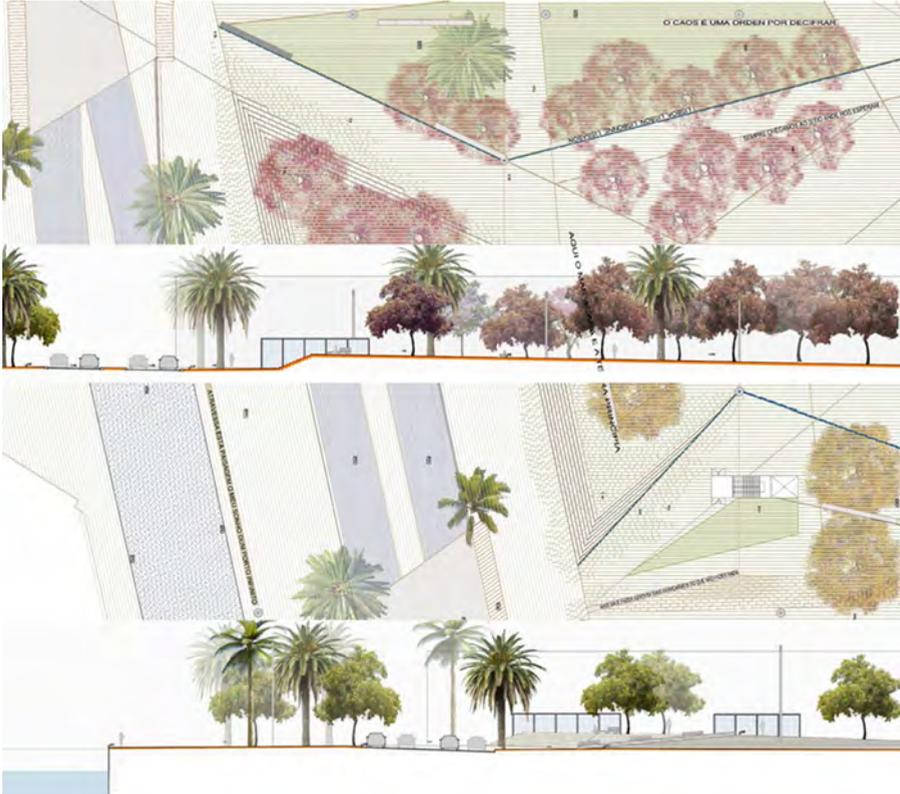
We propose a public underground carpark, privately funded, in Campo das Cebo-las, another privately funded public carpark under the *Avenida Infante Dom Henrique*, if the subway tunnel allows it, and a private underground carpark under the new building Block Q1, with the ramp inside the building. We propose the building be a hotel with the carpark in the basement.

> Public Spaces



Public spaces, free of circulation and vehicle parking, integrate the pier as an urban public space and allow the creation of new pedestrian areas focusing the urban, spatial and scenic qualities of the Lisbon riverfront. Project to project, this system of riverside public spaces connected with the city starts at the Expo, continues through the Praça do Comercio, the construction of the Ribeira das Naus and the upcoming construction of the Cruise Ship Terminal and its public spaces. Our project integrates the different public spaces with a unifying design, which is simple and respectful to the morphological characteristics of each space, their materials, trees and street furniture. Universal accessibility is one of the essential characteristics of our proposal.

THE ART OF URBAN DESIGN IN URBAN REGENERATION



> Campo das Cebolas



This is the main urban area of the project. Designed as a space free of vehicles, it is open to the urban context, to Saramago Foundation and to the “Doca” and the river landscape. Simple, abstract, flexible for different urban uses: for great views and for relaxing. It integrates the communication elements of the underground carpark, access ramps for vehicles and transparent glass boxes for pedestrian access integrating the parking vents. In a way it is a complementary space to the Praça do Comercio at the level of the facade of the ancient wall. An eminently civic space, for holding civic activities and enjoying the views associated with the location. The views toward the Doca and the river as well as the city are among the main features.

For several reasons, the square is slightly raised above ground level:

- (1) To improve the relationship of the square with its urban and landscape environment, enhancing the views, especially those to the Doca and the river;
- (2) To filter the presence of vehicles on *Avenida Infante Dom Henrique* to observers located in the northern part of the square;
- (3) To allow the planting of shade trees, adapted to the height limitations of the ground, giving character to the square and creating shady spaces.



The square is structured around a large empty central space open to citizens' activities and a balcony that opens to the south. Height differences are solved with gentle sloping also intersected with gentle steps that allow crossing them and sitting to enjoy the scenery. Parking elements are strategically placed and integrated in the square: the vehicle ramps are attached to the circulatory roadway, and pedestrian aedicule are located at the corners, freeing the central space of the square, and integrating all the elements of ventilation, so that the square is free of any mechanical element that could disturb its harmony.

A single "lioz"⁴ pavement expands the plaza to the north side; integrating all the areas and all the elements it creates a clean and abstract surface that provides a basis for enhancing the reading of the square and its context. Some diagonal pedestrian and visual paths, between the city and the Doca, draw a geometry that enhances the perception of space. Abstract lines formed by basalt benches emphasize these diagonals.

> Doca da Marinha (Navy Pier)

The transformation of the pier into an open public space without barriers, open to the city and to the river landscape, is a radical change that adds value to our proposal. The Navy Pier becomes a space for the city and, transversally, connects with public spaces to the north: with the renovated spaces at the Praça do Comercio and the spac-

⁴ The Lioz or Lioz stone is a calcareous type stone, very abundant in the Lisbon region.

es being designed at the east and west, while constituting an important part of this new system of pathways along the river, which consider and improve both the relationship of the city with the river and the contemplation of the cityscape: *the city from itself*. The promenade appears as an empty, linear, abstract space, open to the river and supported on the north side by a shading wood line, where there is the cycle lane and street furniture, benches and small kiosks.



The public space of the pier stands out for its geometry, enriching functionality and its urban role thanks to a swing bridge, thus completing the pedestrian paths and avoiding dead spaces. The rotary bridge system is very simple, and minimizes structural and mechanical elements.

The system of pathways currently planned from Santa Apolonia to Bethlehem, with time, may come to associate the entire shoreline of the city with quality public spaces. Pavements, trees, lighting and furniture, all integrated with the other public spaces outlined in the proposal. A longitudinal “Terraway” surface integrates the Doca walkway with the Praça do Comercio; this area is organized and patterned with limestone surfaces integrating the dock with the northern urban public spaces. The eastern pier closes the south side with a transparent stainless steel fence, limiting the public area of the new pier with two access doors.

> Proposal for public space at the south and southeast of Station Square



As a continuation of the Navy Pier promenade to the west, towards the front edge of Praça do Comercio and the magnificent stairs of Cais das Columnas, we suggest the south of Station Square and southeast public space to be incorporated as a clean public space, opening up views to the river landscape, the Praça do Comercio and the Ribeira das Naus. We propose freeing the space of all circulatory movements, leaving nothing but one area to bus stops in the north walk, and an access to the integrated *Kiss & Ride* on the sidewalk, next to the station. We propose the rest of the space to be part of the promenade, with no vehicles. Buses, going to the Cais do Sodre, can turn 180 degrees at the west side of the Campo das Cebolas.



> *Avenida Infante Dom Henrique*

The radical change in the avenue results from the transversal section reduction to four lanes, two in each direction, and the extension of walkways both to the north and south. The north walk is enlarged to a width of 12 m and the south walk is part of the Navy Pier walk. It is proposed to limit speed to 30 km / h throughout the area between the Cais do Sodre and Santa Apolonia.

The edges of the avenue walkway would integrate with the surrounding public spaces and the Navy Dock. The longitudinal and transversal continuity of footpaths is improved by integrating in the suggested pathways into the Campo das Cebolas and extending them to the Navy Dock. These diagonal paths, orthogonal to each building,

are drawn as pedestrian crossings with traffic lights and large elevated surfaces to ensure universal accessibility.

> *Rua do Cais de Santarém / Terreiro do Trigo*

This new promenade allows us to appreciate the south facade of the city and we extend it to Santa Apolonia. It is part of the new system of squares and walkways, the pedestrian route parallel to the wall, completely free of private vehicles and with the tramway route reaching Santa Apolonia. A pedestrian walkway with clean public transport. The linear path is enriched with the squares open to the Doca and the river spaces, where the pavement gently lifts to enhance the views, and with the historic squares that offer new value for civic use and to the image of the urban landscape being free of vehicles.

It is proposed to restore access to the Alfama district through the arches, signaling them with a unique pavement and integrating this pavement into the new walkways. Vehicle access is restricted to locals and for loading and unloading during limited hours by means of retractable bollards located in the access from the *Av. Infante Dom Henrique*. The pavements, the trees, the furniture and the urban lights are integrated into the whole context of the public space system.

> **Trees**

The forestation of all the proposed areas is flexible and open, easily adaptable to different spaces, unifying them in a respectful way with their different morphological characteristics, qualifying them, and creating green and shaded areas.

CAMPO DAS CEBOLAS – DOCA DA MARINHA (LISBON)



A balanced mix of Lisbon's tree species is proposed, which would integrate with the trees planned for the Cruise Terminal and South Station Square projects. Tree groupings would mix different kinds of blooms, opening spaces and framing views. Some palm trees of the Campo das Cebolas would be spread across all spaces as punctuation, marking, for example, the arches of the wall. Other palms of a certain height, such as Elegans (10-14 m) punctuate the spaces. In Campo das Cebolas, afforestation adapts to the limited depth of the grounds, with trees that grow well in these conditions; in our experience: jacarandas (*Jacaranda caerulea*) and tipuanas (*Tipuana tipu*), offering large areas of shade, and in specific places Canary and Elegans palm trees.

In the belvedere, south of the Campo das Cebolas, the dock space opens up without trees, only flanked by some palm trees to provide broad riverside views. The linear afforestation of the Navy Dock is part of the afforestation of the whole project. It is structured with irregular groupings of various types of trees that create open areas in front of the squares situated to the north, to ensure transversal views, from the dock to the cityscape, and from this up to the dock and the Tagus River.

The afforestation of the Navy Dock is part of that provided for in the Cruise Terminal project, which extends to the context of our project.

> Public lighting

The proposed lighting system is that used in Commerce Square (*Praça do Comercio*), based on cylindrical columns of 6, 9 and 12 m in height integrating the light fittings. These are very understated and essential elements that integrate perfectly into the new urban landscape, shaping the spaces and giving them a subtle order. We propose that the columns are the natural colour of anodized aluminium or matt stainless steel, so as to be more ethereal and less visible. Light fittings would utilise LEDs to minimize consumption and maintenance.

> Urban furniture

The proposal is for contemporary street furniture, sober, and of proven quality and functionality, and zero maintenance. The placement in different areas would respect their spatial qualities and emphasize the lines of tension and generating lines of each space.

Long stone benches with and without backrest, *Levit* type, with invisible legs of stainless steel; banks that seem to float in space. We propose polished basalt, with inscriptions of sentences by Saramago; they would be placed in the Campo das Cebolas and other spaces to reinforce the lines of spaces.

Access to parking lots would appear in boxes and clear laminated 10 + 10 mm glass parapets and stainless steel structures to minimize their presence. The small Saramago kiosk would be the same type as the access to parking. Kiosks would be of type *Habana* (2.5 x 2.5 m), in the Navy Dock located among the trees.



> Public art



The project adopts the public art policy established by the City Council. Because the project frees up public space, we could make the mistake of a restrictive interpretation of the guidelines given in the contest rules, including the design of works of art. We think this is not appropriate since, as we generate a great new civic space, it is up to citizens and their representatives to provide it with “symbolic value”. Especially since we want to promote the symbolic aspects of public space and the landscape values of the intervention: the river, the built facade over the ancient Cerca Moura, the public space itself. Furthermore, the presence of the Saramago Foundation, with the importance that the writer has in the Portuguese and Lisbon imaginary, raises a pre-existence of public art: the monument to Saramago. In addition, we propose that the “symbolic value” associated with the figure of the Nobel Prize winner can be enhanced. Therefore, regardless of other possible interventions, we propose the inscription, in pavements or on benches, of text excerpts of “Siege of Lisbon” next to the wall or the

Doca where Ricardo Reis arrived by boat. It is also within the scope of public art, the proposal of allegorical elements of the presence of water (Ribeira, fountain, *chafarice*, jetty or the old beach, etc.).

> Communication and signage

The project addresses the issue of communication in the public space as a topic of great relevance regarding use, orientation, image and accessibility for users and other urban actors. We intend to design a communication project in line with the organization of public space that includes a needs assessment, and establishes strategies for reducing the impact of communicative supports. The geographical spatial orientation compels us to design a system integrating, in one concept, the representation of other systems (e.g. transport) within a hierarchy of centrality to ensure orientation in the large access system, interfaces and public transport from the entrances to the city to the vicinity, i.e., the neighbourhoods. In the case of the historic centre, we underline the specificity of the riverfront and its divisions into areas and spaces in relation to the local neighbourhoods.

In addition to orientation, there are other relevant objectives. The communication project is based on counteracting visual pollution and obstruction (including silence zones, riverfront, forest), taking care of the image – aesthetic care, description, effectiveness – while providing specific content information and appreciation of notable elements in the surroundings (monuments, art, history, landscape, etc.). The project aims for standardization in the representation of space (conceptual maps, codes), to ensure the safety of users (traffic, other vehicles, pedestrians, etc.) and to reduce and discipline advertising (multipurpose temporary support banners, lighting elements), providing space-time communications using ICT and an economy of supports when implementing the system.

The project is based on the idea of strengthening “brand identity”, promoting “identity content”, either through toponomy communication or signalling elements with historical-geographic and artistic interest. This applies to elements such as water bodies (riverbanks, fountains, *chafarizes*, docks or old beachfronts), and the integration of public art into the communicative logic.

“Interpretative communication” will include devices for the explanation of points of interest using an inclusive language. They are signs and narrative elements of local or historical relevance. The content of directional communication must be organized into two levels: mobility on the “scale of the city”, and local and soft mobility.

While the proposal of an area of “shared space” can, in itself, potentially remove the “disciplinary” elements, here we propose to replace them with intuitive and, in some cases, informal communication elements, as there are many space design solutions: Zone 30 doors, indexes and signs on pavements, locating trees and shrubs in lines on the ground instead of sidewalks, small-scale signals, etc. And there are other communication elements: permanent or ephemeral (festive, advertising), variables (ICT, etc.), sound, and so on.

> Heritage and archaeology

The iconic building of Casa dos Bicos, a national monument, is sited on the Campo das Cebolas. Built in 1523 by D. Brás de Albuquerque, it features a unique architectural style, markedly inspired by the Italian Renaissance, with an uneven distribution of windows and doors, all different sizes and formats. Over the years it has had several functions, including the headquarters of the important Association of Maritime Trade with the Indias. The building was virtually destroyed in the 1755 earthquake. In the 1960s, the city of Lisbon bought the building and performed its reconstruction and restoration. The archaeological excavations established at the site in the 1980s and 1990s uncovered important archaeological findings, including four Roman salting tanks that were part of *garum* preparation; a part of the Moorish wall (a defensive structure probably built in the third–fifth centuries and later remade in the Islamic period during the eighth–twelfth centuries); a part of a medieval tower, and a portion of a Moorish pavement.

These vestiges demonstrate the high archaeological potential of the entire underground area of the Campo das Cebolas. This results from the continuous development and renewal of the urban area around the hill, the Tagus and the branch of the river (the *Baixa* treadmill), a continuous overlapping of structures with a chronology spanning more than two millennia of history.

Pursuant to Lisbon’s PDM,⁵ the Campo das Cebolas is integrated into an area of Archaeological Value Level 1. In this area, “projects of urban operations should be preceded by archaeological study promoting the consolidation and enhancement of scientific-use and archaeological assets and integrating in particular the characterization and assessment of archaeological values involved that justify the appropriateness of the proposed solutions”. In the construction of underground parking under the Cam-

⁵ Municipal Master Plan.

po, a defining aspect of our project, strict monitoring of the work should be ensured, with the comprehensive identification of archaeological vestiges and, if necessary, the display of them in a museographic space.

> Buildings

>> Block Q1

The new building is expected to generate urban uses to enrich and energize the new City frontage, so we propose reserving the underground floor for parking, a hotel on the upper floors, to serve the new Cruise Terminal, with the ground floor for restaurants and bars with terraces. The volume integrates with the heights of the existing buildings, divided into two volumes connected by a discrete transparent bridge. The ramps of the underground parking are inside the building.

>> Public building - West Navy Dock

This small building is the eastern facade of the ferry terminal. It is a glass box protected by steel sheets divided up into volumes that open and integrate with the context. It has an exhibition hall and a bar with outdoor terrace in the Doca, a panoramic viewpoint on the first floor, and so on. The building is an open and dynamic element of this new public space.

>> Public building - East Navy Dock

We propose a new building to replace the present warehouses: the new building is moved to the south, freeing a public space that respects the alignments of trees and walkways planned on the Cruise Terminal project. This two-storey high building allows an inner distribution according to the final programme. The facades can be integrated with the proposed building in the West Dock. The building is a belvedere in this area, with an accessible cover through a staircase with ramp, located north of the building, oriented to the walkways; access to this staircase can be controlled by means of a transparent steel barrier.

>> Building aspects

Under the Campo das Cebolas there is provision for a buried carpark, with an area of approximately 6,000 square metres. The construction of this structure requires some special care, as it is a sensitive area because of its proximity to the river, the Metro tunnels and old buildings of great heritage value.

The construction procedure should consider a waterproof wall solution, of the moulded wall type. This operation should precede the removal of all underground infrastructures existing on the site. The structure of the carpark will be fully reinforced concrete, with the covering slab designed not only for ground loads that are required for the plantation of trees but also to allow movement of emergency vehicles. As for the bottom slab, it should be designed to withstand the hydrostatic thrust and thus seal the basement. Foreseeing that water may infiltrate the bottom slab, we propose a drainage system underlying the rigging. This system resends the collected water to a pumping well. The same care should be taken in the cellars' containment peripheral walls: a masonry wall, separated from the retaining walls by an air box, allowing infiltrated water to drain.

Considering all the restrictions identified above, it is essential that the excavation process be performed using precise instrumentation techniques which enable a close watch on the neighbouring structures.

> Sustainability of the project

The challenge of combining urban planning to the standards of sustainable development based on environmentally respectful, socially equitable, economically viable and urbanistically integrated space, is the basis for the design of the project presented here. The proposal to create a public space in an area heavily conditioned by road traffic, by making use of underground parking will aim to promote predominantly pedestrian spaces, reinforcing the city's relationship with the river and contributing to the local identity of the intervention area.

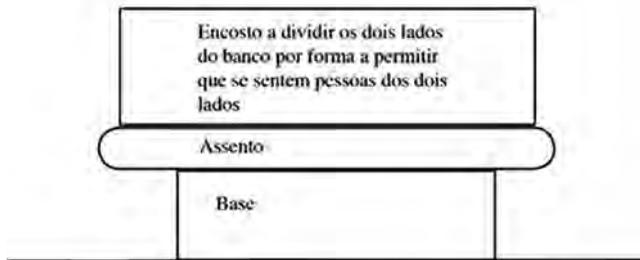
Managing the road traffic will require interventions adjusted to different requirements and existing mobility needs. Thus, the solution is to adopt a low-impact mobility plan in order to primarily reduce the use of private cars by promoting "green" means of public transportation and confining parking to restricted spaces.

Urban sprawl exerts significant pressure on the available natural resources, such as energy, water and materials, so the use of the planned technology in the phases of

design and construction, such as street lighting of low consumption (LED), and the use of solutions such as groundwater for irrigation of green areas, goes to meeting objectives regarding environmental efficiency.

In the presentation of this proposal the following key aspects have been taken into account:

- The appreciation of public space, promoting attractive places for rest and recreation that, of course, convey safety and comfort to their users;
- Sustainable mobility and universal accessibility, ensuring the smooth running of transport to all users, and ensuring quality and adequate quantities to satisfy demand; promoting actions to reduce traffic speed and noise; ensuring continuity of infrastructure with surrounding areas through connections such as continuous walkways, bike paths, etc.;
- Energy reduction and exploitation of natural resources, through the practice of passive outdoor design, shading, green areas; selecting equipment of reduced network power consumption and contracted power, such as LED lighting and traffic lights;
- The type of materials used in public areas, selecting the best material for the intended purpose, using locally available, long-lasting, renewable and/or recyclable materials.



PUBLIC CONTEST PROJECT DESIGN FOR THE "FIELD OF ONIONS / NAVY PIER"
(LISBON, 2012)

PROJECT TEAM

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/ Urban Governance and Creative Participation in Public Space and Public Art

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Abstract:

This paper considers the possibilities for public art and urban design to implement civic participatory strategies. It starts with a short analysis of the implementation of the Francoist “Ley de Asociaciones” and its impact on the Urban Social Movements of the Spanish Transition till the present day. In the framework of the relationship between the concept of civic participation and that of urban governance, it analyses the experience of citizen participation in the Barcelona neighbourhood of Baró de Viver. Two of the results of the process, the Monument to the Casas Baratas (Affordable Houses) and the Wall of Remembrance, enable us to discuss the role of the relationship among technicians, politicians and neighbours in the context of specific project decision making. Moreover, the paper analyses the role of “facilitator” that our team defends as a working attitude in the processes of citizen participation.

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> Urban social movements, from dictatorship to democracy



Fig 1: Residents of the Roquetes neighbourhood working on the construction of the sewer.
Archive of Planning, City of Barcelona



Fig 2: Streets without urbanizing in the new "dormitory suburbs" of Barcelona.
Archive of Planning, City of Barcelona

Spain 1964, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Minister of Information and Tourism, launches a massive propaganda campaign to commemorate twenty-five years of "peace", presented as a great triumph of the Franco regime. The political discourse of the campaign tried to introduce a more conciliatory narrative – far away from the previous one of a "crusade" – intending to capitalize on the idea of peace associated to economic and social improvements due to the huge economic growth. The aim of the campaign was to leave behind the Civil War, exalting the virtues of an economic Development Plan that enabled the reactivation of the economy through industrialisation and the modernization of Spain (e.g. massive construction of the Seat 600) or the tourism boom, under the motto "Spain is different".

Meanwhile, as residents of different neighbourhoods of Barcelona had to build their own sewer system, the Francoist mayor of Barcelona, José María Porcioles, celebrated July 18th as part of the “XXV Years of Peace” campaign, stating that:

The Movement,² within the national revolution of [19]36, has polarized two aspects of society – social and economic – which has allowed the miracle of those twenty-five years of peace and the possibility of moving resolutely towards the future on the basis of strong political institutions and hopeful and social structures increasingly prosperous and dynamic. In the external order, even the most reluctant to acknowledge it, the Spanish reality must support the prestige and strength of a nation that has found, in its historical roots, peaceful and noble expression of its desires and has regained the pulse and the authority that give it a respected place in the Western political environment (Porcioles, 1964).



Figs. 3 and 4: General Franco with the Mayor of Barcelona, J. M. Porcioles, looking at a model of the area of La Mina, at the “Barcelona 1974” Exhibition held in 1970. Archive, City of Sant Adrià de Besòs

The translation of these “hopeful and social structures increasingly prosperous and dynamic” led to speculative city planning that pushed the underprivileged to the outskirts of the city, to residential areas built according to the criteria of economic rationality of modern architecture, however, with large deficits of urbanization and a lack of infrastructures and community facilities.

² The Movement was the name given during the Francoist era to the “unique party” coming from a conglomerate of right wing forces (Tradicionalist, Catholics, Falange, etc.).



Fig. 5: Satirical magazines became one of the media for criticising urban processes of the late Franco regime. Team Butifarra was a comic strip collective founded in Barcelona in 1975, around the homonymous magazine. Its members were Artur, L'Avi, Pere Lluís Barbera, José Briz, Susana Campos, Francesc Capdevila, Montse Clavé, Ricard Doler, Luis García, Alfons López, Antonio Martín, José Luis Mompert, Albert Parareda, Francisco Pérez Navarro, Manuel Puyal, Pepe Robles, Juanjo Sarto, Ricard Soler, Iván Tubau, Carlos Vila and Mari Carmen Vila.

Following Castells (1972), the areas of expansion of Spanish cities follow three different patterns of growth that “even today define the structure of the residential peripheries of most Spanish cities”. All these expansion areas are peripheral to the city centres and the wealthy districts of the city. “These peripheries constituted the cultural medium through which urban social movements developed”. The three patterns of development are:

1. Suburban developments
2. So-called marginal areas of urbanization located in the extreme periphery of the city and illegally built
3. New housing projects, or “*polígonos de viviendas*”

(Castells, 1972)

Suburban development is based on nineteenth-century extensions with relatively narrow streets that were massively densified, substituting, for example, the original two-floor houses with a rear garden located on a six-meter-wide lot, with six- or seven-floor blocks of apartments. “These changes led quickly to the appearance of functional and formal conflicts: lack of facilities due to the sharp increase in population, car access difficulties, and poor lighting and ventilation conditions” (Castells, 1972). The marginal areas of urbanization had their origin in the 1920s – a period of high growth especially in Barcelona – and became significant in the 1950s in cities like Barcelona, Madrid and Bilbao. These shantytowns “lacked all public facilities and became a strong focus of urban conflicts”. Finally, the *polígonos*:³

[...] most of them publicly promoted to house low-income families, appeared first in the 1950s and then mushroomed during the 1960s and early 1970s as the official answer to the housing shortage.

Because of the priority to house more and more people, the provision of public facilities for these projects was systematically neglected. Furthermore, the “*polígonos*” were often located in isolated settlements, poorly built, with densities usually higher than 70 apartments per acre, and reaching 150 in some cases. It is not surprising that they generated the sharpest conflicts (Castells, 1972).

In the maelstrom of the “peace” campaign, the Franco government enacts the Associations Act (*Ley de Asociaciones*), published in the Government Gazette on 28 December 1964. The Associations Act implied, on the one hand, a certain openness of the regime towards the participation of citizens in the development of Spanish politics through the representation of the “heads of families” in political structures and, on the other, a decompression of the harsh living conditions of civil society of the time. Moreover, the Associations Act enabled the configuration of a strong local movement that still endures today. Despite the regime’s rigid political control, the neighbourhood associations gradually set up an organized civil resistance to the regime and, along with the class trade unions (CCOO), established a political alternative.

³ “*Polígono*” is the name used in Spanish urban planning to refer to an intensive urban development. We can find “housing” and “industrial” estates. See: Ferrer (1996) and Blos (1999).

On account of the housing and demographic issues, some housing policies were developed and reflected in Urban Planning. The pressing urban reality awarded a major role to neighbourhood associations, such as the mainstream Urban Social Movement (Castells, 1973; Domingo – Bonet; 1998), in order to demand improvements to housing and the built environment and to claim an active role in the definition of the city's development policies, geared towards new modes of production, from an industrial city to a services city. Thus, the role of these social movements became crucial in this period according to Castells:

[...] the coming of democracy in Spain cannot be attributed only to the urban movements. However, it was an essential component in creating a new political culture. Getting broad popular support for the democratic opposition and linking politics to everyday life; reaching middle class sectors and discrediting the only argument left to the defenders of Franco's regime: it had improved living conditions, an argument that was, now, clearly refuted by the wave of protests by large urban sectors (Castells, 1986).

Some years later, after the 1992 Olympics, Calavita & Ferrer indicate the importance of a particular historical moment that corresponds to the middle years of the political process of the Spanish transition.

During the last years of Franco's life, with the emergence of a new generation that had not participated in the Civil War, it became possible for a modicum of debate to take place, especially at the local level, with collective consumption and planning problems becoming the major topics of discussion and debate. We will argue that during the 1970s, unique cultural, historical, and political circumstances gave rise to collective urban social movements on one hand and exceptional individual progressive planners on the other (Calavita & Ferrer, 2000).

Moreover, according to Jordi Borja (1973) the *reactive* role of the associations flourished due to:

- (1) The need to reverse the living conditions of a large segment of the urban population
- (2) The need to mitigate the role of private investors in the development of urban projects
- (3) The need to promote more and better housing services, facilities and amenities

In this sense, the citizens' reactions favoured the emergence of a kind of "advocacy planning", in which several professional associations, including sociologists, archi-

sects and lawyers, neighbourhood associations and trade associations, started protest and reclaiming campaigns. The alignment of qualified technicians in the structures of neighbourhood associations allowed a series of actions aimed at paralyzing, and to improve and to provide social sense to, the planning proposals from the Administration, creating the basis of socially educated technicians that will be critical during the Spanish political transition, especially after the first municipal elections in 1979.⁴

> From civic participation to urban governance

As stated by Borja (1977) and Calavita & Ferrer (2000), urban social movements in the Spanish context are characterized by:

- (1) Direct action and protest tactics focused on issues of collective consumption
- (2) Grassroots orientation (Castells, 1973)
- (3) A certain distance from political organizations (clandestine until the mid-seventies)

Gradually, the legal and institutional framework of democracy faced a contradictory situation. On the one hand, local government, the closest to the citizens, implicitly recognized the importance of citizen participation in planning and urban design. Furthermore, this same administration would organize participatory processes to promote a wider citizen engagement in urban policy requirements ruled by the parties in the city government. But, during the political transition, we witness a gradual attempt to control neighbourhood associations – and other grassroots organizations – either through their *systematic cancellation* in political representation schemes, or the redirection of its activity through *participatory regulations* and the policies of *community planning*.

Therefore, while Barcelona gained international recognition through international awards for its public space policy, neighbourhood associations supported a major role in the development of the city's urban policies:

⁴ Mayor Porcioles – designated by Franco and who ruled the city for more than fifteen years – could hardly imagine that his words, “Planning imposes [...] a profound change of behaviour, it requires the participation of all social forces, in an authentic intercommunication between administrators and administered that forces us and it binds us all. [...] People cannot continue to have a partial view of their problems. Need to have a complete and comprehensive knowledge of community needs and their assessment [...] Today we demand and require more direct and decisive participation in public affairs, which finds expression in citizen control, in delegated power, in conciliation, in the consultation and in information were already a reality in daily practice” (Porcioles 1970) could describe a similar programme even today.

[...] citizen movement is waiting for new projects, especially when the City Council has already announced that it prioritizes private initiative by the depletion of public resources. It should explicitly recognize the neighbourhood associations, and also the requirement for a participatory memory as a section over all development projects, cultural or social services (FAVB, 1997).

In this sense, Marco Marchioni appropriately pointed out that a society that calls itself and wants to be truly democratic:

[...] cannot really develop and deal with existing problems without genuine participation by all citizens. So at all levels, in all legislation, policy, etc. This society has to encourage, prepare, facilitate and develop participation. The existing problems, their severity, the social consequences of many negative aspects of certain processes in which society lives and those who cannot do without, require increasingly aware citizenship and more participatory (Marchioni, 1994).

Concurrently, the democratic transition highlighted the status of technicians or experts that had been part of the neighbourhood associations assuming, primarily, the role of *facilitators*. As local democracy was being consolidated, these technicians moved to serve local government and their role changed to that of *mediator*, a role that always implies a conflict between parties, so that technicians had to assume an intermediary role, that of *conflict negotiation*. In connection with this new status, Tom Angotty proposes the need to reconsider the figure of the technician within the planning process, reviewing some of the concepts of Davidoff (1965):

The planner isn't solely a value-neutral technician; instead, values are part of every planning process. City planners shouldn't attempt to frame a single plan that represents the 'public interest' but rather represent and plead the plans of many interest groups. In other words, planning should be pluralistic and represent diverse interests, especially minority interests.

So-called 'citizen participation' programmes usually react to official plans and programmes instead of encouraging people to propose their own goals, policies and future actions. Neighbourhood groups and ad hoc associations brought together to protest public actions should rightly do their own plans.

Planning commissions set up as supposedly neutral bodies acting in the public interest are responsible to no constituency and too often irrelevant. There is no escaping the reality that politics is at the very heart of planning and that planning commissions are political.

Urban planning is fixated on the physical city: 'The city planning profession's historical concern with the physical environment has warped its ability to see physical structures and land as servants to those who use them.' Davidoff said that professionals should be concerned with physical, economic and social planning. In a line that was relevant to the founding of the Hunter College urban planning programme, he said, 'The practice of plural planning requires educating

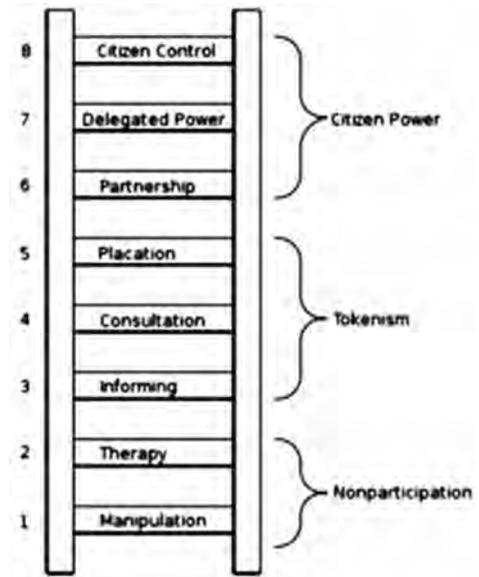
planners who would be able to engage as professional advocates in the contentious work of forming social policy' (Angotty, 2007).

In this sense, the balance between technicians and citizens – as it was in the typical resistance situations during the dictatorship – broke quickly; often leaving the process of decision-making related to urban issues in the hands of politicians, if not in the hands of developers. But, as noted by Brandão (2005), this breakdown meant, also, the dominance of disciplinary visions on city making and, to a large extent, the emergence of a new theoretical and practical need: to return to the processes of city-making with an eminent interdisciplinary character.

In 1969 Sherry Arnstein proposed her famous “ladder of citizen participation”:

The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you. Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy – a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone (Arnstein, 1969).

Arnstein's ladder shows the clear distinction of what we can call, or not, participation, while denouncing some pseudo participatory processes. Since its publication, several authors have tried to organize the topic (Sanoff, 2000). Multiple experiences and processes have been developed worldwide in situations of different levels of urban and economic development and political awareness, especially since Rio's summit, at least in terms of *participatory budgeting*. However, some of the problems identified by Arnstein forty-four years ago still remain and persevere (Salas, 2015; Padilla, 2015).



Among the arguments against community control are: it supports separatism; it creates balkanization of public services; it is more costly and less efficient; it enables minority group 'hustlers' to be just as opportunistic and disdainful of the have-nots as their white predecessors; it is incompatible with merit systems and professionalism, and, ironically enough, it can turn out to be a new Mickey Mouse game for the have-nots by allowing them to gain control but not allowing

them sufficient dollar resources to succeed. These arguments are not to be taken lightly. But neither can we take lightly the arguments of embittered advocates of community control – that every other means of trying to end their victimization has failed! (Arnstein, 1969).

Despite this point of view, during the last three decades, several approaches have been proposed to solve one of the problems inherent in this blockade of the real possibilities of participation. Formal democracy discredited, there is an awareness that it is not possible to maintain the democratic system but by extending participatory democracy.

To surpass the gap between representative democracy and participatory democracy, the concept of governance has penetrated slowly as a real possibility. In spite of no consensus on a definition of governance, Ascher (2004) proposed the following one: “[...] a system of devices and modes of action that brings together institutions and representatives of civil society to develop and implement policies and public decisions”. However, this definition overlaps that of Strategic Planning. Arantes (2002), when reviewing the role played by the Strategic Planning in urban development models in Latin America, alerts us to its perils, because Strategic Planning tell us that:

[...] cities will only become privileged protagonists, as the Information Age promises them, if and only if, they are properly equipped with a Strategic Plan, able to generate competitive responses to the challenges of globalization (always in the general language of the prospectus), and that every opportunity (even in the language of business) for urban renewal might be submit in the form of a comparative advantage.

[...] as strategic planning is first and foremost a business of communication and promotion, and needs to define a core, an identity and powerful nucleus placed in the sphere of the Culture. What is now on sale is a new product, namely the city itself, needing an appropriate image policy (Arantes, 2002).

For decades, the International Funding Bodies (IMF, IDB, etc.) pushed cities to implement Strategic Planning to boost urban policies. So it's not surprising that the UN itself, or the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) promotes the benefits of this form of planning:

1. Strategic planning provides a methodology which helps cities identify their strengths and weaknesses, while defining the main strategies for local development.
2. Strategic planning brings additional dimensions to technical planning and helps prioritise to efficiently allocate resources.

3. Strategic planning offers the possibility of involving a wider range of partners, especially from the communities and the private sector.
4. City Development Strategies build on understanding and developing all aspects of the city, integrating technical, environmental, political, social and economic interests in the same territory.

(UCLG, 2010)

While Strategic Planning, as a social contract and social process, entails a vision of the city in the long term, unfolding strategic guidelines and recommendations, which is called governance, in order to achieve its objectives,

[...] has to do with a particular style of government where the decision making process has a collective character, determined by patterns of interaction between the actors involved in this process, considering that players are not only public actors, but that private actors have a prominent presence throughout the process. This new way of exercising government is characterized by the cooperation between a large number of public and private actors in the formulation and implementation of public policies (UCLG, 2010).

This way, Freeman (2000) suggests some of the advantages of governance:

[...] as a network management system, in which public and private actors share responsibility for defining policies and regulate and provide services. Therefore, a variety of non-governmental actors, companies, NGOs, professional associations, non-profits, are incorporated into public decision making in very different ways (Freeman, 2000).

In any case, both from the standpoint of strategic planning as from the perspective of governance, civic participation is a cornerstone of urban governability processes (Bovaird – Löffler, 2003). In this sense, the European Council of Urbanism, in its New Charter of Athens (1998, 2008), envisages participation as a warranty for the improvement of the environment of the city, its territorial and social cohesion and for the change of its economic base in order to allow development in the context of the knowledge economy.



Fig. 6: Matrix of urban governance and civic participation processes

> Creative facilitation in civic participation processes

Since 1998, the POLIS interdisciplinary research team carried out several experiences of citizen participation in peripheral neighbourhoods within the region of Barcelona, specifically in La Mina (Municipality of Sant Adrià de Besòs) and Baró de Viver and Bon Pastor (Municipality of Barcelona). Regardless of their particular characteristics, these neighbourhoods are located in the periphery of the city, as they arise from public housing policies aimed at re-housing people from shantytowns. The result is a poor quality built environment, poor economic environment, a social environment dominated by low levels of education and low professional qualification (Ricart, 2009; Remesar, A. – Luzia, A., 2013). In this territorial context we have developed some participatory experiences such as the “Social Uses of the Besòs River” project (1998-2000) (Remesar – Pol, 2000), the “Mapping La Mina” programme (2000-2006) (Ricart, 2009) and the ongoing projects in Baró de Viver and Bon Pastor (Remesar et al, 2012; Salas, 2015; Padilla, 2015). With the experience gained through the development of such processes, we also progressed in our methodological scope.⁵

⁵ For example, in 2003 we introduced the method of CPBoxes (Comment and Pattern Boxes), a methodological technique derived from the work of *trend hunters* that has produced excellent results (Remesar et al, 2004).

The main goal of these projects is to empower citizens, to empower neighbours to overcome the stages of *complaint* in order to reach new decision-making stages, cooperatively working with Local Administration and its technicians. Therefore, our role has been that of *facilitator*.

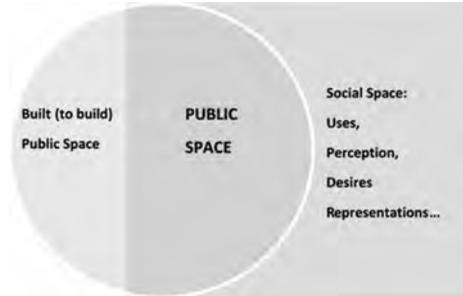


Fig. 7: Social space operating on built space allows the emergence of public space.

Built space can be considered a spatial setting. It has a form and, a more or less static meaning regarding the design operations conducted to build it. In this sense, we must consider the dimensions of form and function that the space contains and allows. Strictly, built space is solely a site.

On the other hand, we have the universe of social space, consisting of numerous factors such as perception, desire, collective representations, etc., linked to a greater or lesser extent to the physical space. What turns the built space into public space is its capacity (design options are critical) to connect with the social space: its ability to host social perceptions, desires, representations, and so on. In short, a site becomes a place when it has the capacity to accommodate, in one way or another, the social and the cultural will of people inhabiting it. Therefore, it is crucial to understand that nor the design nor the construction exhaust the creation of public space. Its forms have to be used to trigger the appropriation of space mechanisms essential to public space (Carro, Valera, Vidal, 2010; Valera, 2010). Therefore, public space is not a technical matter; it is a political and social subject.

Therefore, we can note that public space is not a matter of “disciplines”, even if it is too. Public space is, firstly, a subject of civic negotiation. A negotiation by all those agents / stakeholders who may be involved in its creation and use. On the one hand, the neighbours, *mapping out* their perceptions, desires or representations, not only at the level of the programme for spaces’ uses (which is common in some participatory processes), but also at the level of the form (colour, texture, materials, designs, etc.). On the other

hand, architects, urban designers and artists have to be able to gather and process these mappings – even formally – to turn them into a project. In addition, politicians have to learn to take the appropriate decisions, at times limiting or redirecting neighbours' proposals, other times politically reconsidering the technical options. As Lefebvre stated:

The dominant trend fragments, cuts space. It enumerates the content of the space, the things, and the various objects. Specialists share the space and act crosscutting it, placing mental barriers and practical-social barriers. Therefore, the architect would own (private) the architectural space, as the economist would own his economic space, the geographer's "place" his "property" in the sun in space, and so on. The ideologically dominant trend built on the social division of labour plots space (Lefebvre, 1974:107-108).

Usually, the local technical services – either directly or through outsourcing – design public spaces in the city, taking into account the guidelines of municipal policies. Thus, this way of working implies:

1. Assuming that the normal design process is originated in a decision or from the political agenda; technical staff running this decision from *disciplinary shared knowledge*, commonly in the fields of Architecture, Planning, Urban Design and Engineering.
2. This *shared knowledge* is based on the principle that other actors can *only* provide viewpoints regarding the programme, i.e., the content of public space and uses: playgrounds, fountains, green areas, etc.; hereafter, the development of a project becomes an unfolding of technical knowledge that is beyond the reach of ordinary mortals.
3. This attitude relies on the reductionist principle that different areas of the city can be summarized in a set of urban functions: work, leisure, relaxation, sport, walking, movement, and so on.

This functional way of conceiving a design process can be summarized as follows:

USES: What the technicians and politicians expect from neighbours	Embedded Functions	Programmatic solutions. General: Zone allocation
Demand for green and tree zones	Leisure. To improve health	Choice of species
Demand for walkways	Leisure. To walk	Pavements. Choice
Demand for playgrounds	Leisure. To Play	Norms and regulations. Choice
Demand for tracks and sports facilities	Leisure. To improve health	Norms and regulations. Choice
Demand for fountains, bins, benches, etc.	Urban facilities. Complements to other uses	Standard, or not, objects. Choice
Demand for lighting	Security	Norms and regulations. Choice

THE ART OF URBAN DESIGN IN URBAN REGENERATION

The central matter of urban design, of the design of public space, is its *form*, the way we shape the terrain. And, this matter generally does not arise. The resolution of the form is a matter for the “technical knowledge” of the disciplines that historically have tried to deal with such matters. We believe that this appropriation of form, exclusive and excluding, on the part of the “technical knowledge” is based, on the one hand, on a genealogy of knowledge and solutions and, on the other, on the technocratic axiom that this knowledge is unique and its foundation is the control of technical solutions. A clear example of how knowledge can become an exercise of power, an exercise of “domination”. However, we all know that a “form of public space” may take several “forms”.

As we have argued elsewhere (Remesar – Esparza, 2014; Remesar, 2015a, 2015b), the confusion appears when we confuse two different concepts: *form-space* and *form of space*.⁶ To clarify this distinction, we break the string of discourse, in order to spatialize its contents using a table.

<i>Form-Space</i> →	<i>Pre-Form of Space</i> →	<i>Form of Space</i>
Refers to a possible configuration of a specific space based on its limits, its structural features related to the territory, lines, colour, and atmosphere. It is an abstract space	Social Space & Knowledge ↓ the logic of the facilities it will contain for fulfilling certain uses ↓ ↑	The shaped and built space responding to technical knowledge and regulations
	and the logic of materials and “forms”	
	↑ Technical Knowledge	
Citizens, Politicians, Technicians	Citizens, Politicians, Technicians	Technicians (Citizens, Politicians)

We think this distinction allows us to find a meeting point for the application of urban governance to the participatory and creative processes needed in order to allow citizens to take part, as actors, in the decision-making processes, shaping and conforming its content and its spatial form. Indeed, any urban actor can reflect, imagine, dream any *form-space*, but its final appearance as *form of space* requires some technical knowledge, unless we admit the possibility of building public space through vernacular procedures, which is not the case with public space policies in Barcelona.

⁶ We follow here the argument raised by Debray (1989) when analyzing the problem of the monument. Debray makes the distinction between “monument form” and “form monument”. In this respect, it is interesting to see also Alexander (1964) and Lefebvre (1973; 1974).

We will see that the right (straight line) and the curve (curve line), the grid (checkerboard) and radio concentric (centrality and periphery) are forms and structures more than textures. The production of space takes up the structures and brings them into sets (textures). Who says texture also says sense, but sense for whom? For any 'reader'? No. For someone who lives and works in the considered area, 'subject' with a body, 'collective subject' sometimes. For such a 'subject', the forms and structures correspond to the functions of the set. White (absences – presences), margins, and therefore networks and frames, have a lived meaning to be raised to the conceived without breaking it (Lefebvre, 1974: 155-156).

In this sense, to shape the city, in the sense of to give form to space, is increasingly a process of social construction [...] where design professionals should handle three interaction capabilities: Negotiation; Agency; Communication, which must simultaneously contain elements of informative, persuasive and participatory communication (interaction, feedback). For professionals, the development of these skills is essential, in the sense that their communication must exceed the 'gaps' of the design:

- BETWEEN professionals and the profane (subjective response, personal, sensitive)
- BETWEEN design professionals and other
- BETWEEN reality and representation (codes of realism, symbolism)
- BETWEEN power and non-power (dominance / ownership of the process)
- BETWEEN the 'designer and user' (use requirement, design and value)⁷

(Brandão, 2005)

Furthermore, when we look at the social dimension of space, defending a city with egalitarian vocation (isotopic), the relationship between form and structure should be organized, according to Borja (2009),⁸ to fulfil expectations regarding urban cohesion.

⁷ The main problem is that the *community of technical knowledge* feels that any transfer from and to other actors, in order to imagine the "*space form*", implies an attack on an alleged disciplinary autonomy principle derived from the paradigm of autonomy of art established mid-nineteenth century.

⁸ Borja points out several factors that must be accomplished: (1) To understand the city as public space; (2) The aesthetic value of the form must derive from its function and its quality is part of the content; (3) Urban projects based on public space should contribute to social redistribution; (4) The public space and urban projects must be based on principles of decentralization; participation and social dialogue; (5) Urban projects have different scales, which set policies regarding urban units – neighbourhoods, districts, city, metropolitan area; (6) Civic pride, based on the sense of belonging, requires communication systems, including marketing, to enhance the public esteem (Borja 2009:166).

If public space is the factor that allows an isotopic city or, as one would say in European terminology, “urbanely cohesive”.⁹

The main lack of cohesion problems, we face today, are mostly related with: (1) a lack of physical connectivity mainly generated by phenomena of spatial and functional segregation; (2) hyper-specialisation and economic hyper-spacialization of the urban structure, and (3) problems of social exclusion, marginalization and loss of identity (Pinto – Remesar, 2012).

From the experience we have acquired in recent years, we can identify a set of relationships between the actors involved in the processes that may be useful to identify and / or establish participatory policies in the context of urban governance. (See Table 1).

As stated above, our main goal is to empower people, empower neighbours, to enable them to overcome the stages of “complaint” in order to reach new decision-making and cooperative work with the authorities and the technicians. As discussed, our task as facilitators has allowed this achievement. As we noted some time ago, “Power is not only the exercise of domination, whether through physical brute force or by political domain. Power is also capacity and ability. I can or I cannot do anything in relation to the capabilities that, genetically and culturally, have been identifying me and my way of being in the world” (Remesar, 2010).

With regard to these capacities and abilities, is our conviction that participatory processes that must occur within the context of the new urban governance should enhance the citizenship by increasing their capacity to intervene in the urban design of the city, while creating opportunities for interaction where the citizen can exercise this right in a free environment. The unfolding of this conviction means that whoever is representing the people’s power should have the sensitivity to offer citizens the opportunity to, firstly, develop their capacities and, secondly, to facilitate the exercise of these capabilities, while providing the resources that allow the binding of wills and the concretion of specific projects.

In short, our experience proves that effective facilitation¹⁰ can enable very positive results in the implementation of a public space project. If the political will of the local government is open to unfolding “bottom-up” governance processes, combining po-

⁹ “The concept we have developed is the result of an application, on the urban scale, of the concept of territorial cohesion that was introduced by the European Union (CEC, 2004). Both concepts involve two important dimensions: (1) Territorial balance, tied in with the physical form of the city and its connections; (2) Social and economic balance, endeavouring to ensure the whole population has equality in access to goods and services, but also that the different areas of the city (planning units) have diversity in terms of functions and cultures” (Pinto-Remesar, 2012:15).

¹⁰ In this case the work done by the team from the University with neighbours in order to increase their empowerment).

litical goals and citizens' objectives, thus implementing both negotiated public space projects and urban design, the process will result in increasing empowerment of citizens. By contrast, when the government uses "top-down" governance criteria the progress in participatory democracy suffers a significant decline. The formal discourse may be similar to that pointed out above regarding the Francoist mayor of Barcelona. A discourse that expresses the benefits of participation but, in real terms, it hides policies of placation and manipulation of participatory democracy.

Table 1. Relationship between actors in participatory processes. The first column indicates the groups of interest (in brackets) and (x) is a logical operator. UB represents CR POLIS, Universitat de Barcelona. District represents both Political Local Staff and Technical Staff of the City Council.

ACTORS		OBJECTIVE OF THE INTERNAL RELATIONSHIP AMONG ACTORS	TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP OF WORK IN PRACTICE	TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT
	[NEIGHBOURS (X) UB]	Goal-oriented Cooperation	Facilitation / Education	Without or against: resistance strategies
	[DISTRICT (X) NEIGHBOURS (X) UB]	Goal-oriented Cooperation	Facilitation / Education/ Mediation	With, partnership, roadmap and technical support
	[DISTRICT] (X) [NEIGHBOURS (X) UB]	Negotiating step-by-step. Overall objectives of cooperation, lack of focus	Facilitation, Education (Neighbours / UB) Excessive meetings for coordination	Neither with nor without Blocking of both long-term perspective of institutional relations and the objectives to achieve

In another context, but in the same direction, Tom Angotty points out :

It will be naïve to think that the rising tide of community-based planning, as impressive as it may be, will necessarily continue to grow or even survive. Government leaders have yet to display the political will needed to help community planning to grow beyond this insurgent stage. [...] Megaprojects, new luxury enclaves, and big-box sores are still on the horizon. [...] The obstacles facing community planning are enormous, and its most reliable advocates and allies are part of the broader movements for progressive social change of the city (Angotty, 2007).

> Urban Designer / Artist as facilitator

Let us review briefly our facilitation working method. Firstly, to make clear that our subject matter is not planning, nor housing plans nor community plans to be implemented; our subject matter is public space.

Public space is the essence of the city. Which means building squares, and small places for 'living them' (sometimes two benches and a tree in a corner of a narrow street), supported by elements of urban art [...] distributed in the whole of the city, particularly in dense suburbs that went from alluvial housing to become shared living space (Borja, 2010).

Moreover, public space is considered from its physical dimension as built environment (Borja, 2010:30). So, our work is centred on facilitating tools to people – neighbours – in order to empower them – abilities and capabilities – for their own decision making with respect to changing or improving public space.

Why do we adopt the standpoint of facilitation? Firstly, because we start from the conviction that urban design operations at the local level should serve to solve real and material problems, apart from other possible goals associated with city development and/or marketing. Secondly, because those who know best the public space problems in a given territory are the inhabitants that "suffer" them daily. Thirdly, because we argue that a strategy of *problem solving* is much more appropriate than a strategy of *conflict resolution*.

Let us consider this option from an example. Baró de Viver was founded in 1929 and underwent some renovations in the fifties and again later in the eighties. Since its origin, a football field was the most important public space in the neighbourhood. The football field eventually disappeared with the remodelling in the eighties, with pledges of restitution by the City Council of Barcelona. Today the football field does not exist. Its claim has become a conflict between the neighbourhood and the government. The conflict required mediation, since the parties can hardly agree, mainly due to mistrust that the "promises" of the government generate among residents.¹¹

This example of problem solving is one on which we have been working in recent years. What to do with an area of approximately 8,000 square meters allocated to car parking and a practice range for a driving school? A brief visit to the area allows us to identify the different actors and their respective interests: those linked to the sports association that manages a small *petanque* pitch; those related to the Parents' Asso-

¹¹ For a more detailed analysis of the urban and social evolution of Baró de Viver see Remesar, A. – Luzia, A. (2013).

ciations of the schools, one public and one private; the interests of all in relation to the quantity and quality of public space conveyed by the Neighbourhood Association and some youth groups associated with the Community Plan.

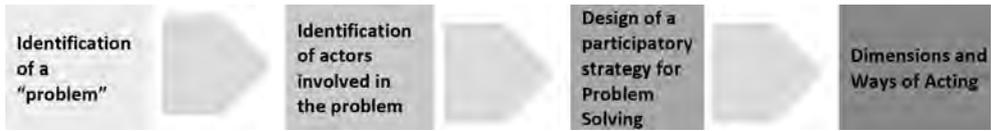
Table 2. “Tools” that can be provided to the neighbours

Dimensions	Method
Analytic	Morphological analysis
	Aesthetic analysis
	Socioeconomic analysis
	Urban Design analysis
	Learning foundations of “technical language”
Contextual	Live Examples of solutions for public space
	National or International References
Management	Neighbourhood managing
	Managing with the administration
	Communication skills
Symbolic	Developing civic pride and collective self-esteem

Here, the unfulfilled promise of a football field is the problem. Once the problem was detected, the stakeholders can initiate a process of participation. By organizing working groups that develop their activities once a week and, from time to time, show their results to the rest of their neighbours in neighbourhood forums (usually coinciding with a neighbourhood celebration) where they discuss, modify and extend the proposals. Once again, the working groups develop collective proposals. If necessary, calls are made for expanded participation of the residents not included in the groups. Finally, the results are displayed, where other residents can express their views.

What results can be achieved when the process is complete? Firstly, a “reformulation” of the problem including different perspectives from different stakeholders. Secondly, we realize how the neighbours have been able to exceed the “programme” of the proposal, to enter into a process of “shaping” – of giving form to – the public space. The “programme of uses” has led to a characterization of the functions of public space and its “modelling”, the creation of sense, of texture, in the words of Lefebvre. So, we achieved a spatial form of public space that meets the proposed requirements of the programme. As result, we get a “project” – a pre-project if you prefer – for public space.

Table 3. From the problem to the strategy for its resolution. (See Table 2).



A project takes form in a model. The model includes a building for a community centre, an area for sports (*petanques*), a fully fitted square and some “symbolic” elements. Facing the unitary proposal, local authorities granting a dual urban land classification – a zone corresponding to green/open space, and another to social facilities – chose to launch two contests. The first corresponded to a community centre building. The second to the civic plaza posed by neighbours.

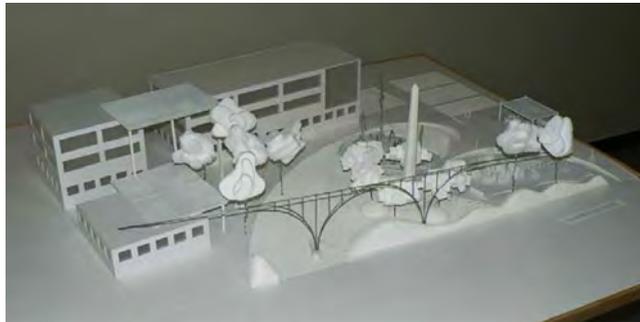


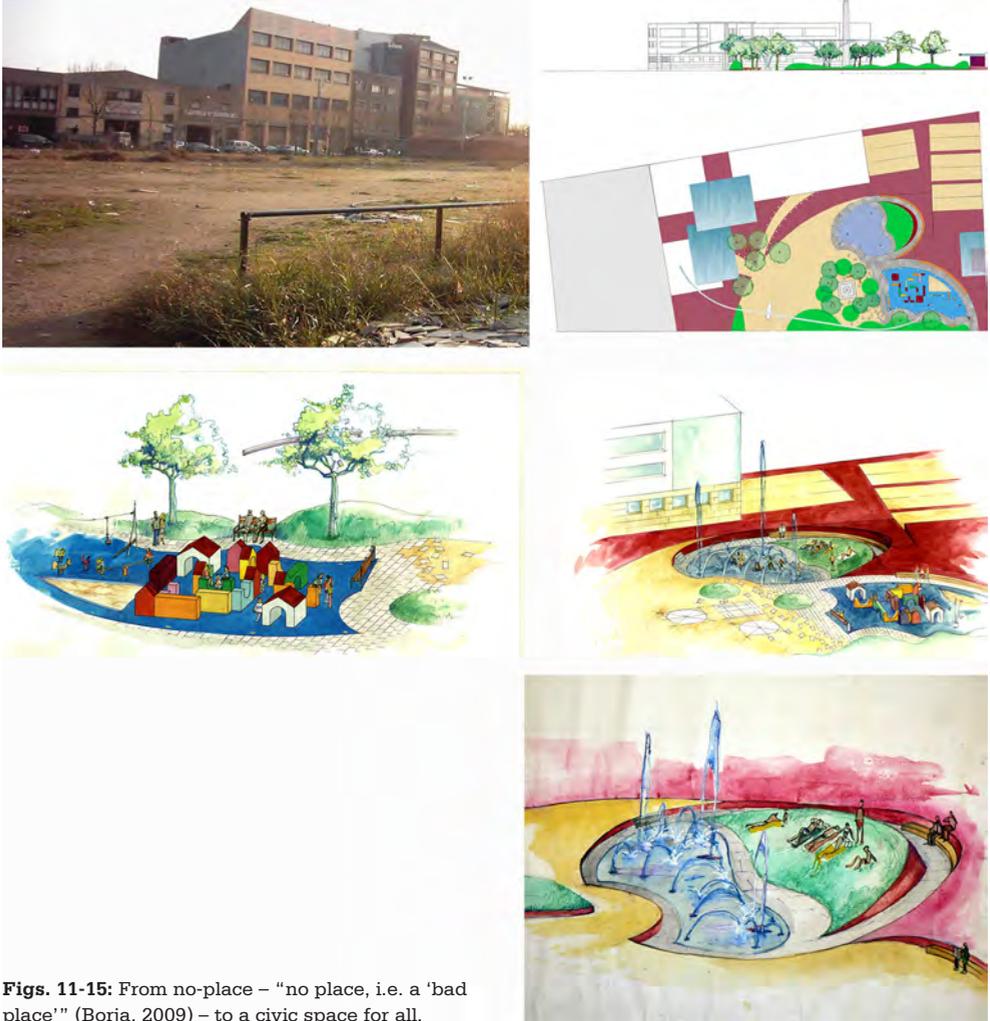
Fig. 8: The project by citizens, 2008

Contests were proposed in 2011 after almost three years of tug of war between the neighbours and the district of Sant Andreu. The first contest solved was the Community Centre, a wonderfully simple, flexible and sustainable project by *24 Territory, Architecture and Urbanism*. The architects were sensitive to integrating neighbours proposals into the building programme. Moreover, even the volume of the building broadly recalls the neighbours’ naïve proposal shown in the model that they proudly exhibited in district fairs. It is important to remember that in one of these fairs, Jordi Hereu, former president of the district and Mayor of Barcelona at that time, knew about the neighbourhood proposal, a fact that led to the collaboration between neighbours and the district.



Figs. 9 and 10: Project for the Day Centre building, won in 2011 by 24 Territori, Architecture and Urbanism.

As shown in Figure 8, the vicinal project involved a building and public space. Textured public space concretizing a social space full of dreams, desires and will to equate a marginalized neighbourhood with the rest of the city precisely through what defines the Barcelona's civility: its public space. "The public space as the essence of the city" (Borja, 2009).



Figs. 11-15: From no-place – “no place, i.e. a ‘bad place’” (Borja, 2009) – to a civic space for all.

While the design of the building presented a programme of uses and can be considered “pre-form” able to be shaped in many different architectural forms – such as it happened – this was not so with the design of the public space: the square in front of the building. The neighbours’ proposal had a structure opposing the organic nature of the public space to the linearity of the building. The landscape design of the square, incorporated hard and soft openings to spaces; with areas of sun and shade; with its roads and pavements allowing the transition from busy areas to calm areas. The design included facilities, such as a “remembrance playground” – reproducing the

archetypal image of a house to represent the old houses that shaped and defined the neighbourhood from its origins, *Casas Baratas* – and a leisure space organized around a moving fountain. The project respected also the interest of some neighbourhood groups in relation to the game of boules. It was not just a programme, a pre-form, it was a clearly defined spatial form that could easily result in an executive project. The square was defined by the will to create a space for meeting, inclusive and intergenerational.¹² A lively and colourful place for a living community.

When outdoor areas are of poor quality, only strictly necessary activities occur. When outdoor areas are of high quality, necessary activities take place with approximately the same frequency – though they clearly tend to take a longer time because the physical conditions are better. In addition, however, a wide range of optional activities will also occur because place and situation now invite people to stop, sit, eat, play, and so on (Gehl, 1971).

Neighbours quickly accepted the building project. Not so the project for the square. The neighbours' project for the square had organicist resonances of the cubist Burle Marx and was built in extrusion, with overlapping material layers, like in a collage. A large ground plan, in red asphalt, linked the square with its environment. Above this plane emerged the various organic forms.

The winning project looks like an application of the "*Poème de l'angle droit*" by Le Corbusier, of the cubist design by Gabriel Guevrekian for the garden in Ville Noailles (1923-1929), or the scenography designs by Robert Mallet-Stevens. It breaks the initial organic idea and proposes an organization of public space like a sort of territorial plan at scale 1:750. Possibly BIMSA – a municipal company responsible for the implementation of the project – and the District itself made recommendations for the project to contain everything that the neighbours had asked for. A transcript of the neighbourhood programme, modulated from the square. We can consider the project of the square as a good exercise in tokenism on the part of the local government. As pointed out by Armstein, tokenism is the policy and practice of making a perfunctory gesture towards the inclusion of members of minority groups. Thus, the project presents spatial hypertrophy of the boules fields and their facilities, claimed by the minority of the petanque club. The provision of equipment and furniture are also hypertrophied. The result can be evaluated in the photographs.

¹² The issue of the square became an exercise of the master's degree in Urban Design (2009-2010). The proposal can be found in Parra, J. et al (2010).



Fig. 16: The firm Scob presented a first proposal for the civic plaza. After several meetings with neighbours, this proposal went out to tender. Regarding the symbolic element that neighbours suggested, a contest was to be established.



Fig. 17: Some views of the square.

However, the big problem of the neighbourhood project lies in the value granted to particular symbolic elements that will become aggregators of the project's spatial "noise". While at first – no obvious arguments – the District refused to use mirrors of water or moving water, thereafter the design incorporated a row of fountains, bland and ungainly. However, the final drama was to come, and this time not at the hand of architects. In the neighbourhood project there were two symbolic elements, an ob-

elisk and the silhouette of the bridge that linked the neighbourhood with Santa Coloma, a bridge that, many years ago, the fierce waters of the Besos River tore down. Today, with perspective, we consider it a mistake not to have further considered the neighbourhood discussion of which *object* could have symbolic value for them. The strong concept of the representation of the “casas baratas” could not be used in the square, as already in 2011 (see below) it had been transferred, as a monument, to the top of the Rambla Ciutat de Asuncion. District administration decided on a restricted competition within the School of Arts and Crafts, arguing that it had achieved a success with a monument proposal for the nearby Assemblea de Catalunya square – a square completely redesigned – that, however, to our understanding ruins the corten steel fountain designed by Olga Tarrasó (1996).



Fig. 18: Original fountain by Olga Tarrasó.



Fig. 19: The fountain with the new monument.

Poor targeting by young artists. Mismanagement of the process. A committee in which participated the District, representatives of the Public Art Central Unit, neighbours¹³ and even ourselves,¹⁴ chose three of the six submitted projects. The District organized a consultation with neighbours so they could vote for their preference. Certainly, the winning proposal was the only figurative proposal; the only proposal that also fit the budget allocated by the District and BIMSA technicians. Cast iron suitcases and a pseudo-bridge (see photos), a metaphor for the process of migration, a

¹³ It is important to note that at the time of completion of the contest, the board of the Neighborhood Association had left office, the District virtually proceeded to dismantle the premises of the Association, until a new group of residents offered to reflag it. The representative of residents in the evaluation meetings was confused and overwhelmed by the presence of “technicians” in a clear situation of placation (Arnstein).

¹⁴ In these meetings, we note that it was better to paralyze the competition, once it was clear that the winning project was not to be the most innovative, nor the most original, but rather a cliché.

search for identity that in any case, and in reality, is not a topic in the social imaginary of the neighbourhood, as evidenced by the Wall of Remembrance (see below). The sculpture made us revert to the public art practices of the eighties, which promoted a human scale and empathy of the work with the public. All these characters, portraits set in iron and bronze, standing with no pedestal or sitting on a street bench, which we can embrace, kiss, touch, rub,¹⁵ and that fill the streets of our cities. At least the artist had the sensitivity to do away – metonymically – with the human figure in his work.



Fig. 20: The Bridge of Suitcases by Fernando Bravo, 2015.

In other words, residents chose the “Bridge of Suitcases” sculpture not because they identified with the content that the sculptor allegedly intended to convey, that of a migratory past, but because it was the only proposal that coincided with the cultural “habitus” (Bourdieu, 1994) of the neighbours. This means that the sculpture was chosen not because it was the most “liked” (which it was), but because it was the only one that the neighbours could understand and recognize as a work of art full of symbolism (Remesar, 2003). Is this a failure of the other art works? No, rather, a huge failure in the working process. The consultation broke the working procedures associated with the participatory process. This consultation, a form of tokenism, broke the structure of “facilitation” that our team had established as a methodology, and forced the neighbours into black and white decision-making, without evaluating the “scale of greys” that accommodated the other proposals.¹⁶ Our methodology¹⁷ allows us to find a

¹⁵ Every city has at least one of these works of art in which we see more polished and gilded parts (hands, beards, breasts, etc.), because there is a habit of touching them. Urban rituals within the framework of urban legends.

¹⁶ “Notwithstanding, they often forget that the big difference between public art and art in public space, lies in the fact that the first aims that citizens have control over the aesthetics of their own environment, and the second supposes, in one way or another, an aesthetic imposition by those who manage the programs” (Remesar, 2003). Even when this imposition takes the democratic form of a “local consultation”.

¹⁷ In other words, empowerment permits neighbours to formulate a “form of space” (see the image 1 model), enabling a fluent interaction using the “technical language” of the administration and the technicians. The projects of a “form of space” and a “building form” will collect the key components of the negotiation in terms of the “form-space” and “form-building”. The material specificity of public space and of the building will substantially differ from the formal proposals of the neighbours, but it shall gain an informed consensus. Afterwards, this has to be negotiated with the local government. It is time to enter a second phase of the participatory project. In this phase, technicians and local politicians have much to say, both from the perspective of the fi-

space for interaction between technicians and neighbours within the symbolic space, which allows us to overcome tensions between the conceptions of one or the other about the perceived space. David Harvey (2009:29), quoting Ernest Cassirer, raises three levels of spatiality. The first, **organic space**, refers to the kind of spatial experience which appears to be genetically transmitted and, hence, biologically determined. The second, **perceptual space**, is more complex. "It involves the neurological synthesis of all kinds of sense experience – optical, tactual, acoustic and kinesthetic. This synthesis amounts to a spatial experience in which the evidence of various senses is reconciled." An instantaneous schema or impression may be formed and memory may lead to the retention of that schema over time. When memory and learning are involved, the schema may be subject to addition or subtraction by culturally learned modes of thought. "Perceptual space is primarily experienced through the senses, but we do not yet know how far the performance of our senses is affected by cultural conditioning."

The third kind of spatial experience is abstract and Cassirer calls this **symbolic space**.

Here, we are experiencing space vicariously through the interpretation of symbolic representations, which have no spatial dimension. I can conjure up an impression of a triangle without seeing one simply by looking at the word 'triangle'. I can gain experience of spatial form by learning mathematics and in particular, of course, geometry. Geometry provides a convenient symbolic language for discussing and learning about spatial form, but it is not the spatial form itself.

These three levels of spatial experience are not independent of each other. The abstract geometries which we construct require some interpretation at the perceptual level if they are to make intuitive rather than logical sense – hence all the diagrams (David Harvey, 2009).

> Urban design, public art and memory

The process of neighbours' empowerment brings out the "sense of belonging to a place" and deepens the processes of social identity and of local pride. Identity is intimately tied to memory. As Hayden states, both our personal memories (where we have

nancial viability of the project, and from the perspective of technical and structural characteristics of the project itself. If everything runs well the project can go forward. However, as stated above, after negotiations, after putting on the table technical arguments – be they constructive, urban or budgetary – the "form of the building", the "form of space" are far from the "forms" proposed by the neighbours in their initial project. However, the "form-project" holds and retains not only the programme of uses defined by the neighbours, but also the main structural features of the project derived from the citizen participation process. Quoting Lefebvre, projects have won "texture" and they have gained in social meaning.

come from and where we have dwelt) and the collective, or social memories are interconnected with the histories of our families, neighbours, fellow workers and ethnic communities.

Urban landscapes are storehouses for these social memories, because natural features such as hills or harbours, as well as streets, buildings, and patterns of settlement: frame the lives of many people and often outlast many lifetimes. Decades of 'urban renewal' and 'redevelopment' of a savage kind have taught many communities that when the urban landscape is battered, important collective memories are obliterated. Yet even totally bulldozed places can be marked to restore some shared public meaning, a recognition of the experience of spatial conflict, or bitterness, or despair. At the same time, in ordinary neighbourhoods that have escaped the bulldozer but have never been the object of lavish municipal spending, it is possible to enhance social meaning in public places with modest expenditures for projects that are sensitive to all citizens and their diverse heritage, and developed with public processes that recognize both the cultural and the political importance of place (Hayden, 1997).

Paraphrasing David Harvey, memory itself may be fading and spatial parts of the image, not enforced, can disappear very quickly. The social space is not only variable from one individual to another and from one group to another, it also changes over time (Harvey, 1977 p.31). But, as pointed out by this author we must discriminate the history and the memory: "history (a relative temporal concept) is not the same as memory (a relational temporal concept)" (Harvey, 2006).

While good urban design has the ability to link the present with the past, establishing connections between ongoing construction and its relationship to the culture of "city-making" of a certain territory, public art features constructive and conceptual tools necessary to establish the link between "memories" and "history" (Remesar, 2015).

But, whose identity? Which collectivity? Again, experience suggests that citizen participation processes are fundamental. In late 2010, two favourable events upset our working process with the neighbours, centred at that moment on the negotiation of the projects for the civic square and the building for the Community Centre (see above). The first was the construction work on Ciutat de Asunción Street on the drainage system of a major development project related to the high-speed railway. The second was the installation of noise screens – a barrier of 750 m long by 4 meters high – on the road to Santa Coloma.



Fig. 21: In the participatory process, youth from the neighbourhood proposed a redesign of Ciutat de Asunción Street, to make it a Rambla.



Fig. 22: Image of the Ciutat de Asunción Street before the works.

The street *Ciutat de Asunción* was, and remains, a neighbourhood boundary. Before its redevelopment, it was unused due to its design: a green tab, which reinforced the idea of limit and prevented its use. In the first participatory workshops (2005-2006) a group of local youths came up with the idea of turning the street into a “Rambla”,¹⁸ creating a new public space for the neighbourhood. Several years later, ADIF¹⁹ works allowed the transformation of the street into a civic Rambla. District officials got a commitment from ADIF to, after completion of the sewage works, renew the street according to the project presented by the District. The previous study was conducted by students of the master’s degree in Urban Design at the University of Barcelona (Pardilla et al, 2010), while later developments and the executive project were conducted by the neighbours, CR POLIS and the technical staff of the District (A.V. Pi i Margall et al, 2011).

¹⁸ A *Rambla* is a boulevard with a central pedestrian area lined with trees. Side channels carry the road traffic. The politics of public spaces in Barcelona enabled the creation of various *Rambles* in several neighborhoods of the city.

¹⁹ ADIF (Administrador de Infraestructuras Ferroviarias) is the public company in charge of the remodelling and construction of railways.



Fig. 23: Current status of the Rambla, with flowering trees.

> The Rambla and the Monument to the Affordable Houses

The mystified idea of village life²⁰ is present in the collective imaginary and overlies the following objective data: small houses, houses with minimum habitability conditions, isolation from the urban fabric, basic standard of living. This mystified notion holds memories and feelings associated with basic emotions related to those who are no longer alive. It is a strong, dominant idea that further explains who the neighbours are and what the neighbourhood is today. The memory of “affordable houses” (*Casas Baratas*) was present in the neighbourhood project conducted for the civic square. The proposal was a children’s playground recreating the old village life with small replicas of cheap houses. (See Figs. 11-15). Nostalgia for a better time has been always present in the workshops, especially when involving people of a certain age. In Baró de Viver we can find people who spent their childhood in the “affordable -cheap houses”. Others who came to the neighbourhood in the 1950s and 1960s and, finally, young people who were born and grew up in a different neighbourhood because of the demolition of cheap houses and the subsequent urban developments.²¹

²⁰ With houses which kept doors open, kids playing in the streets and roads and neighbours carrying out their social life in the streets.

²¹ An in-depth analysis of the neighbourhood (urban development) is available at Remesar, A.; Salas, X.; Padilla, S.; Esparza, D. (2012), “The detail on participatory processes”, CR POLIS website: http://www.ub.edu/escult/index_participacio.html.



Fig. 24-25: The “affordable - cheap houses” (*Casas Barates*). Since 1929 until the late 1950s, Baró was a village in rural surroundings, far from the factories of Sant Andreu. Even today it has not lost this remote character. As J.M. Huertas said, “When I got to Baró, I thought I was at the end of the world”.

As is well known, where there is a European regulation for the installation of street furniture, this concerns the playgrounds. Therefore, after the first meetings with the District, this playground disappeared from the agenda. The new project for the Rambla allowed the resurgence of the idea, this time in the form of a monument. The monument-form reproduces the archetypal idea of the house. That idea that we constantly see in children’s drawings. Thus, this monument has been designed by the neighbours and for the neighbours. It intends to recall a time that has passed and will not return. A space-time that is a repository of personal emotions and memories. As these feelings and these memories are shared, the monument reflects a collective space-time and becomes a condenser of the collective memory. The first idea was that the neighbours build the house. Later, because of the urgency of the District to complete the Rambla, was the municipal architect who was in charge of the construction.



Fig 26. Monument to the *Cases Baratas* (“cheap houses”).

> The Wall of Remembrance

Murals are a common practice in so-called Community Art. Artists²² work with local groups who even physically perform the mural under their supervision. The results are very diverse, both in content and in visual quality. Nevertheless, generally, the work procedure is based on collecting a series of allegories about the theme to develop. In this sense, personal remembrances prevail. The “memory exercise” is based on individual remembrances or allegorical synthesis.



Fig. 27: Chicago – Chicago Public Art Group and Edgewater Community, Edgewater Mural, 2008.



Fig 28: San José de Costa Rica – Natalia Morales / ACNUR, Displacement, Encounter, Coexistence, 2009.

²² “In 1975 when the Great Wall was still a dream, I never imagined it would lead me, the more than 400 young ‘Mural Makers’ and the 35 other artists on my team through such a moving set of experiences. Nor could I have imagined that 27 years from the date the first paint was applied to the wall that it would still be a work in progress. When I first saw the wall, I envisioned a long narrative of another history of California; one which included ethnic peoples, women and minorities who were so invisible in conventional textbook accounts. The discovery of the history of California’s multi-cultured peoples was a revelation to me as well as to the members of my teams. We learned each new decade of history in summer instalments; the 20s in 1978, the 30s in 1980, the 40s in 1981, and the 50s in 1983” (Baca, s/f).



Fig. 29: Porto Alegre – Nova Vila Chocolatão, 2011.



Fig.30: La Habana – García Peña, 2007.



Fig. 31: Lima – Blu, 2009 (<http://blublu.org>).



Fig. 32: Barranquilla – Various murals on the walls of the prison, during the 1st Biennial of Art in Public Space, 2013.

For the Baró de Viver mural, we tried to combine history and memory. The linear character of the support (the noise barriers) was a good excuse to try the exercise. In recent years, through the urban design projects developed within the master's degree in Urban Design, and in the PhD programme in Public Space and Urban Regeneration, we have developed the "Timeline / Atlas methodology". The Timeline allows us to articulate the significant moments of a subject matter. The Atlas generates meaningful nodes in the timeline by providing documents of various types (plants, maps, prints, photos, texts, and so on). The idea of the timeline comes from interactive games. The idea of the atlas comes from Cerdà's work (Cerdà, 1859; Remesar- García, 2013).



Fig. 33: Noise barriers before artistic intervention.

The work process was as follows. In various workshops with Baro de Viver's neighbours, they were able to identify what they considered the important moments for collective memory. These results were compared with documents and archive research carried out by the CR POLIS team. A relevant point of this research was to obtain the legal document certifying the passage of Baró de Viver and Bon Pastor, from the mu-

nicipality of Santa Coloma to that of Barcelona (1944). Thus, we managed to develop the level of allegory, beyond individual remembrance, towards articulating a historical narrative, although not entirely corresponding to the official one. The history of a city highlights certain historical facts that enable one to articulate the framework within which history unfolds in a neighbourhood, but from a local perspective (the neighbourhood) it is indispensable to highlight some local facts having an alternative value with respect to the general narrative of the city, as it is essential to reflect local history. How did we develop the approach to discovering the neighbourhood's relational content, the content of memories? We started working with neighbourhood youths. As the Neighbourhood Association states:

In 2009, neighbourhood youth conducted a series of design proposals for noise screens at the Paseo de Santa Coloma. During the main festival of the neighbourhood and the Third Participation Forum that same year, these proposals were presented to all the neighbours that could comment on them. Sound screens now installed, it is time to define a final design proposal and we again ask you for your cooperation. One idea that is ongoing is to organize 'a memory archive of the neighbourhood', a photo album of Baró de Viver since its birth to the present. For this reason we invite you to bring photos, pictures, newspaper clippings, letters, etc. that you would like displayed on the noise screens (A.V. Pi I Margall, 2010).



Figs. 34-35. Images of the workshops in which both the "order of the discourse" of the mural and the characterization of the Monument to the Affordable Houses were discussed.



Fig. 36: On the left, the poster of the “call for pictures” addressed to all the neighbours.



Fig 37: On the right, a picture of the “civic forum” in which the most representative pictures were chosen.

CR POLIS collected over 4,000 photographs, and signed over 400 assignment contracts of image rights. We used most of the photographs. A lot in the mural in itself – in some cases by means of single images composed of hundreds of images. We used some others in the exhibition “Baró de Viver, Talks in Images”, which served to present the project at the Cultural Centre of the District. Finally, the Neighbourhood Association is the trustee of the archive that is available to all residents.



Fig. 38: Image composed of more than 50 small pictures.



Fig. 39: Evolution of the skyline of the neighbourhood.

As for the mural’s content, it is divided into two parts. One, the lower section, reproduces the profile (sky-line) of the destroyed and re-built neighbourhood establish-

In the Baró de Viver mural, colour is once more an important feature, lively and warm, making the reading and analysis of the memorial message easier. But unlike the project in La Mina, colour is the result of combinations: the yellow tones in the background serve to unify the elements in the structure and a variety of different colours are used casually and randomly in the reproduced graphic images (Grandas, 2011).

To round off, it should be highlighted that the artistic work developed by CR POLIS shows a modern conception of the arts that convey messages as they use the latest technologies – cutting-edge at the time of completion – and express a break with traditional artistic languages. Eighty years ago, this would have been a mural covered with reliefs, but today it is a wall with flat, cut-out figures, full of colour as they are made from slightly overlapping photographs.

The images combine human forms with letters and traditions: two men practicing Greco-Roman wrestling, four other human figures, the neighbourhood initials 'BdV', a boy and a girl, and the neighbourhood's giant figure crafted from the drawings made in one of the local school workshops. A good and wise choice that gives force to the message of a memorial that is ready to receive the accounts of neighbourhood life yet to be written (Grandas, 2011).

As pointed out by Brandão (2010, 2011), the project of public space requires a willingness of actors to share a foundational conviction:

Throughout the city are interested both architecture and literature, cinema as geography, art and sociology, history and photography [...] Because of that, summing all, the city is a diverse entity, but as a subject of design in itself is just one. Therefore, knowledge of the city can no longer exist to justify one or another of the disciplines that are devoted to it (even those that assign themselves the label of holistic). [...] The interdisciplinarity is mandatory, because only from a single view angle approach, the life of the city escapes [...] and this requires a different attitude so radical, that would require a re-identification (Brandão, 2011: p.18).

What is true in such disciplines is then valid in the field of urban stakeholders. Participatory processes should aim to enable citizens to gain power, in the sense of empowering citizens to have ownership of their own city. Not only as users or through use, but as citizens to which we are able to entrust the processes of creation of forms, of space, of art. Processes that run beyond the politician's terms in office, which require grater consensus between citizens and parties. Therefore, these processes turn out to be slow processes of negotiation between neighbours, politicians and technical staff. Processes in which it is not necessarily the arguments and technical proposals

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of local government that are the appropriate arguments and proposals for public art and urban design by the citizens.

The creative capacity is always that of a community or a community group, a fraction of acting class, an 'agent or actant'. [...] If there is a monument, this is an urban group that built it, either free or dependent on a (political) power. Necessary, the description is not enough. It would be insufficient, pure awareness of space, of describing rural and industrial landscapes and urban spatiality. [...] The analysis of an area leads to this dialectic relation: request – command, with the questions: 'Who? For whom? By whom? Why and how?' (Lefebvre, 1974 :131).



Fig. 41: The exhibition “Baró de Viver talks in Images” held at the Civic Centre in Sant Andreu and presenting the projects for the neighbourhood (2011).

> Conclusions

In the late Franco era and in the early years of the democratic transition, different professional groups (lawyers, sociologists, architects, etc.) played a clear role as facilitators (advocacy planning) in the context of the process of claim from Urban Social Movements, especially under the Spanish “Associations Act”. Later, when these technicians began to draw up the technical and political framework of democratic local governments, facilitation processes gradually disappeared, being replaced by various structures of mediation (community plans, regulations for participation, for example) between the local government and the claimants, typically involving complaints or suggestions from residents. These structures configure today the complex network of urban governance. A necessary but often overly bureaucratic network, which can result, as happens in university governance, in the administration and neighbours working to meet politically approved governance requirements (leading to different quality control systems, including transparency, traceability of processes, representativity, etc.) but that prevent or impede the real solution of local problems.

In this sense, returning to the classic work by Arnstein, we can confirm that, while progress has been made in the discourse of participation and participatory governance, the mechanisms of placation and tokenism are over-represented in participatory processes. Normally, local government considers its relationship with neighbours is supported in a conflictive relationship. Therefore, it tends to develop containment strategies, especially through mediation structures.

In this paper we have shown that there are other possibilities in which facilitation processes are essential. We should remember that city-making is “a process of social construction [...] where design professionals should handle three interaction capabilities: Negotiation; Agency; Communication, which must simultaneously contain elements of informative, persuasive and participatory communication (interaction, feedback)” (Brandão, 2011). We would add that specific processes of empowerment are also required in the framework of problem solving strategies. In this context, as Angotty said, “The planner isn’t solely a value-neutral technician; instead, values are part of every planning process. City planners shouldn’t attempt to frame a single plan that represents the ‘public interest’ but rather ‘represent and plead the plans of many interest groups’. In other words, planning should be pluralistic and represent diverse interests, especially minority interests” (Angotty, 2008). As public space is a political subject, of city policy but also, as we have seen, of urban cohesion, the democratic representatives of the people cannot escape – by managing the conflict – their duty to build-up a better and more critical citizenship. A citizenry empowered to solve the

specific problems of their living space. Citizens who can intervene in the spatial form of their neighbourhood. It is necessary to reactivate forms of “facilitation” that enable the empowerment of citizens.

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THE ART OF URBAN DESIGN IN URBAN REGENERATION

This volume comprises transcripts of the presentations made at the international seminar “CITIES. Interdisciplinary Issues in Urban Regeneration, Urban Design, Public Art and Public Space”, organized by the POLIS Research Centre and the PAUDO (Public Art and Urban Design Observatory) network in December 2013.

The book traces the paths of economic and political theory concerning the role of urban regeneration processes, from an overview of the policies implemented in Europe to their actual impact on job creation and local innovation initiatives. It addresses physical aspects of urban design processes, analysing an interdisciplinary project for urban regeneration of the Lisbon riverfront, and proposes some ideas on how to deal with climate change in the construction of public space in cities. Finally, the book concludes with a reflection on new modes of urban governance that can make an urban environment more liveable, evaluating the involvement of neighbours re-converting their role from consultive partners to active participants in the physical (urban design) and symbolic (public art) transformation of their communities. Thus, the book encompasses a broad reflection on urban regeneration, with contributions from disciplinary fields as diverse as Economics, Public Policy, Urban Design and Architecture, Landscaping and Public Art, and draws attention to the need for further interdisciplinary work.



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