

IL FARO 

**THE ROLE OF
OPEN SPACES IN THE
TRANSFORMATION OF
URBAN
LANDSCAPE**

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THE ROLE OF OPEN SPACES IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN LANDSCAPE

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LOGIN

URBAN LANDSCAPE

*Raffaele Milani**

The present book is the product of lengthy discussions held initially in Berlin in March of 2013 and continued into March of 2014. It was no coincidence that Berlin was chosen as the site of the conference and the ideal location for an exchange of views on the city of today and the city of tomorrow. All the viewpoints expressed, which are interdisciplinary in nature, flow from a single realization, namely, that the city is a landscape. It is increasingly so now that it has come to penetrate, through countless rivulets, into the surrounding countryside, swallowing up ever larger tracts of farmlands and woodlands. But what sort of landscape are we talking about? We can leave the city and come into contact with the nature that surrounds it; however, we can also return to the city in order to indulge, from within, in the contemplation of its architecture, in its various forms and styles. In today's extensive territorial habitat, the valorization of green areas, creative gardens, and shared gardens promotes an urban development that contrasts with cold planning policy, even as the latter is attempting to reinvent itself by proposing alternative energy sources, such as green or smart energy, to disguise the economic and political greed of large corporations. At the same time, however, we need to be wary of typically ideological actions on the part of some social groups. (Those who deface the walls of historic buildings while they support organic food stores engage in unacceptable contradictions).

We often think of urban design as a philosophy, but this type of reflection is not necessarily the exclusive domain of specialists. There is also a popular vision of what the nature of developed land is and what it should or could be. What we wish to underscore here is the interrogating gaze of citizens in the face of the present forms of the growing city where the senses are assaulted by empty spaces, unfinished projects, stylistic and environmental incongruities, abandoned, bare, or marginal zones, as well as warehouses, road networks, mines, and landfills are seen of as opportunities for people to reinvent their urban environment. In their minds, citizens pursue the pleasurable, the tasteful, and the beautiful which, from place to place, can produce architecture without architects, and without involving great technical or structural revolutions. Such a

* Translated by Corrado Federici.

perspective is useful for all sorts of arguments, especially today if we consider the new forms of the city that has become a cosmopolis, beyond any ideal, symbolic or metaphorical meaning.

Irrespective of announced intentions, today's improvised interventions on the part of some social groups appear as a useful showcase of creativity. Not every city is like Copenhagen or Stockholm. Except for a few important examples, we are discussing the typical city. This is not because people wish to become the next Tadao Ando, Frank Gehry, Kengo Kuma, Jean Nouvel, Richard Meyer, Renzo Piano, Dominique Perrault, or Daniel Libeskind, to name only a few of the more famous architects. Rather, it is because they would like to be liberated from the steady diet of forms imposed on them by an "architectural genius." If anything, people fell closer to Emilio Ambasz and James Wines.

The cityscape, therefore, refers to the transformation of the land, but also to the great gamble of the times, the challenge of giving a human face to the cementification craze. Vertical gardens and green balconies appear on sections of our high-rise apartments; abandoned industrial areas are being transformed and converted for new use social uses; thin strips of green appear, like avenues of freedom, amid the solid mass of buildings opening up onto open spaces, between impromptu gardens, then fields, and woodlands. Architects design these kinds of structures, but they are not the only ones to do so since many groups of citizens also create them. Every architectural form, even if improvised, is increasingly landscape and, as such, is conducive to a productive, educational, and creative rapport between the environment and the spirit of the shared city. In the social context, our gaze and our body in motion activate waves of emotions, images, intentions, and forms of industriousness, both within and without, between what is outside and far from us and what is inside and close to us.

Today especially, as noted, the appropriate correlation between our experience of the natural environment and our experience of urban landscape in a reciprocal interchange is clear. As humankind inhabits the earth, so too do we inhabit the city. Urban conglomerates large and small may have been the realization of the utopia of tradition or of modernity, but the city, and even more so the modern megalopolis, with its diversification of zones, namely, its public squares, neighborhoods, buildings, monuments, and open spaces, can inspire many different and positive actions.

To inhabit a city aesthetically means to appreciate the dignity of the visible, structural features of the whole in which we live. The opening up of a window onto a patio or a street, the vertical or horizontal expanse of buildings and their agglomeration, as passageways, boardwalks, arcades, unusual lanes, the map of our movements either on foot or by electric means of transportation, and the play of camouflage (whether good or bad) correspond to a dynamic based on a politics of doing, between sensibility and form,

prompted by a desire to humanize the urban fabric. This is quite different from Rem Koolhaas' reinvented cities. Furthermore, there exists in the vast expanse of masses and materials, a precise relationship with the very soul of storytelling, which has always accompanied the human adventure. This is a new story of humankind, a new mythology that unites us. We may think of the city as a text made of stones, a graphic invention, a green weft, an arabesque of symbols and meanings with grammatical and syntactical elements forming a rhetoric of space enlivened by many recurring figures of speech.

We discover an infinite number of ideal labyrinths in which to move while experiencing the pleasure of doing, building, and living aesthetically. Who knows? Out of this grand human narrative may emerge the idea of one's identity based on an articulated industriousness in the extended territories, the new medieval guilds described by Ruskin, with the aim of renewing the pact of cooperation and social planning among the inhabitants of a city.

In the future, where a positive relationship among the environment, architecture, and nature is possible, we may rediscover the captivating spirit of the Middle Ages, which perhaps will bring peace to a lacerated earth.

URBAN/POST-URBAN¹/NOT URBAN: PROXIMATE! REINVENTING BORDER LANDSCAPES²

Anna Lambertini

Open spaces are heterogeneous, changeable and fragile, because they are constantly exposed to the risk of being filled, eroded and consumed in the construction of human settlements. Nevertheless, at every possible scale of analysis and interpretation (geographic and topographic), they make up a primary resource that is fundamental for the protection and implementation of the *web of life* (meant in a biological, ecological, and even cultural and social meaning).

Open spaces are the negative spaces in built volumes: which regard public and private areas, comprehending permeable and impermeable surfaces, areas with or without vegetation, designed places and abandoned places, small residual fragments of free soil or vast and composite regional areas, bodies of water and wooded areas. For the informed designer, this empty space always has a positive and promising meaning, expressed by the potentiality inherent in the dynamism of life. It should be read in dialectic terms, as a dialoging entity with the full weight of what has been constructed. Furthermore, each open space contains an image of complexity, it is an open process, it has various vocations, and it has its own poetic dimension. It doesn't necessarily need to carry out a specific function and foresee a direct and active anthropogenic use³.

The story of the transformation of the modern city (*Josephina Gomez*) has accustomed us to coming to terms with the precariousness of open spaces, both inside and outside the urban fabric, and with the restlessness of the ideas of beauty and of the behaviors of the society that has shaped them over time (*Franco Zagari*).

The multiple, discontinuous and uncertain margins of the city, that we describe as spread-out, polycentric, endless and sprawling, are in great part the product of the policies and projects founded on the belief that predominated for decades: that it is possible to govern that complexity by simply ignoring it.

¹ About the idea of post-urban landscape, see DI FELICE M. (2010), *Paesaggi post-urbani. La fine dell'esperienza urbana e le forme comunicative dell'abitare*, Bevivino Editore, Milano/Roma.

² Translated by Cassandra Funsten.

³ FERRARA G., CAMPIONI G. (1997), *Tutela della naturalità diffusa, pianificazione degli spazi aperti e crescita metropolitana*, Il Verde Editoriale, Milano.

It was thought that the natural elements could be controlled without investigating the living processes. Abrupt changes in scale, accelerations of gravity, fraying, sudden contractions and dilations of the empty and full spaces characterize what is called the *peri-urban* area. Here, the unresolved tensions of urbanization lurk and the conflict between the compatibility of various materials, life rhythms, users and uses, and temporal stratifications becomes more evident.

However, these landscapes still represent a rich deposit of possibilities. They are made up of a kaleidoscope of situations, spaces, and habitats that we can see coexisting and that we can encourage to co-evolve. They are laboratories where responsible strategies and practices for living our time can be tried out. In these territories that have been hybridized by this *de facto complexity*, an advanced and eco-responsible vision of the landscapes of the XXI century can still be constructed if a primary structuring and connective role is assigned to the open spaces.

From whatever disciplinary perspective one wishes to consider, open urban and peri-urban spaces reveal their multiple potential, qualifying themselves each time as:

- representation devices for the creation and sharing of aesthetic, socio-symbolic, poetic, and figurative values;
- containers of natural, cultural, social, and economic resources;
- factors of ecological and environmental compensation;
- areas that produce cultural memory and social cohesion;
- places that are necessary for the quality of daily life of those who live in the city⁴.

From the very first page, this is the common foundation that the reflections, design visions, and research trajectories that make up the multidisciplinary framework presented to the reader follow. Peri-urban landscapes need to be analyzed through interpretive categories and forms of alternative perceptions (*Andreas Kipar and Giovanni Sala, Henrique Pessoa Pereira Alves*) and to be managed through the application of new multidisciplinary visions of change. Thus, what's needed at each and every level of programming and spatial planning is an intervention that overcomes sectorial visions and operates according to a holistic and integrated perspective. Regarding this point, both explicitly and indirectly, many of the contributions collected in this volume invite reflection: on the application of European Union measures relating to the productive-agricultural sector (*Hubert Gulinck, Andrea Galli, Ernesto Marcheggiani*), on the development of *agro-urban* models and the recognition of social practices consolidated in Neighborhood communi-

⁴ See LAMBERTINI A., CORRADO M. (2011), edited by, *Atlante delle Nature Urbane. Centounovoci per i paesaggi quotidiani*, Editrice Compositori, Bologna.

ty vegetable gardens (*Pierre Donadieu, Yves Luginbuhl, Emeline Bailly*); on local multicultural micro-economic incentives that can positively affect the quality of the city's public spaces (*Edith Pichler*); on experimentation with instruments for regional government that rediscover the role of the "intermediate" scale (*Annalisa Metta*) and on the organization of open spaces into a system with ecological and functional connections at the municipal and metropolitan level (*Andreas Kipar e Giovanni Sala*).

In their descriptions of scenarios and experiences, some of the authors suggested actions and themes to be emphasized in design: exploring the landscape dimensions of the new large territorial infrastructures of mobility (*Bernard Lassus, Lorenzo Vallerini*); reviving those historic traces deposited in the remaining forms of traditional rural space (*Monique Toubanc*); re-launching rural agriculture and the local micro-economy by imagining new multi-functional models (*Kerstin Gothe*); actively conserving agro-forestry regions and parks near the city, which are fundamental for the conservation of biodiversity and of eco-systemic services (*Beate Jessel e Alice Kube, Hansjorg Kuster*).

A wealth of perspectives and voices who invite the reader to consider the territory of urban sprawl without prejudice, in such a way as to bring out all of the different existing realities in order to favor new relationships in the present.

In this light, the term *peri-urban* reveals its semantic weakness⁵. Not only because it tends to evoke incorrect visions of contemporary settlements (city-centers with *another* territory around it), based on an antagonistic relationship between the city and the countryside, but also because it risks encouraging a generic use of the terms *urban* and *agricultural*, and as a consequence flattening the meanings and images of reality that really have a multiple and changeable identity. Decades of the application of certain urban planning policies have demonstrated that evolutionary visions of places and landscapes cannot be based on the delimitation of mono-functional *homogenous zones*, floating on the flattened space of the zoning map like islands subject to separate rule. Inside and on the edge of the city, we have found that homogeneity, immobility and separateness are not good principles to adopt in order to guarantee the landscape and environment's quality and to favor the richness of living in cultural, social, economic, and figurative terms as well as the intensity of every-day experiences.

The concepts are others: heterogeneity, transcalarity, the multiple temporality of change, perceptual and functional connectivity, and evolutionary dynamics. During the 'Nineties, these key words (that we find written in the historical origins and the theoretical and practical traditions of landscape architecture) come up again and again in the debate

⁵ VALENTINI A. (2006), *Paesaggi di limite*, Firenze University Press, Firenze.

over the city and are recalled with insistence, to all those interested in spatial planning and urban design, as inescapable “new” guiding principles of regional dynamics.

Acknowledging the complexity of the processes of urbanization, however, does not only mean more consciously focusing on the multi-functional role of open space: it means updating the usual technical and cultural instruments, facing change courageously, and experimenting with alternative critical categories and alternative implementations.

Some contributions to this volume, in their rereading of the relationship between *urban* and *agricultural*, between *central* and *peripheral*, rotate around the theme of limits: returning to the meaning of this figure helps to reformulate the approach to the question of sprawl. Historically, each time a crisis has come up regarding the interpretation of the city, of its form and its evolution, the spatial and temporal instability of the city itself as well as its borders was noted. Currently, its taken for granted that this condition makes up the character of the city: the European scenarios present a geographic dynamism that has never been so high and diversified in the history of human settlements (*Marc Antrop*), played out on the continuous redefinition of the fronts where the urban meets the rural. In dwelling culture, an uncertain border tends to generate bewilderment, to make our inner compass waver⁶ and an etymologic reading confirms that the limit is inherent in that same concept of urban.

“Urban” is derived from the Latin word *urbs*, which according to Varrone, is derived from the contraction of the words *urvum*, the handle of the plow used by the Romans whose groove marked the limit within which the new city was to be built, and *orbs*, the boundary line drawn on the ground. This limit evokes the design of a constructed settlement with an ordered layout contained within a wall. It is a concept of city that only partially remains in the contemporary European reality as a historic testimony, but does not exist as a whole nor in what we imagine as its evolution.

Understood as the last confines that shouldn’t be crossed, the limit maintains all of its semantic charge as an ethical principle in defining the relationship between the evolution of human settlements and the use of resources. *Limit* is, in fact, a key word in global environmental policies, present in the notion of sustainable development, a skillful reworking of the concept of limiting development introduced in the ‘Sixties (*Henrique Pessoa Pereira Alves*). Not withstanding the fact that it is currently abused, that notion maintains *in nuce* the principle (still largely disregarded) that natural resources and free soil are finite. This limit exists in contemporary urban culture as part of the idea of a responsible management of life on our planet, and has been invoked in various international conventions and agreement protocols.

⁶ ZANINI P. (2002), *Il significato del limite*, Bruno Mondadori, Milano.

However, by now the limit has become completely inadequate as a category of urban design. Instead, the concept of the limit has been substituted by others that more efficiently control the processes of “shrinking cities”. *Margins, fringes, edges and hems*: by recalling complex spatial concepts, they allow the substitution of the concept of a border between opposite entities, or simply an administrative border, with that of a porous thickness of mediation, of a fractal band, of an irregular outline and therefore of a landscape entity of transition.

Margins, fringes, edges and hems mark changeable and sensible interfaces that relate between different *proximate* environments.

In particular, *fringes, hems, and edges*, have an additional nuance of meaning, because they go back to the idea of a fabric, of a warp and weft (*Sophie Bonin*). If the concept of *fringe* has a more consolidated use in the European planning lexicon, that of *hem* and *edge* seem much more convincing from the figurative and semantic point of view, as interpretative categories for landscape planning and design. In this exploration of the *margins, fringes, edges and hems* as landscape figures, we believe that the concept of *proximity*⁷, with its simultaneous, different projections of meaning, provides a convincing design orientation as well as an inventive analysis of what exists. Speaking of *proximity*, in fact, allows the designer to refer to the idea of physical and spatial contiguity as much as to affectionate and relational contact between people and between people and places; furthermore, through its interpretation as nearness in a temporal sense, *proximity* invites us to take responsibility for the changes in progress and predict upcoming forms of change and management actions. The primary field of human and social relationships as well as cultural exchanges, of potential mediations and conflicts, the *space of proximity* is a *critical space* of meeting and confronting the other. Therefore, the *space of proximity* is ontologically a *field of interaction* and by its very nature has an ambivalent role, a character of unpredictability that is impossible to erase.

Thus, discontinuity and breaks are intervals to reread and reconfigure, introducing *gradients of approximation* between places, areas, and landscape layers with different characteristics. It is with *gradients of approximation* (a synonym of drawing together, approaching) we are referring to a sequence of integrated actions/interventions that, by working in a recursive manner on more than one temporal and spatial scale, foreseeing various intensities of transformation, can bring together environmental systems, territorial patterns, emotional topographies, and spatial deployments that are near each other but not inter-

⁷ LAMBERTINI A., (2013), *Urban Beauty! Luoghi prossimi e pratiche di resistenza estetica*, Editrice Compositori, Bologna.

connected, to involve them in dialectic co-evolutionary processes, favoring multiple and differentiated timing for change. Proceeding through *gradients of approximation*, which means that spaces and landscapes of proximity are also intercepted and reinvented through viewing them as well as by actively involving those that live there. Not only sharing the experience of *site-specific* interventions, but also recognizing *fight-specific* social processes.

The term *approach grafting* is used in horticulture and gardening to indicate the technique in which “two plants that grow near one another are welded together through their trunks or through their branches”⁸. By extension, one could speak of *approach grafting landscapes* and imagine looking at urbanization processes through the lens of landscape architecture, a discipline that deals with places as if they were living structures, bases design on themes of growth, of movement, of narration, on the construction of relationships between different entities, in space and time, in area and in depth. The Landscape project embraces the indeterminacy and randomness inherent in every living dynamic and even in this sense functions by *gradients of approximation*: it doesn’t propose definitive solutions, but adaptive adjustments. In landscape architecture “white zones” or neutral or unneeded empty spaces don’t exist: time is substance and open space is an aesthetic, social and ecological resource (from the Latin *re-surgere*, to rise again).

The fact that the concept of edge is also contained in the definition of ecotone reinforces this position. Aside from making up, as is known, an ecologic zone of tension characterized by an elevated biologic diversity, the ecotone is also an area of structural and functional connection⁹ that takes on a determinative role in the exchange of materials and energy between contiguous ecosystems, exercising a selective (filter) and regulatory (buffer) action those exchanges. A *landscape approach graft* takes these functions into account, but in a broad sense, seeking to favor the figurative, socio-symbolic, and temporal diversity of *proximate landscapes* as well as their biological diversity.

With this perspective, working on multiple margins, on the irregular borders of the metropolitan areas with the materials and the methods that belong to landscape architecture, would allow for the re-composition of a connective tissue, without stitches or rips (after Mac Harg, 1969). A continuous living fabric, heterogeneous and stratified, made by the multiplicity of spaces, of habitats and of nature that characterizes the human settlements of the new millennium. Cultivating spaces and hybrid transformation times with an inventive attitude, we take this occasion to work on the quality of our *proximate landscapes*.

⁸ Cf. Treccani.it, vocabolario on line, <http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/approssimazione>.

⁹ FARINA A. (2001), *Ecologia del paesaggio, Principi, metodi e applicazioni*, UTET, Torino.

URBAN FRAGMENTATION AND OPEN SPACES IN CITIES UNDERGOING TRANSFORMATION. COMMENTARY ON THE SIDELINES OF A CONFERENCE

Bas Pedroli

It is the exciting urban environment of Berlin, the emblematic representation of a dynamic central-European city freed of its confines since only 25 years, completely revitalised in less than a generation's life time, that is present – more or less implicit – as an inspiration in much of the considerations of the afternoon session of the Conference. The question at stake was how to engage in responsible planning of the landscape in and around cities, as a precondition for a healthy future environment for all citizens. The speakers in this session have chosen a variety of challenging points of view, all attempting to pioneer in shifting the boundaries of traditional landscape planning practice.

It seems that the authors largely agree on some challenging issues:

- public open spaces in the urban landscape play an essential role in the social liveability of the town (*Luginbühl, Donadieu, Bonin, Bailly*);
- involvement of the inhabitants and other stakeholders in landscape planning enhances the development of new, sustainable landscape concepts (*Gothe, Toublanc, Bailly*);
- new visions are needed on the integrated design and planning of liveable neighbourhoods (*Donadieu, Gómez-Mendoza, Metta, Bailly*);
- new functions of urban open spaces will need to be identified to enhance their sustainable development (*Luginbühl, Gothe, Toublanc, Bonin*);

If these challenges are taken serious, our future towns will definitely be more inviting!

Yves Luginbühl (*Social Relations to Nature and their Development*), starting from a historical perception of societal crisis, emphasises the importance of the everyday landscape in this context, since it consists in the values attributed to it by the citizens. Especially the degradation of allotment gardens in the former socialist countries is indicative for the huge change in the relationship of society with nature: the landscape of the gardens ceases to function as an opportunity of retreat and vitality, whereas the new peri-urban landscapes are not yet ready to assume these functions. This evokes the question: how can we live with nature, a question that is not of less topicality to policy development in Western Europe either.

Kerstin Gothe (*The Economy of Rural Spaces*) focusses on the possibility to involve students in rural settlement planning. The outsiders' view of the students appears to produce sometimes astonishing new incentives for rural development, depending on the openness of the inhabitants to accommodate new trends, but also on the way urban citizens can be involved in making clear that they are ready to play a committed role in establishing new functions of the rural, like the adoption of renewable energy sources or changes in lifestyle and leisure activities.

Pierre Donadieu (*Agriurbanity: Three Models, from Agricultural Town to Garden Town*) proposes a new concept, agriurbanity, in the description of urban agriculture. Departing from the observation that today more than half of the world's population is urban (in Europe even more than 80%), a largely neglected policy need is evident to develop responsible strategies for agricultural and natural spaces in and around the towns. Some examples already exist (among which the Barnim Nature Park at Berlin and the three agro-rings around Xi-An in China) where public policy is actively promoting agri-urban landscape as a common good. Many different variants of garden cities and peri-urban developments are subsequently described, where three basic models can be identified: the traditional (and vulnerable) agricultural town; the agro-ecological town with short, publicly governed producer – consumer chains; and the garden town, where the open public space is gradually replaced by private properties.

Monique Toublanc (*Green Plots and Periurban Territory: Between Biodiversity and Landscape*) argues that as long as green plots and hedgerows are remnants of former functional landscape elements, they are bound to degrade and finally disappear. Even when inhabitants tend to be attached to these relics of the landscapes which they still remember, or which they would like to see rehabilitated, the functions have changed and inevitably the expression of these green plots also undergo transition. Some nice examples are described of involvement of the local population (part of which newcomers) in the design of green plots in peri-urban landscapes, reconciling landscape identity with biodiversity through new functions.

Annalisa Metta (*Intermediate Scales for Italian Landscape. Projects in the Po Valley*) makes the observation that in traditional Italian town and landscape planning the bond between architecture *sensu strictu* and landscape planning was inseparable until the seventies. This led to famous masterpieces of landscape planning, inspiring landscape architects abroad as well. However, since then a large gap has arisen between architecture and planning, where quasi-democratic procedures and norms characterise the latter and would-be aesthetics the former. Three cities (Cesena, Bologna and Reggio Emilia) along the southern edge of the Po-plain are described, demonstrating a new tendency in the Emilia Romagna Region to promote exciting new, integrated peri-urban landscape

projects. It seems that thus new opportunities are arising for structural cooperation between urban design and landscape architecture.

Josefina Gómez-Mendoza (*The Tradition of Open Spaces in Cities and Modernity*) discusses the development patterns of several European cities, demonstrating that open spaces in town extensions in many cases evolved from well-designed publicly accessible or at least perceivable open spaces to poorly defined randomly located open spaces, often just filling the space between building blocks, and dominated by transport. The town planning history of Barcelona and Madrid shows that densification of the originally designed urban structure has often undone the abundance and social practicability of open spaces in town. On the other hand, spontaneous peri-urban developments tend to result in a non-city occupation of the rural area, characterised by discontinuity and fragmentation, and a predominance of private car transport. New visions are highly needed to create urban and peri-urban environments for new comfortable cities, encompassing sustainable landscapes.

Sophie Bonin (*The Concept of Urban Fringe and its Application on Réunion Island*) addresses the various experiences of designing the urban fringe, a fairly recent area of practice in the French planning tradition pioneered by landscape architects. The example of Réunion Island is illustrative because of the large population growth, combined with limited suitable space for settlement, characterised at the same time by a very rich landscape and nature. Much like suggested by Donadieu, on Réunion the promising direction of public policies regarding peri-urban development seems to lie in the inclusion of sustainable agriculture in the public space of the town.

Emeline Bailly (*Peripheral Public Spaces and Neighborhood Landscapes in the Bronx (New York) and L'Île St Denis (Seine St Denis – Paris)*), in the last presentation of the afternoon, presents a very interesting comparison between rehabilitated neighbourhood landscapes in New York (Melrose) and Paris (Île St Denis), within the perspective of sustainable development. In both cases for example, the value of nature is explicitly promoted as part of the new identity (green and blue infrastructure in St Denis, and the transferred ideal of “the house in the countryside” in Melrose), but is used as well to attract investors. Interestingly the inhabitants do not share the idea of urban nature (represented in public space in St Denis, and rather in private property in Melrose), preferring a much wilder image as nature. Landscape in this perspective may translate into a “governed freedom”, enhancing heterogeneity rather than reproducing known images.

THE SOCIAL DIMENSION OF PROJECTS DIRECTED TOWARDS THE RECOMPOSITION OF THE URBAN LANDSCAPE: EUROPEAN VISION AND LOCAL IDENTITY. COMMENTARY ON THE SIDELINES OF A CONFERENCE

*Flavio Venturelli**

A peaceable medium-sized German town like Stuttgart seems to embody the vision of modern urbanism: industrial plants and comfortable residences, all immersed in wide green spaces for all to use. Yet here in 2010 and 2011 groups of citizens chained themselves to century-old trees to prevent their felling to make space for a high-speed train station. The police did not take long to act, and the protesters eventually had to decamp. In Istanbul in 2013 the more brutal Gezi Park clashes were shown throughout the world. Although neither its history nor its present - characterized by a chaotic sprawl - make Istanbul comparable to Stuttgart, here too concerned citizens turned out to defend a green area threatened by new construction, at least in the early stage of the protest. It has widely been noted that in both countries only a minority of the protesters belonged to radical political groups, while the majority were ordinary citizens¹. The question arises spontaneously: why are such large numbers of ordinary people prepared to take an active part in defending a few trees? The answer is equally straightforward: green areas are perceived as a limited resource, like oil, water and all the resources that are critical for human life on Earth. People are prepared to occupy urban spaces physically to defend their resources and material and immaterial goods, including freedom itself. As many have noted, the term "Occupy" no longer characterizes merely a collection of protest movements. Occupation involves repossession by the community of a real physical space that would otherwise risk becoming no more than a virtual presence in the urban landscape². Protests enable citizens to restore to urban areas a meaning that their administrators seem to want to take away. Often, repossession may give rise to novel meanings: in line with Heidegger one could even say that repossession entails

* Translated by Silvia Modena.

¹ Delera, R. (2013), *Una sera a Taksim*, <http://www.ilpost.it/2013/06/06/una-sera-a-taksim/>, in Il Post, visited Sept. 23rd, 2013.

² Mörtenböck, P., Mooshammer, H. (2012), *Occupy. Räumes des Protests*, Transcript Verlag, Bielefeld; see also NCCR Democracy, Kriesi, H., Lars Müller Pub. (2013), editors, *Democracy*, Lars Müller, Zürich.

a new manifestation of the place that has been occupied³. At the same time the occupation becomes an opportunity for citizens to express publicly their notion of their territory. The protests thus prepare the ground for something that transcends the individual sites: it is the probable birth of new landscapes⁴.

Urban landscape transformations give rise to a variety of aesthetic notions and trends that are closely related to social dynamics: the images of the protests mentioned above expose this connection. Despite the unsettling pace and reach of the changes, the relationship between social and aesthetic aspects is not a novelty to those who study the landscape⁵. Moreover, the awareness of green spaces as a finite resource certainly does not arise in the early 21st century, but is inherent to the origin and development of industrial metropolises: literature and the visual arts⁶ have consistently documented the dramatic effects of the absence of urban green since the dawn of industrialization, permanently changing the way in which we think of the landscape. Acknowledging the value of public green areas in modern metropolises was the precondition for the emergence of the notion of urban landscape at least since F. L. Olmsted's renowned designs⁷.

The most distinctive feature of the recent urban landscape transformations is their global diffusion. The simultaneous occurrence of urban sprawl and shrinking and their consequences have definitively demolished the notion of the landscape as something "outside town". Accordingly, the phenomena related to the urban landscape are no long-

³ Heidegger, M. (1951), *Bauen Wohnen Denken*, pp. 152-158 in *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, Günther Neske, Pfullingen.

⁴ Based on the definition of landscape as formulated for instance by Rosario Assunto: "the landscape is nature where civilization looks at itself in the mirror, recognizes itself, identifying itself in its own forms (...)"; from Assunto, R. (1994): *Il Paesaggio e l'estetica*, Edizioni Novecento, Palermo, p. 21, quoted by Priore, R. (2009), *No people no landscape. La Convenzione europea del paesaggio: luci e ombre nel processo di attuazione in Italia*, Franco Angeli, Milano.

⁵ For a systematic discussion of the connection between the social and aesthetic aspects of the landscape see Küster, H. (2012), *Die Entdeckung der Landschaft. Einführung in eine neue Wissenschaft*, C.H. Beck, Munich. For the specific theme of urban, especially European landscapes, see Greenkeys Project Team (2008), editors, *eLearning Module in Greenkeys @ Your City – A Guide for Urban Green Quality*, IOER Leibniz Institute of Ecological and Regional Development, Dresden.

⁶ A detailed discussion of these is outside the scope of the present work. The state of towns at the dawn of the industrial revolution is effectively described in the travel notebooks kept by K.F. Schinkel during his journey through England in 1826.

⁷ Miller, S. C. (2003), *Central Park, An American Masterpiece: A Comprehensive History of the Nation's First Urban Park*, Abrams, New York; Zaitzevsky, C. (1982): *Frederick Law Olmsted and the Boston Park System*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge; Taylor, D. E. (2009), *The Environment and the People in American Cities, 1600s-1900s: Disorder, Inequality, and Social Change*, Duke University Press, Durham.

er confined to a few metropolitan areas, but are affecting increasingly broad regions of the planet, hence increasingly large number of inhabitants. As mentioned earlier, in such areas it is not only open green spaces that are perceived as limited and valuable: here all resources essential for human survival, i.e. for the biosphere, are viewed as a system that can no longer be exploited exclusively to achieve short-term profits, but rather requires managing based on the well-established notions of complexity and sustainability. From this standpoint the landscape is thus a system characterized by the interaction of the ecological, economic and social (or socio-aesthetic) dimensions.

Such momentous changes have deeply affected landscape-related disciplines since the turn of the millennium. In this context it is interesting to describe the different approaches that were adopted on the two sides of the Atlantic. The north-American landscape tradition, revisited in the second half of the 20th century by Ian McHarg⁸, found new exponents first in Landscape Urbanism and subsequently in the constellation of theoretical reflections and design experiences that has taken the name of Ecological Urbanism⁹. The urgent need to ensure the planet's survival was set as the new task of design. Mohsen Mostafavi made this seminal observation:

“Increased numbers of people and cities go hand in hand with a greater exploitation of the world's limited resources. Every year, more cities are feeling the devastating impacts of this situation. What are we to do? What means do we have as designers to address this challenging reality?”¹⁰.

The development of new aesthetic approaches and the refining of new praxes become essential means to answer such crucial questions. In this framework the ability to take into account the dimension of the landscape becomes a precondition for providing effective responses. As noted by Charles Waldheim:

“Across a range of disciplines, landscape has become a lens through which the contemporary city is represented and a medium through which it is constructed”¹¹. The same changes were addressed in Europe in quite a different way, i.e. through an approach based on politics and an international treaty. In July 2000 the Ministers' Committee

⁸ McHarg, I. (1969), *Design with Nature*, Garden City for the American Museum of Natural History, New York; Steiner, F. (2004), *Steiner, Healing the earth: the relevance of Ian McHarg's work for the future*, pp. 141-149 in *Philosophy & Geography* Volume 7, Issue 1.

⁹ An overview of these developments is provided by the articles collected in Issue 71 of *Topos*. See in particular Kongjian Yu's contribution on pp. 58-63 *Five Traditions for Landscape Urbanism Thinking. Inspiring traditions in urban planning, design history and related fields*.

¹⁰ Mostafavi, M. (2010), *Why Ecological Urbanism? Why Now?*, pp. 30-35 in *Topos* Issue 71.

¹¹ Waldheim, C. (2006), *The Landscape Urbanism Reader*, Princeton Architectural Press.

of the Council of Europe approved the text of the European Landscape Convention¹². Riccardo Priore, who followed its draft on behalf of the Council, highlighted the novelty of the approach:

“In a society where images are often confused with reality, the landscape can thus become an opportunity to wield power in the positive sense of the opportunity offered to a community to establish, consolidate and develop its social organization. Thanks to its symbolic potential as the representation that a society can produce in relation to its ability to exist and become integrated in the world, the landscape can be the basis of a political project capable of sustaining civil and socio-economic progress”¹³.

Power viewed as an opportunity is clearly apparent in the contemporary urban landscapes of Europe. In fact, more and more often portions of the urban landscape become the jousting ground for those who wield three different aspects of power: the designers themselves, who wield the power to define the development scenarios of a given landscape; citizens, who are increasingly determined to exercise their criticism and decision-making power; and administrators, who are called upon to wield their power to steer, control and mediate between the other parties. The analogy with the separation of powers that characterizes democracies is clear. So is the fact that the instruments envisaged by the Convention offer to European urban landscapes the historic opportunity to become one of the more mature manifestations of democracy¹⁴.

Again in Priore’s words¹⁵, the origin of the Convention is to be ascribed to the “desperate search for an identity” and a meaning of the sites, which gives rise to a “demand for landscape”¹⁶ that is particularly widespread among European citizens. Such demand, induced by crucial changes, is reflected into a pressing request for physical places where

¹² For the Convention’s signatories and ratification status see Council of Europe (2012), editor, *The European Landscape Convention*, http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/heritage/Landscape/default_en.asp, visited Sept. 25th, 2013.

¹³ Priore, R. (2009), *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁴ For the historical evolution of the relationship between political regimes and landscape see Luginbühl, Y. (2008), editor, *Paysage et politique*, pp. 90-101 in Colantonio Venturelli, R. (2008), *I paesaggi d’Europa tra storia, arte e natura*; “Atti della Conferenza Trilaterale di Ricerca 2005-2007”, Centro Italo-Tedesco Villa Vigoni, Menaggio.

¹⁵ Priore, R. (2006), *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁶ Gambino, R. (2004), *I paesaggi dell’identità europea*, p. 1 in *Prolusione all’Anno Accademico 2003-2004*, Politecnico di Torino, Torino. With regard to the “demand for landscape” Gambino makes reference to Berque, A. (1995), *Les raisons du paysage: de la Chine antique aux environnements de synthèse*, Éditions Hazan, Paris.

communities can identify themselves. However, subsequent interventions demonstrate that the identity issue is never manifested univocally¹⁷.

Sometimes it is the same citizens who take direct and informal possession of non-conventional sites such as viaducts and rail tracks. With regard to the contributions of the speaker at the last session of the conference, Henrique Pessoa demonstrates that we are not fully aware of the extent of this movement: the history of New York's High Line is merely its most advanced front. Elsewhere repossession is achieved through a steady, systematic redesign of the urban landscape. The designs presented by Andreas Kipar and Giovanni Sala for Milan and by Lorenzo Vallerini for Florence provide a community with an opportunity to revive its sense of belonging to its past and its present. But in what kind of landscape can a community that has ceased to be characterized by a putative ethnic identity identify itself? What is a multicultural landscape? In other terms, what landscape results from the meeting, not devoid of strain and tensions, of different cultures hence of different ways to view the landscape itself? Such vital questions have been asked by Edith Pichler in her analysis of the changes undergone by urban spaces as a result of the presence of new migrant communities in Berlin. This is probably among the most challenging issues posed by urban landscapes to those who are called upon to design and manage them. Paola Viganò's study of the evolutionary scenarios of the Flemish landscape has taken up the challenge in one of Europe's regions where the strain of identity issues is more intense.

Today those who are called upon to design a landscape are therefore required to come to terms on the one hand with historic changes and on the other with citizen communities seeking to redefine their identity. As James Corner perceptively noted, it is possible to identify "four interpractical themes from which to organize the emerging [...] practice: ecological and urban processes over time, the staging of horizontal surfaces, the operational or working method, and the imaginary"¹⁸.

The broad spectrum occupied by these issues provides a measure of the power wielded by the designer today. Its exercise drives the landscape designer to evolve a strong public conscience. The work carried out by Franco Zagari over the years is exemplary in this sense, too. His projects, which he himself reviews in this volume, are a link between the

¹⁷ For a historical analysis of the identity issues related to modern European landscapes see Gröning, G., Schneider, U. (2001), editors, *Gartenkultur und nationale Identität. Strategien nationaler und regionaler Identitätsstiftung in der deutschen Gartenkultur*, Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, Worms.

¹⁸ Thus has Corner's thought been synthesized in Waldheim, C. (2006), *op. cit.*, p. 16.

strong public commitment of European architects such as Giancarlo De Carlo, Luigi Snozzi and Álvaro Siza¹⁹, and the experience of the later designer generations²⁰. The latter are less tied to an ideological vision of the world, but do not hesitate to challenge communities' traditional perception of the landscape.

Challenging conventional perceptions is not however an end in itself. On the contrary, it is often a necessary step enabling the designer to meet his counterparts on a common ground, that of the imaginary. In line with James Corner's observations²¹, this is among the critical themes in the evolution of urban landscapes. The choice is between making reference to a landscape viewed as the univocal expression of a well-ordered community, as suggested by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in his fresco of "Buongoverno" in Siena²², and trying to produce a multi-dimensional image open to continuous redefinition, as evoked by models like Oswald Mathias Ungers' "Archipel City"²³ or the more recent "New Babylon"²⁴. The stakes are high, because no landscape can emerge without making reference to the imaginary. The European experiences are aiming at an even higher objective: to involve all the stakeholders of society in producing a shared imaginary.

¹⁹ to mention just a few.

²⁰ Again as an example see Zardini, M., Borasi, G. (2008), editors, *Actions. What You Can Do With the City*, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal.

²¹ Corner, J. (2006), *Terra Fluxus* pp. 21-34 in Waldheim, C. (2006), op. cit.

²² Colantonio, R., Galli, A., Paci, G. (2008), *Multidisciplinarietà e ricomposizione del sapere. Un contributo per la gestione del paesaggio culturale*, pp. 17-33 in Colantonio Venturelli, R. (2008), editor, op. cit.

²³ Ungers, O.M.U., Koolhaas, R., Riemann, P., Kollhoff, H., Ovaska, P. (1977), editors, *The City in the City. Berlin: a Green Archipelago*, critical edition by Hertweck, F. and Marot, S., Lars Müller Publishers, Zürich.

²⁴ Karlsruhe Institute of Technology (2013), *New Babylon. Architecture and Urbanism after Crisis*, <http://www.after-crisis.com/>, visited Sept. 25th, 2013.

1

NATURE, OPEN SPACES AND LANDSCAPES

1.1

THE VALUES OF ECOSYSTEM SERVICES IN URBAN LANDSCAPES

Beate Jessel, Alice Kube

Recent discussions in nature conservation have been dominated by two essential concepts: Biodiversity and ecosystem services. The article gives a brief overview of these two approaches with a focus on urban landscapes and shows possible contributions of ecosystem services that might cities and towns help to cope with current challenges they are facing. Concerning the value of urban ecosystem services relevant processes, functions, services and benefits are indicated and also the economics of urban ecosystems is touched. Nevertheless it is important to underline right from the beginning that “value of ecosystem services” does not only and necessarily mean economic or even monetary values but does also include other aspects such as aesthetic and cultural ones. Another focus will be laid on the implementation of the German National Strategy on Biodiversity in the urban context.

Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services

It is a common misunderstanding that biodiversity is synonymous with ecosystem services (Jessel 2011). The same applies to the hypothesis that biodiversity is the only basis of ecosystem services which leads to the wrong assumption that high biodiversity automatically leads to a high performance of ecosystem services.

The Millenium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA) has defined ecosystem services as “the benefits humans obtain from nature.” Biological diversity as defined by the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) comprises “the variability among living organisms from all sources (...); this includes diversity within species, between species and of ecosystems”. That means biodiversity includes the biotic elements of nature whereas ecosystem services also include abiotic, spiritual and cultural resources. Being oriented on the preservation of life in all its manifestations the concept of biodiversity follows a more or less static approach whereas the safeguarding of ecosystem services is orientated on functions and includes dynamic and change. In contrast to biodiversity which might also reflect a value in itself or intrinsic values and resulting obligations for the preservation of nature the concept of ecosystem services has an anthropocentric perspective. In conclusion biodiversity and ecosystem services are not identical but complementary concepts which both deliver valuable arguments for nature conservation (Jessel 2011).

Human well-being plays an important role in both concepts as a comprehensive value which can be operationalized in different ways.

Ecosystem Services of Urban Nature

The concept of ecosystem services includes provisioning services (such as nutrition, provision of drinking water or genetic resources), regulating services (such as climate regulation, regulation of water balance or protection from natural disasters), cultural services (such as recreation, education and aesthetic values) and supporting ones (such as soil formation, nutrient cycles and primary production). Within the concept of ecosystem services biodiversity is not represented by a single service but contributes to many services. The concept of ecosystem services strongly supports the discussion on values of nature for people and society and it provides a channel to make evident different types of values such as ecologic, economic and cultural ones. It also enables the economic assessment of these services. Especially in the daily discussions of planning decisions, the services that ecosystems provide in cities and elsewhere are often taken for granted. Their value is regularly underestimated in comparison to the potential economic value added, by building development, for example.

The role different services play for urban areas can briefly be demonstrated by two examples: climate regulation by green spaces and cultural services such as recreation, education and identification.

1. Cities and metropolitan areas are facing the consequences of climate change already. The frequency of extremely high temperatures in recent years with its fatal health consequences has given a bitter taste of the future. But urban areas also offer opportunities for climate-friendly development and adaptation to climate change. The climatic regulation services of green and open spaces gain in importance in times of climate change. These areas can mitigate impacts such as the increase in maximum temperatures and heat waves in summer. This is an important factor for human well-being in cities. Specifically, these welfare effects were investigated in the research and development project *Urban Nature and Climate Change* (Mathey et al. 2011). Figure 1 includes two maps that show the analogy of the amount of green spaces in the city of Dresden to the model of the maximum cooling effect compared to a concrete area.
2. The concept of ecosystem services is appropriate to demonstrate and to raise awareness for different kinds of values, including cultural ones which tend to be neglected within decision making procedures. The authors are convinced that nature conservation – especially in an urban context – should give greater consideration to cultural and sociological aspects. Towns and municipalities are very important for nature

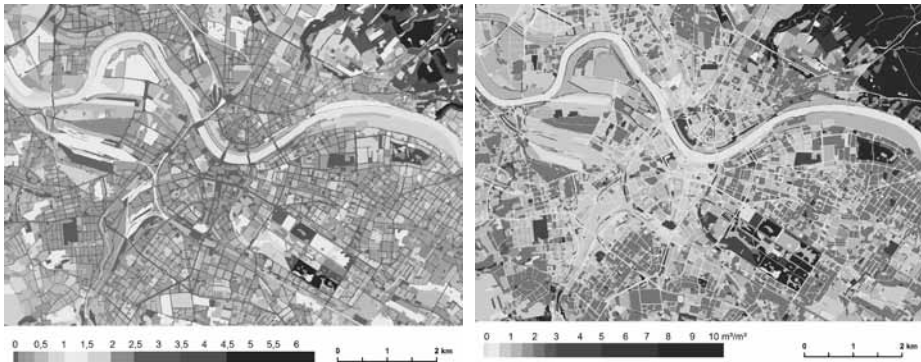


Fig. 1 - Distribution of green volume (m^3/m^2 , above) and maximum cooling effect (below) compared to concrete areas in the city of Dresden (Mathey et al. 2011).

conservation because they represent the political level which is closest to the people and as they allow people to participate in actions and management most easily. In many German cities and towns for example people participate in the management of protected areas, urban green, etc. In this context cooperations of towns and municipalities with local nature conservation and environment associations are vitally important.

Urban nature offers many possibilities for recreation. For instance urban gardening is currently booming. By the way, the first allotments in Germany, to be known as ‘Schrebergarten’ originated in Leipzig, a city 200 km south of Berlin.

Urban areas also offer many possibilities for environmental education. This is especially important if we keep in mind that for many people urban green spaces serve as the only contact with nature and biological diversity. The project “Schoolyard jungle”, sponsored by the German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation (BfN) presented a successful approach to involve children and young people. The project included a competition which raised the children’s attention for local nature in front of their school door. They were also encouraged to increase biodiversity by creating new habitats on their schoolyards (Grüne Liga 2009).

Awards can provide a useful incentive to promote such private engagement. In 2012, the Federal Agency for Nature Conservation was funding the *Nature Conservation Award Germany under the headline “Cities Need Nature”*. Rewards totalling 250.000 € were given to non-governmental organisations to implement project ideas in the cities of Berlin, Leipzig and Augsburg (www.deutscher-naturschutzpreis.de).

Challenges for Municipalities from the Perspective of Nature Conservation

Safeguarding biodiversity and by this maintaining and promoting ecosystem services seem to be of the utmost significance against the background of current challenges we face in urban spaces. Which are those main challenges for German towns and municipalities from the perspective of nature conservation?

One of the most important challenges is the land take for settlement and transport. In Germany, areas for settlements and transport cover more than 13 % which equates half the size of Portugal. The indicator of ‘Increase in land take for settlement and transport’ was selected as a key sustainability indicator for land use under the National Sustainability Strategy already in 2002 (Federal Government 2002) and has also been incorporated in the “National Strategy on Biological Diversity” (Federal Government 2007) in line with setting a goal that new land take for settlement and transport should be reduced to an average daily maximum of 30 ha by 2020. As figure 2 shows the rate of land take for settlement and transport has fallen since 2000 (the four-year rolling average dropped from 129 ha per day in 2000 to 81 ha per day in 2011) but is nevertheless still far away from the target.

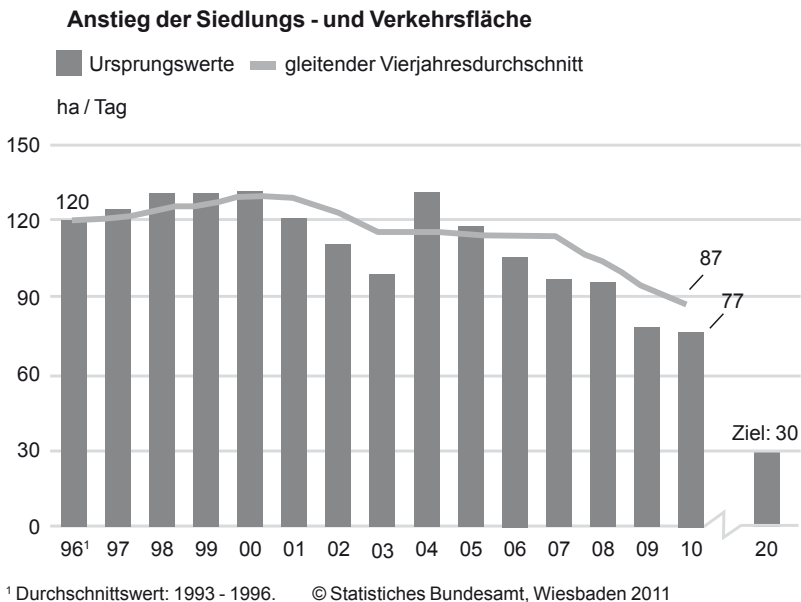


Fig. 2 - Land take for settlement and transport in hectares per day (Statistisches Bundesamt 2011).

In contrast to the growing land take for settlement and transport the German population has been decreasing since 2003 in the course of demographic change. If the current demographic trend continues it will further decrease from now 82 million people to 65 to 70 million people in 2060 (FEDERAL STATISTICAL OFFICE 2009). At the same time the area of derelict land has risen steadily in many cities since 1993. It currently comprises almost 4 % of the settlement and traffic area (FEDERAL ENVIRONMENT AGENCY 2008). These areas often have unfavourable effects on the urban structure and the urban landscape, and are often negatively perceived by the public. On the other hand, they offer potential for many positive effects, like the conservation of biological diversity, climate protection and air pollution control, recreation and ecological urban development.

Worldwide and in Germany, urbanization is one of the main threats for biodiversity. Ecosystems are directly destructed and indirectly affected by new settlements and new traffic infrastructure.

The “Species diversity and landscape quality” indicator (Fig. 3) is another indicator that was developed under the *National Sustainability Strategy* and incorporated in the National Strategy on Biological Diversity. The indicator provides information on spe-

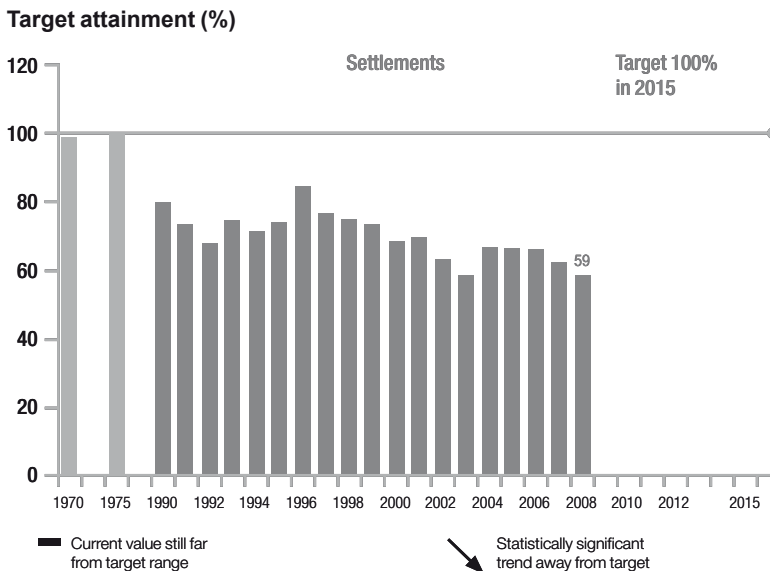


Fig. 3 - Indicator species diversity in settlements. This indicator is part of the German National Sustainability Strategy and the National Strategy on Biological Diversity and consists of the population trends of ten bird species representative for urban areas (BfN 2011).

cies diversity, landscape quality and the sustainability of land use and consists of six sub-indicators. For the sub-indicator “settlements” ten representative bird species were selected as indicator species. An index value for the respective German bird populations is computed annually for each species from the number of territories or breeding pairs counted in statistically representative sample plots. The current population size is expressed as a percentage of the target population size determined for 2015. As figure 3 shows the sub-indicator for settlements reached only 59% of the target value and showed a statistically significant trend away from the target in the ten years up to 2008 (Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety 2010).

Another challenge that still has been mentioned is climate change with the expected increase of weather extremes as a challenge especially for big cities.

Structures, Capacities & Values of urban Ecosystem Services

Let us now have a look on the valuation of ecosystem services in an urban context. The cascade-model of ecosystem services from Haynes-Young and Potschin (2010, see figure 4) distinguishes between:

- Landscape structure or – in this context better say – urban green and processes;
- part or all of them have specific ‘functions’, with other words they have capacities to deliver certain services;
- the ‘services’ themselves which are understood as material or non-material goods

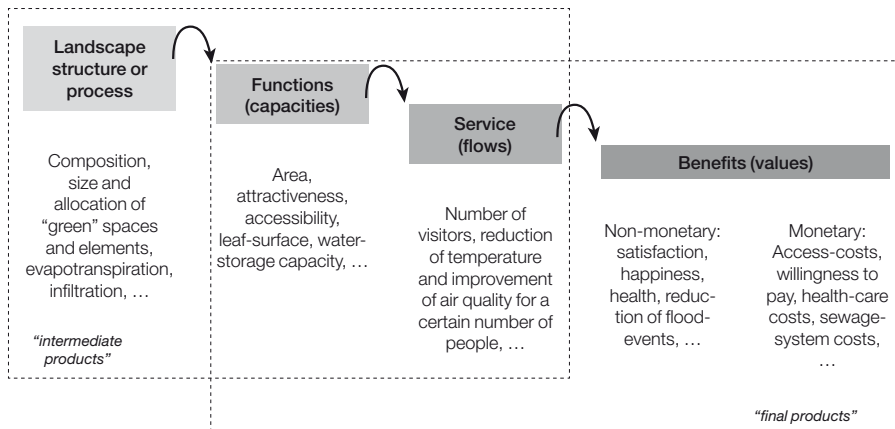


Fig. 4 - Structures, capacities & values of urban ecosystem services (Haynes-Young & Potschin 2010, modified).

such as the fresher and purified air you breathe or the aesthetical ‘information’ urban parks provide to visitors;

- the values – monetary or non-monetary – that can be assigned to these services.

The assessment of urban ecosystem services and their values for planning purposes has to build on information from all the four levels of the cascade:

- Composition, size and the location of green spaces and elements;
- indicators for functionality like attractiveness, accessibility, water-storage capacity or air filtering capacity;
- the specific flows of services to the residents, taking into account who and how many people really benefit and finally;
- the resulting benefits can be described by non-monetary and monetary values: to the first one belong living quality, happiness, health, reduction of flood-events;
- the economic values of these benefits can either be counted in monetary terms like the willingness to pay higher rents for a “green” dwelling place or reduced access costs to green space due to a new urban park or in non-monetary terms like rankings of satisfaction with the urban environment or health indices associated to different urban environmental conditions.

Some examples shall demonstrate the benefits of urban green in terms of non-monetary and monetary values for society and individuals:

- It is a bitter experience of the past years that high summer temperatures increase mortality rates. During the very hot summer season of 1994 the mortality in Berlin rose about 67 % (Gabriel & Endlicher 2006). Urban green can lower this effect substantially which does not only reduce death rates but also healthcare costs.
- Improving air quality is not only good for the individual but also helps complying with certain regulations like EU-guidelines. A survey on a single street tree in Karlsruhe showed that it had the capacity to filter out about 11 % of traffic emissions of particulate matter smaller than about 10 micrometers, referred to as PM_{10} (Langner 2006). One way to calculate effects in monetary terms is to look at the costs of alternative measures to reduce particulate matter concentration in cities.

Increased water infiltration in green areas gives opportunities to reduce sewage management costs.

Last but not least urban green areas provide opportunities for nearby recreation which is good for health and wellbeing and also reduces travel costs caused by longer distances to recreation areas outside of cities.

Not only is the saving of expenditures economically relevant but also the creation of additional benefits. The hedonic pricing approach is one way to monetarily measure the benefits of environmentally sound living surroundings. In Berlin the land value of real estates within a distance of max. 400 m to the next park is on average 173 €/m² higher than of real estates which are further away from parks (Gruehn 2008). The higher monetary value can be regarded as an indicator of other values people associate with attractive green spaces in their neighbourhood such as living quality and health.

A statistical analysis of all urban green factors revealed that urban green is even responsible for about one third of the market price of land in densely populated areas (Gruehn 2008).

Urban green is not only relevant for residents but also for investors. An attractive urban environment is one of the most important 'soft' factors for decisions on project locations, which was proven in a survey for the Bodensee county (Scherer 2012) and in many other studies.

The German Strategy on Biological Diversity: Vision and Aims for Urban Landscapes

Not least for all the reasons that have been mentioned before the importance of biodiversity and ecosystem services in urban landscapes is reflected in the National Strategy on Biological Diversity, adopted by the Federal Government in 2007 (FEDERAL GOVERNMENT 2007). The German Strategy on Biological Diversity formulates explicit visions, specific goals, tangible measures and indicators for urban landscapes. The vision for urban areas states: *"Our towns provide their residents with a high quality of life, as well as providing a habitat for many species of flora and fauna, including rare and endangered species. A diverse range of plants improves the air quality and urban climate. Towns offer a wide range of recreational, play and nature experience opportunities for young and old alike."*

In the chapters on protection, sustainable use and social awareness within the strategy many specific aims and measurements for urban areas can be found which shall support the general aims for urban areas (see figure 5).

Obviously, the *National Strategy on Biological Diversity* can only be successful if it is implemented practically. To support the implementation a new federal funding programme on biological diversity was launched in 2011.

It focuses on four funding priorities:

1. Species for which Germany has a high degree of responsibility (mainly species whose main distribution range falls within the German territory);

2. Hotspot areas of biological diversity in Germany
3. Protection and enhancement of ecosystem services
4. Other activities with special relevance for the national strategy on biological diversity.

Especially the last two priorities are of special interest for municipalities. First examples, like the restoration of the urban system of floodplains and watercourses in Leipzig, which might provide multiple benefits for flood prevention, climate regulation, biodiversity and recreation, are already on the way. However, beyond financial means an intensive dialogue with all stakeholders involved is needed. Cities and municipalities are important partners because their local action is decisive for safeguarding biodiversity. Therefore, in 2010 the Federal Agency for Nature Conservation initiated a dialogue process with all German municipalities and cities aiming at the comprehensive consideration of biodiversity at decisions on the local level.

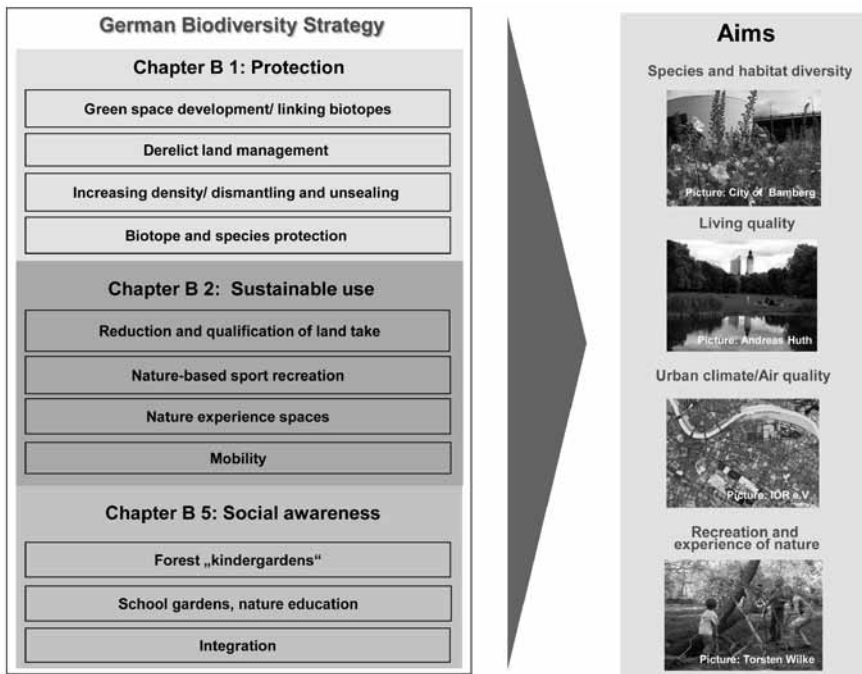


Fig. 5 - Visions and aims for urban landscapes within the German National Strategy on Biological Diversity (Federal Government – Bundesregierung 2007).

As a result of the first meeting in February 2010 the municipalities involved prepared a declaration “Biological Diversity in Municipalities”. Meanwhile this self-commitment for active safeguarding and development of local biodiversity has been signed by more than 200 municipalities including big cities as Leipzig, Bonn and Frankfurt as well as medium towns and small villages all over Germany. Based on the declaration, these municipalities founded an “Alliance for Biodiversity” in February last year. This alliance shall provide a platform for the intermunicipal cooperation. It supports the practical work in cities and towns by exchange of experiences and transfers municipal interests and needs in political processes (www.kommunen-fuer-biologische-vielfalt.de).

Natural Capital Germany - TEEB DE

Even though we know enough to esteem ecosystem services there is still a need to assess them in a broader context on a national scale. At global scale the international study “The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity” (TEEB) was the first attempt of a comprehensive approach. TEEB was initiated on the 2007 G8 meeting by Germany and the European Union and carried out under the direction of Pavan Sukhdev as study leader. “Natural Capital Germany – TEEB DE” is the German follow up of the international study on national level. It is funded by the German Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation Building and Nuclear Safety and managed and advised by the Federal Agency for Nature Conservation.

Like the international project “Natural Capital Germany – TEEB DE” aims at:

- analysing and pointing out the benefits of biodiversity and ecosystem services in qualitative, quantitative and – wherever possible – also economic terms;
- showing ways how to better mainstream the recognition and valuation of nature in public funding and decision processes, including regional and local planning.

From 2012 to 2015 4 reports will be published in the course of the project. One of them will focus on the benefits of ecosystems and their services in urban areas. A core group of authors will prepare a compilation of existing knowledge and an evaluation of all relevant surveys in order to get the most complete and up to date picture of urban ecosystem services and their values. Scientists, practitioners and stakeholders will be involved in several workshops.

Conclusions

Urban nature provides a wide range of ecosystem services which gain importance against the background of current challenges such as climate change and demographic change. Beyond offering habitats for many animal and plant species a well-structured urban “green infrastructure” is decisive for living quality in cities and provides an important location factor. For many people urban green spaces serve as the single contact with nature and biological diversity.

The values of ecosystem services cover many dimensions. One way to evaluate ecosystem services is the economic assessment, which might provide important arguments for the conservation and development of these services and of biodiversity in urban areas. However, we should not restrict our considerations to economic values of ecosystem services but lead a broader discussion in our society on values of nature and ecosystems.

Last but not least biodiversity can contribute to the safeguarding of ecosystem services. The implementation process of the German National Strategy on Biodiversity takes this into consideration; its success will – among other factors – deeply depend on the close integration of towns and cities. The Federal funding programme on biodiversity will also contribute to these goals. With the outcomes of the study „Natural Capital Germany“ we are confidently looking forward to a better understanding of ecosystem services and thus to a better integration of biodiversity into decision making.

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2.2 THE ECOLOGICAL ROLE OF PARKS IN EUROPE

Hansjörg Küster

Landscape and Land Use Systems: from Prehistoric to Historic Times

In prehistory and history, men managed their environments in different ways. Doing this they reacted to natural conditions, which were always connected with change: Nature is not stable, permanently changing. Rocks are eroded, sediments deposited. Oceans and seas are formed and drained, plants, animals and men grow and pass away. Also abstract species and landscapes evolve and disappear. Inside unstable nature men aim to stabilize economical, political, social and cultural conditions so that their life could be as stable as possible. This will never happen as nature still influences human life. Everyman will pass away, but perhaps some years later than without human interference.

In the course of time, various economical, political, social and cultural systems were built up by men. As a result of them different landscapes were utilized and formed; remnants of them are still visible in recent environments. Elements of landscapes had different functions and meanings inside subsequent land use systems¹.

The early evolution of hominids took place in the tropics. There, under non-seasonal climatic conditions, fruits and carrion for human nutrition were available all year round. During the recent periods of the Ice Age, hominids migrated to grasslands of the northern hemisphere. There successful life was also possible at that time as a lot of herbivores were living there which could be hunted. Humans developed successful hunting techniques. Animals were killed by a group of humans and afterwards taken for nutrition. At that point of time meat was not fresh anymore; men went on to consume carrion – as their ancestors also did in the tropical rain forests. Sometimes it was easier to kill an entire group of animals living together in flocks or herds. After killing of animals only a small part of the available meat could be taken for consumption, the remnants were consumed by wolves and other carrion consuming animals².

After the Würmian or Weichselian, the last Ice Age, woodlands spread over large parts

¹ H. Küster, *Die Entdeckung der Landschaft. Einführung in eine neue Wissenschaft*. München 2012.

² E. Turner, *Solutré. An archaeozoological analysis of the Magdalenian horizon*. Mainz 2002. – E. Turner, *Horse, reindeer and bison hunters at Solutré. An archaeozoological analysis of a Magdalenian bone assemblage*. *Bonner zoologische Beiträge* 50(3), 2002, 143-182.

of the Northern Hemisphere. As a result from this development herbivores left the area and migrated farther to the north where treeless steppe and tundra like ecosystems still existed at that time. Men had the choice: Either they migrated to the north, too, or they survived in the recently formed woodlands. On the northern hemisphere, woodlands are seasonally developing – in contrast to tropical rain forests: They are only green in summer, and fruits for human consumption are only available in late summer and autumn. During this season also a lot of mushrooms can be collected. There are also only a few animals which can survive in dense woodlands. Men are not able to detect sufficient nutrition in seasonally growing woodlands all the year round. On the northern hemisphere, they could only survive alongside rivers, lake and sea shores. There, fish and water fowl was available all year round. Only a very restricted number of men could survive under the condition of the Mesolithic, as their culture is called by archaeologists.

From the point of time, when woodlands were spreading, men tried to store and to cultivate plants near of his settlements to receive a harvest from them. In some parts of Europe hazel nuts were collected and perhaps also propagated³. In several other parts of the world, in southwestern Asia, southeastern Asia and Central America, plant cultivation started resulting in the development of cultivated plants⁴. Cultivated plants were developed in several regions of the world. It is therefore indicated that not just “chance” but systemic conditions favored these developments; humans were equally evolved in different parts of the world. For agriculture, environments had to be changed. In the Near East and along large rivers in other parts of the world, fields had to be irrigated. Wooded areas had to be cleared to allow the cultivation of plants. In the woodlands, farming was only practiced on the same places for some decades. Afterwards fields and settlements were given up and established at other locations. On the abandoned land, natural conditions alone prevailed allowing the re-establishment of woodland by mechanisms of secondary successions. During these developments the originally occurring tree species did not spread solely. Other species took part in the re-formation of woodland, beech in central Europe⁵, hornbeam

³ M. Regnell, *Plant subsistence and environment at the Mesolithic site Tågerup, southern Sweden: new insights on the “Nut Age”*. *Vegetation History and Archeobotany* 21(1), 2012, 1-16.

⁴ H. Küster, *Am Anfang war das Korn. Eine andere Geschichte der Menschheit*. München 2013.

⁵ H. Küster, *The role of farming in the postglacial expansion of beech and hornbeam in the oak woodlands of central Europe*. *The Holocene* 7(2), 1997, 239-242.

in Eastern central Europe⁶, and spruce both in Scandinavia⁷ and in the western Alps⁸.

In some parts of Europe the land use strategy changed during Roman times. An economical and administrative infrastructure was built up which allowed the transport of goods to each location in the range of the Imperium. In consequence of this settlements were no more shifted from one location to another one. Settlements and their fields were permanently used. Therefore secondary successions of woodland did not take place anymore, so that the expansion of beech came to an end. But outside the Imperium Romanum shifting settlements still existed and beech continued to spread during secondary successions of woodland. This was also the case during the Migration period. In Medieval times stable settlements became common to very many parts of Europe. Beech expansion came to an end, but hornbeam could spread also to the western parts of Europe as a consequence of permanent woodland utilization. Hornbeam – in contrast to beech – can stand coppice utilization⁹.

During middle ages land use was strongly intensified, especially after the foundation of urban settlements. Citizens had a high demand of grain, wood and timber. Woodlands were also grazed by animals so that trees and shrubs could not regenerate after cutting. Heathlands were spreading instead of woodlands. Land devastation and soil erosion became severe problems. In consequence frequently famine and crises occurred.

Large Gardens and Land Reforms

After the 30-years-war (1618-1648) it became more and more obvious that land reforms were necessary to allow further existence of men in many parts of Europe. Land reforms changed overexploited and deserted regions to designed landscapes. First of all, parks and gardens were designed in a new way. The change of the land use system is illustrated in two garden paintings by Johann Baptist Zimmermann on the ceiling of Steinhausen church near Biberach in Southern Germany. Zimmermann designed these pictures at about 1730. On the rear part of the ceiling, above the organ gallery, the paradise is designed (Fig. 1). Adam and Eve are situated inside an over-exploited land-

⁶ M. Ralska-Jasiewicz, M., *Correlation between the Holocene history of the *Carpinus betulus* and prehistoric settlement in North Poland*. Acta Societatis Botanicorum Poloniae 33(2), 1964, 461-468.

⁷ D. Moe, *The post-glacial immigration of *Picea abies* into Fennoscandia*. Botaniska Notiser 123, 1970, 61-66.

⁸ V. Markgraf, *Palaeohistory of the spruce in Switzerland*. Nature 228, 1970, 249-251.

⁹ R. Pott, *Der Einfluß der Niederholzwirtschaft auf die Physiognomie und die floristisch-soziologische Struktur von Kalkbuchenwäldern*. – Tuexenia 1, 1981, 233-242.



Fig. 1 - Johann Baptist Zimmermann, Paradise. Part of the ceiling of Steinhausen church, S Germany (ca. 1730).
Photo: Hansjörg Küster.

scape of grazed woodland; a creek eroded land. Such a landscape was regarded as being Arcadian later on, but it also showed over-exploitation. Beside the scene the continents being uncivilized at that time are depicted, Africa and America. On the front part of the ceiling, above the altar, another garden is visible, a “Hortus conclusus” (Fig. 2). Inside this garden each plant is perfectly managed, and therefore the entire scenery is well in order. Water is running regularly through a fountain to a well. Soil erosion is prohibited. The garden is framed by pictures of the continents being civilized at that time, Europe and Asia. Australia was not yet known in the early 18th century.

The “Hortus conclusus” in Steinhausen remembers to French parks which were designed in the first half of the 18th century, too, such as the large gardens of Versailles, Het Loo and Herrenhausen. The management of such a garden was hard work, very many gardeners were needed to keep such a garden well in order. But the result was striking: all natural elements could be kept in stability. If trees and shrubs were cut every year, they could have the same appearance every year. This was a very strong contrast to all landscape around such a garden where degradation was increasing from



Fig. 2 - Johann Baptist Zimmermann, *Hortus conclusus*. Part of the ceiling of Steinhausen church, S Germany (ca. 1730). Photo: Hansjörg Küster.

year to year. Parks represent very interesting models for the developments of ideas about ecology. Their appearance can be regarded as being sustainable.

The aim of management of such a garden can be compared with the aim of sustainability which was developed in the same era. In 1713, Hannß Carl von Carlowitz, an officer in Saxony, published his book “*Sylvicultura oeconomica*” in which he defined how woodlands should be sustainably managed. Only that amount of wood and timber should be cut which was formed at the same time by tree growth. The aim of sustainability was a stable appearance of nature – not for aesthetic reasons as in the garden, but for economic purposes: It was understood that it should be necessary to cut the same amounts of wood and timber also in the future, and therefore forestry cared intensively for the principle of sustainability.

Sustainable forest management was only one component of land reforms in which stability was aimed. Also agriculture was intensively transformed. Small field strips were connected to form larger fields; such a designed field was called “Koppel” in Germany, and the process of connecting field strips is called “*Verkoppelung*”.



Fig. 3 - Hedgerow wall and “Koppel” near Aurich, NW Germany. Photo: Hansjörg Küster.

Common grazed land which was also used for collecting wood and timber was reclaimed by private land owners. Reclaimed land was similarly designed as “Koppel” patches so that it equalled the area where larger fields were formed by combining smaller field strips. A “Koppel” could be dedicated to crop cultivation as well as to animal grazing. Both principle agrarian activities, crop cultivation and grassland management, could be intensified – as well as forest management as woodlands were strictly separated from farming areas at that point of time. Animal grazing became more important as the number of horses was increasing. Horses were needed to transport agricultural products from farms and villages to the growing cities. To save wood grazing areas were not fenced but often surrounded by hedgerows. There peasants were allowed to cut wood and timber which was strictly prohibited inside forests. If hedges were planted on walls young twigs sprouting after cutting could not be reached by grazing animals so that the bushes could redevelop as quickly as possible (Fig. 3).

Road construction was another very important element of land reforms. Stones which were collected on the fields during designing them in new ways could be taken to



Fig. 4 - Fruit tree alley near Gronau, S of Hannover, Germany. Photo: Hansjörg Küster.

form solid stone streets. Alleys were planted to avoid that carts and coaches used parts of fields beside the roads if it was impossible to pass damp tracks during wet periods. By alleys and ditches, traffic was restricted to use roadways (Fig. 4).

New Opinions about “Nature”

From the middle of the 18th century onwards, after the Seven Years War (1756-1763), after which the English influence on the European continent was growing, new ideas of garden culture became widely common¹⁰. The idea of French parks was replaced by the idea of forming English landscape gardens (Fig. 5). They were regarded to be more “natural” than the regularly designed parks, and they should represent another model of ecology. But, in fact, one important idea of management was equal in the geometri-

¹⁰ H. Küster & A. Hoppe, *Das Gartenreich Dessau-Wörlitz. Landschaft und Geschichte*. München 2010.



Fig. 5 - Aspect of the “Wörlitzer Park”, an English landscape style park from the 2nd half of the 18th century.
Photo: Ansgar Hoppe.

cally designed French parks and the more “natural” English gardens: They were perfectly managed; trees were cut exactly, and shrubs were planted at exactly planned positions. But inside an English garden one should not notice that.

In the second half of the 18th century also the “nature” of old-fashioned commons was invented. This opinion of “nature” was a result of a retrospective view in which the idea of “Arcadia” was important: Originally, Arcadia is a part of the Greek peninsula Peloponnesus and was transformed by Virgil to similar landscapes in southern Italy. Poor Central European herdsmen with their animals, mainly sheep and goats, awoke the impression of “Arcadia” in Central European heath-lands as well, which were also compared with the Paradise – and also “nature”. “Nature” seemed to appear therefore both in overexploited landscapes and also in artificially formed landscape gardens.

Land reforms were continued according to the same principles during late 18th and the entire 19th centuries; roads, pathways, alleys, fields, grassland and forests were designed in the same way as before, so that the countryside appeared to be formed according to “cultural” principles, whereas the last remnants of commons and the recently designed

English gardens seemed to represent “nature”. The difference between culturally designed farming land and “nature” of both commons and parks was even seen more clearly in the course of time when the land reforms were strongly supported by developments of modern industry and transport. Industrialisation and land reforms became strongly interconnected in the course of time. The development of steam engines allowed intensive coal and potassium mining. By coal mining it became possible to receive another fuel; coal burning became an alternative to the use of fire-wood. Therefore, it was no more necessary to utilize high amounts of wood for firing. Potassium served as very important manure for fields. Yields could be enlarged enormously on fertile fields after manuring, so that less fertile fields could be transformed to plant additional woodlands. By steam railway and horse carts it became possible to transport coal and manure to each place wherever these goods were demanded. And it became easily possible to transport high amounts of crops and recently introduced potatoes from the countryside to the rapidly growing cities with their industrial reserves. Remnants of old commons, on the other hand, were regarded as nature reserves: In the first half of the 20th century, mainly heath-land and other extensively grazed areas as well as species-rich grazed woodlands and coppices were included to nature protection in many European countries. They were regarded as “nature” or “natural” – as well as English landscape gardens.

What is “Nature”?

It was quickly understood that the “nature” of nature reserves demanded management: Coppices should be cut; grass of grasslands should be removed. This management became necessary to avoid that the “aesthetic nature” was destroyed by really natural processes of succession. But this was not thought in that way as management was often regarded as necessary to keep a certain “state of nature”. Such a state exists in a perfectly managed English garden, but not in formerly extensively utilized agrarian landscape. On the other hand it was avoided to compare nature reserves and English gardens, as the latter were regarded as “culture” by nature conservancy managers: There e.g. exotic trees were planted which was not allowed in a nature reserve.

In connection with these ideas a central problem arose: In public discussions it is by no means clear what nature is. Does it equal the changing principle of life, which is the central object of a natural scientist, or is it aesthetically defined? In nature conservancy it is sometimes said that there is no difference between both “natures”. But this is only possible in a fictional landscape such as Arcadia or the paradise. Therefore, it is often not clearly decided whether a wilderness concept (with natural change) is desired in a nature reserve or a special state, which should be preserved. To reject the difference between both kinds

of “nature” can be the basis of undemocratic or even totalitarian opinions. People not seeing the difference between both kinds of “nature” may argue, that the protection of the state of a “nature” is only possible by the way which is applied by themselves. In Germany, it is obvious that laws concerning nature protection were developed most successfully by the Nazis and the communists in the German Democratic Republic after Second World War. The Nazi law was not principally transformed after the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany for a long time. Also in more recent versions of the nature protection laws it is not clearly defined what nature is or what is meant when the term “nature” is used. In the meantime one has the impression that it is clearer what nature protection and a nature protection area are than that what is meant, when the term “nature” is used.

There will be the important task of ecology to define in a clearer way, what “nature” really is¹¹. It must be clearly described how environments are treated in (landscape) gardens, nature reserves and in all other parts of land. It might be nice to “play” with the term “nature” in landscape gardening, but this is not a perspective for overall land use including “nature” protection. It must become clear that a decision is necessary whether land should be managed or not. If land is managed, it is not wilderness or “nature” in the sense of natural sciences, as management of nature or wilderness is a contradiction *in se*. In modern communities it should be democratically decided whether land should be managed or not. Parks and gardens must be managed; this is clear from a cultural point of view. But management is also necessary in the most nature reserves, and the principles of land management are similar in parks and nature reserves. It is always a problem that management demands high amounts of manpower and money, whereas a pure wilderness concept is a cheap alternative to that. A wilderness concept is the only way of nature protection which is in accordance to natural sciences. But from a cultural point of view it is highly desired to conserve patches of landscape because of their aesthetic value. As then it is always important to decide which appearance of landscape (and not “nature”!) should be protected it is necessary to apply the *European Landscape Convention* and not a natural conservancy law, when a patch of landscape should be protected. Nature develops with and without men, and it is impossible to decide, in which way it should develop. But the aims how landscapes should look like can and must be decided. Therefore it is certainly necessary that all European countries sign and apply the *European Landscape Convention* rather than principles of natural conservancy which as an aim is not clearly defined; landscape can be defined and designed, whereas nature only can be seen and described.

¹¹ H. Küster, *Das ist Ökologie. Die biologischen Grundlagen unserer Existenz*. München 2005.

1.3

DANS LES «ESPACES OUVERTS» URBAINS, DES VESTIGES DU BOCAGE PAYSAN. RÉSILIENCE OU TROMPE-L'ŒIL?¹

Monique Toublanc, avec la collaboration de Pauline Frileux

Introduction

Les villes se constituent, à travers le temps, par stratification d'usages et de symboles; elles se construisent par sédimentation et surimposition à la manière d'un palimpseste (Mongin, 2005; Chris, 2001). Ainsi, elles conservent souvent, notamment sur leurs franges, puis en leur sein, des traces du territoire rural sur lequel elles se sont développées. Ce texte propose une réflexion sur la rencontre entre un processus d'urbanisation et un espace rural préexistant, produit d'une histoire et d'une géographie. En d'autres termes, il s'agit de mettre à l'épreuve de la réalité l'hypothèse selon laquelle: «*Une société hérite d'un paysage [ici bocager] qui ne correspond jamais exactement à ses besoins: elle l'adapte et le fait évoluer tant qu'elle lui trouve des usages*» (Antoine, 2002, p.54). Pour traiter cette question, les régions bocagères – où les parcelles agricoles sont encloses dans un réseau de fossés, de talus et de haies vives, elles-mêmes déclinées en strates arborées, arbustives, herbacées – sont apparues comme de bons laboratoires: en effet, lorsque ce système paysager complexe laisse la place au bâti, il n'est pas rare que les arbres, partie la plus visible du maillage, deviennent un marqueur des espaces ouverts urbains, d'abord situés à la périphérie de la ville, puis au fil du temps, absorbés par celle-ci.

Quel avenir pour les vestiges encore visibles d'un système agraire révolu dans les territoires périurbains et urbains? Que deviennent-ils au contact du bâti? Quels sont leurs statuts et leurs fonctions économiques, sociales, culturelles? Quels en sont les usages et selon quelles finalités? Quelle lecture sociale? Ne sont-ils pas voués à n'être qu'un trompe-l'œil? Et puis, ces vestiges sont-ils encore là parce qu'ils ont été conservés de façon délibérée, ou bien sont-ils demeurés là, de fait, «*parce que le paysage dure plus longtemps que les raisons qui ont présidé à sa mise en place?*» (ibidem, p. 54). Et finale-

¹ Dans le cadre du programme « Paysage & Développement durable » (2005-2009) financé par le Ministère l'Écologie, une recherche sur les trames vertes, pilotée par l'École Nationale Supérieure du Paysage (M. Toublanc) et l'Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique (J. Baudry), a donné lieu à un article: Toublanc M., Frileux P., Lizet B., 2012, «Réinterprétation d'un héritage. L'arbre d'émonde dans les périphéries d'Angers et de Rennes», Luginbühl Y., Terrasson D. (dir.), *Paysage et développement durable*, Montpellier, Éditions Quae, p. 25-36. Ce texte est ici réinterrogé à partir de la question développée dans le présent ouvrage: la place des espaces ouverts dans la transformation des paysages urbains.

ment, lorsqu'il y a intentionnalité et projet, l'appropriation sociale est-elle différente, et notamment plus forte que lorsqu'ils perdurent par défaut?

C'est à partir de deux études de cas, les aires urbaines de Rennes et d'Angers, deux agglomérations françaises situées dans deux régions bocagères de l'ouest de la France, en Bretagne et dans les Pays-de-la-Loire, que nous tenterons de décrypter la rencontre entre le bocage, ses arbres et le front urbain. Dans un 1^{er} temps, nous verrons comment, depuis les années 1960, l'ancienne structure paysanne se combine avec l'espace bâti et participe de nos jours aux espaces ouverts urbains. Comment, sous l'effet de la progression de la ville, la physionomie des arbres du bocage s'est transformée jusqu'à devenir parfois méconnaissable; comment leurs fonctions déclarées ont changé avec les transformations de la société? Dans un 2^e temps, nous nous intéresserons aux processus qui ont conduit à les maintenir. Enfin, dans un 3^e temps, nous nous interrogerons sur ce que la société transmet aux générations futures en gardant ces arbres.

L'arbre des champs à l'épreuve de l'urbanisation de la société: diversification des formes, des acteurs et des fonctions

L'arbre d'émonde², un arbre historiquement agricole...

En Anjou et dans le bassin Rennais, jusque dans les années 1950, les arbres du bocage (chêne, frêne, saule, charme) sont intimement liés à l'activité agricole; ils sont le produit d'un rapport économique et social entre des propriétaires et des exploitants fermiers, autrement dit locataires de leurs terres. Leur conduite, leur utilisation, leur renouvellement suivent des règles précises et collectives, relevant du droit coutumier et codifiées par écrit au XIX^e siècle dans les «Usages Locaux»³. Sans approfondir plus avant cette question, il convient de rappeler que le tronc était destiné au propriétaire comme bois d'oeuvre, les branches au fermier qui les utilisaient à la fois pour le chauffage et l'alimentation des animaux (la feuillée). Le fermier était tenu à un émondage régulier des arbres selon une périodicité (en moyenne de 7 à 9 ans) propre à chaque région et à chaque espèce d'arbre; et selon une technique appropriée, transmise de père en fils, et unanimement reconnue sur un territoire donné, donc commune à tous les agriculteurs. Modélés par des pratiques identiques, ayant valeur de normes, les arbres offraient à la vue un même port très particulier. En Anjou, ils étaient conduits en têtards, arbres à

² L'expression désigne l'arbre du bocage.

³ Recueils écrits à l'échelle du canton et dans lesquels étaient notifiées les prescriptions collectives ayant force de loi et réglant les droits et les devoirs des propriétaires et des fermiers.



Fig. 1 et 2 - Sainte Gemmes - sur - Loire, périphérie sud d'Angers, 2006 © M. Toublanc / Mûrs-Érigné, périphérie sud d'Angers, autour de 1900 © Archives départementales de Maine-et-Loire.



Fig. 3 - Pacé, périphérie nord-ouest de Rennes, 2006 © M. Toublanc.

grosses têtes au tronc étêté, (Fig. 1 et 2) dans la région de Rennes, les paysans coupent les branches latérales sur toute la longueur du tronc, y compris dans sa partie sommitale, formant ainsi des émondes encore appelées «ragosses» (Fig. 3).

À l'origine situés hors des villes, il n'est pas rare de nos jours que les arbres du bocage soient rejoints par le front de l'urbanisation, voire englobés dans le tissu urbain. Et c'est sans doute l'avatar le plus radical de toute leur histoire. En effet, si les fonctions du bocage ont changé depuis sa mise en place (Antoine, 2002), elles étaient restées au fil des siècles indissolublement et intrinsèquement liées à l'agriculture. Aujourd'hui, ce n'est plus le cas, y compris lorsqu'il structure encore des espaces ruraux (i.e. dont la vocation des sols est principalement agricole); *à fortiori*, donc lorsqu'il est directement au contact de l'urbain.

... rattrapé par la ville

En France, l'insertion des arbres du bocage dans l'urbain est à mettre sur le compte d'un développement des villes, d'une ampleur inédite à partir du début du XXe, s'accéléralant dans les années 1960, et redoublant d'intensité à partir des années 1970⁴. Les villes de Rennes et d'Angers n'ont pas échappé à cette dynamique qui a bien souvent englouti le tissu rural et les structures linéaires végétales préexistantes, et laissé place à une organisation urbaine totalement nouvelle. Toutefois, et peut-être plus souvent qu'on ne l'imagine, certains secteurs urbanisés portent encore la marque du bocage; en particulier, les arbres sont là, tels des témoins du passé. Leur insertion dans le tissu urbain, leurs relations avec leur nouvel environnement, ne peuvent se comprendre sans rappeler rapidement les caractéristiques spatiales de l'extension des villes en France, mais aussi en Europe.

Le modèle de la ville classique dense et agglomérée, avec un centre et une périphérie, a laissé place à une «ville globale» ou «ville diffuse» fondée sur des flux matériels et immatériels (Choay, 1994; Mongin, 2005). Historiquement bornée et contenue dans un périmètre – l'archétype étant la ville enfermée dans ses remparts –, celle-ci aujourd'hui n'a plus de limites nettes et matérielles, elle s'étend hors les murs, comme en atteste l'expression commune «aire urbaine». Son développement, qualifié d'«étalement urbain», se fait de façon linéaire le long des routes, ou par nappes pavillonnaires, à partir de noyaux denses et agglomérés. L'extension urbaine étant multipolaire, les situations d'interface, d'interpénétration, entre «ville» et «campagne» sont nombreuses, et la limite entre les deux floue; des espaces charnières qui ne sont à proprement parler ni urbains, ni ruraux, une réalité complexe qui se dérobe aux catégories habituellement utilisées par les géographes et les urbanistes. D'où cette sémantique nouvelle – péri-urbain, suburbain, frange ... – insistant sur l'imbrication des territoires. Diffuse, la ville est une alternance d'espaces bâtis et d'espaces non bâtis, «naturels», agricoles, forestiers, souvent support d'activités économiques. Les «creux» situés sur les franges périurbaines ou au cœur de la ville agglomérée et dense (par ex. les parcs), sont dénommés «open spaces»⁵ par les professionnels de l'aménagement urbain et de la planification territoriale; valorisés⁶

⁴ Depuis le début du XXI^e s., l'urbanisation a continué sur sa lancée: selon l'INSEE, en 2010, 77,5 % de la population française vit en zone urbaine.

⁵ L'expression n'est pas équivalente à l'openfield des géographes (paysage agraire à champs ouverts sans clôture et sans haie).

⁶ Dans la littérature, l'expression est connotée positivement; elle est chargée d'une idée de liberté: *La mer nous manque, la mer, qui est en somme le grand espace ouvert, le grand champ libre sur lequel nous nous sommes accoutumés à courir* (LOTI, *Mon frère Yves*, 1883, p. 190).

comme espaces de respiration, selon une dialectique – vide/plein –, ils sont associés à l'idée «*d'ouverture paysagère ... donnant le sentiment d'une échappée possible ... même si la perspective est contrainte par un écran végétal [ex. forêts, bocages] ... L'espace ouvert offre un large champ des possibles en termes de pratiques, de représentations, de projets. L'ouverture est enfin, celle de l'accessibilité au publi*» (Banzo, 2009, p. 9). Il est aussi perçu comme une coupure d'urbanisation de nature à empêcher un continuum urbain et à encadrer l'extension de la ville (îlots non construits et ayant vocation à le rester).

Sur les deux terrains, angevin et rennais, c'est bien dans les espaces dits «ouverts» des deux métropoles que l'ancien système agraire bocager se laisse encore deviner. D'abord sur le «front urbain», aux extrêmes confins de l'aire urbaine, lorsque celle-ci a cessé son extension, là où les constructions s'arrêtent et font face à des champs de culture, à des prairies, pâturées ou fauchées, enclos dans un maillage bocager plus ou moins distendu. Ensuite, à l'intérieur des franges urbaines elles-mêmes, dans des enclaves non bâties, d'étendue variable, délaissées par l'agriculture ou encore exploitées, en sursis sans doute, car enserrés de toutes parts par des constructions. Enfin, l'absorption du bocage par la ville, c'est aussi des lambeaux de bocage, réduits bien souvent à quelques arbres alignés, voire isolés, à des bouts de talus qui sont aujourd'hui mis en scène dans les parcs urbains et dans des jardins privés; ou qui s'entremêlent avec le bâti animant les interstices urbains dans lesquels ils semblent s'être insinués: le long du réseau viaire (piétons, automobiles, ...), en bordure des lotissements, au pieds d'immeubles, ou entre les maisons individuelles. Sans doute maintenus au départ en bordure de l'espace urbanisé, ils se sont retrouvés, à la faveur de la progression de la ville, totalement incorporés dans celle-ci.

La trajectoire des vestiges bocagers, de la campagne vers la ville, s'accompagne d'une diversification de leur statut foncier et, corrélativement, des acteurs en charge de leur entretien. Les arbres en particulier sont travaillés par des rapports sociaux multiples et ils sont entre les mains de nombreux acteurs, privés ou publics, dont les motivations, les finalités et les logiques d'action sont diverses et parfois divergentes, voire contradictoires: techniciens de la commune pour les espaces publics, habitants pour les espaces privés, entreprises de jardinage pour les espaces collectifs en copropriété (zones d'habitations, d'activités, de commerces ...).

Les différentes catégories d'acteurs façonnant la matérialité des arbres, ont des cultures techniques et des savoir-faire professionnels ou profanes différents, des motivations et des contraintes diverses; ils ne se réfèrent pas à des règles communes et ils ont une connaissance très variable de l'arbre et du vivant. Dans tous les cas, les manières de faire ne sont plus les mêmes qu'autrefois; les techniques et outils utilisés aujourd'hui ont changé. Pluralité des usages, foisonnement des pratiques et des statuts, change-

ment des modes de taille: autant de facteurs⁷ qui ont des répercussions importantes sur la physiologie et l'architecture des arbres.

Quelles sont les nouvelles silhouettes qui émergent? Sans épuiser la question, il s'agit simplement d'insister sur leur hétérogénéité et leur variabilité. Ici, dans des parcs urbains de la périphérie rennaise, on observe encore des formes agricoles traditionnelles, taillées avec ou sans «tire-sève» – encore appelé «tire jus» –, une pratique héritée de la culture paysanne; ces figures insolites alternent avec des arbres dont l'ensemble du houppier sommital a été gardé, des arbres de haut-jet au port libre, vraisemblablement des «coupelles» conduites dès le départ par les agriculteurs de manière à laisser se développer les branches seulement au sommet de l'arbre. Ailleurs, en limite des jardins privés, les systèmes sont souvent hybrides: les arbres d'émondes vont côtoyer une haie arbustive exotique et horticole, la plupart du temps persistante. Des formes nouvelles et personnalisées s'imposent au regard: ici, dans un jardin privé, les arbres têtards sont taillés pour se protéger du regard des passants (Fig. 4); ou encore, sur un espace collectif dans le lotissement du Rheu, le plan de coupe est légèrement repoussé par rapport à l'axe du tronc, laissant apparaître des diverticules sur lesquels poussent les nouvelles branches, déséquilibrant le profil initial de l'arbre. Enfin, dans des coulées vertes suffisamment amples de l'aire urbaine rennaise, seules les branches les plus basses et le bois mort sont coupés. On peut parler d'une taille plus «naturelle» des arbres ... les arbres sont pour ainsi dire libérés d'une conduite très encadrée.

L'absorption des arbres d'émonde par la ville se traduit incontestablement par une multiplicité et une palette de formes bien visibles dans les espaces ouverts (*open spaces*), urbains comme périurbains. L'allure si singulière et si typée des anciennes figures arborées paysannes en devenant urbaines s'est renouvelée, davantage peut-être que dans les couronnes rurales. Il faut dire que l'arbre du bocage paysan, sujet vivant, dont la société contemporaine a hérité, ne correspond plus aux besoins actuels. Soit il a disparu, soit il est modifié pour répondre à de nouvelles utilisations ou non-utilisations.

Pour autant, un œil averti va sans difficulté identifier, dans ces structures arborées, les restes, certes altérés, mais encore bien identifiables, du tissu bocager recouvert par la ville. Il y reconnaîtra les deux types de figures arborées – têtard et ragoisse – spécifiques des systèmes bocagers angevin et breton (*cf. supra*). Dans le même temps, un regard expert aiguisé ne pourra que s'interroger sur les raisons de la persistance de ces éléments paysagers, apparaissant parfois tels des intrus en milieu urbain. Comment

⁷ Cette question complexe mais essentielle mériterait d'être développée pour comprendre la transmission de cet héritage.



Fig. 4 - Bouchemaine, périphérie ouest d'Angers, 2007 © M. Toublanc.

expliquer que ces arbres se soient maintenus d'abord dans les marges des villes, puis avec le temps au sein même des villes? Quels sont les processus à l'œuvre? Est-ce le fruit d'une intention et d'une gouvernance combinées ou celui d'une conjonction de hasards corrélée à une forme de résilience de l'arbre? Les configurations territoriales repérées dans le bassin rennais et dans l'aire urbaine d'Angers laissent à penser que les deux cas de figure existent.

Les arbres du bocage en ville à la croisée de processus politiques, sociaux et culturels

Dans certains secteurs, l'intentionnalité ne va pas de soi: le projet ne saute pas aux yeux de l'observateur qui a plutôt le sentiment que les arbres ont été laissés là, presque par inadvertance, sans le faire exprès, parce qu'ils ne gênaient pas pour réaliser les aménagements projetés. Ils n'ont pas été éliminés, mais ils n'ont pas été conservés au sens fort



Fig. 5 - Cité-jardin du Rheu, périphérie ouest de Rennes, 2006 © P. Frileux.

du terme, selon une volonté ou un choix affirmés, ils sont demeurés là, tels des inclusions, des vestiges insérés accidentellement ou «naturellement», dans un ensemble auquel ils n'appartenaient pas. Dans d'autres secteurs, il est manifeste que les anciens arbres agricoles ont retenu l'attention des acteurs du territoire, professionnels de l'aménagement (ex. paysagistes, urbanistes), élus ou habitants et que leur présence est le résultat d'une volonté délibérée de les conserver, le produit d'un projet et d'un dessein (et d'un dessin).

Pour les différentes situations observées *in situ*, y compris les plus insignifiantes, il serait intéressant de faire une analyse diachronique à partir d'un jeu de photographies aériennes pour saisir l'état du système bocager avant l'urbanisation. On exhumerait ensuite les plans d'aménagement et les documents d'urbanisme, afin d'essayer de comprendre la démarche qui a conduit à conserver des éléments du système préexistant. Autrement dit, comment ces arbres ont-ils été considérés lors de la conception des projets? Quel était leur statut? Ont-ils été conservés et regardés dès le départ comme éléments de composition et de conception de l'espace ou bien ont-ils été maintenus,



Fig. 6 - Quartier Les Perrins, Angers, 2006 © M. Toublanc.

sans intention forte, parce qu'ils étaient situés dans des espaces interstitiels, en limite des projets (élargissement d'une route, lotissements, ...), dans des espaces interstitiels et qu'ils ne faisaient pas obstacle à leur mise en oeuvre. Les relations entre les restes du bocage et l'espace construit environnant ont-elles été pensées et de quelle façon? Amorcé sur l'aire rennaise (Frileux, 2013), ce travail «archéologique» reste à faire. Une investigation détaillée sur un échantillon significatif de lieux urbains portant le témoignage de l'ancienne structure paysanne permettrait de retracer l'itinéraire spatial et temporel de ces arbres.

En l'absence de tels travaux, les analyses conduites sur les deux terrains montrent d'ores et déjà que c'est sous l'effet combiné et convergent d'une part de l'action publique, d'autre part d'une évolution des pratiques professionnelles des planificateurs, des urbanistes et des paysagistes, enfin de processus culturels, que les éléments arborés du bocage constituent aujourd'hui des marqueurs des espaces ouverts dans les deux aires urbaines, angevine et rennaise. On peut également affirmer que c'est selon des finalités différentes de celles qui ont présidé d'abord à sa mise en place, puis à ses utilisations ultérieures – lesquelles n'ont cessé de changer au fil du temps (A. Antoine, op.cit.)



Fig. 7 - Zone d'aménagement concerté de Beauregard, Rennes, 2008 © P. Frileux.

Quand l'action publique s'empare des reliques bocagères: de l'arbre au système, du paysage à l'écologie

Après la seconde guerre mondiale, en France, les projets d'aménagement du territoire étaient résolument tournés vers l'avenir, ne regardant ni le passé, ni le territoire. C'est en réaction à une telle pensée qui, aux yeux de certains, faisait table rase du passé (*tabula rasa*) que le maintien des anciens arbres agricoles dans la ville a alors été orchestré par des politiques publiques de planification et d'aménagement urbains.

À Rennes, la volonté politique de construire la ville en continuité avec le passé s'exprime très tôt. Elle a pour origine une rencontre et une complicité entre un élu et un urbaniste architecte précurseur, Gaston Bardet qui, dès 1956, dessine la cité-jardin du Rheu en s'appuyant sur la trame du bocage existant. Les alignements d'anciennes émondes agricoles, des chênes conduits en ragosses, sont préservés, comme éléments garantissant la qualité du «cadre de vie» urbain. Encore aujourd'hui visibles, ces arbres d'origine agricole, ont acquis un nouveau statut, ils sont devenus des motifs paysagers; en revanche, les talus sont arasés, les ronces et arbustes spontanés supprimés. Les anciens chemins creux sont remblayés, et le sol nettoyé, enherbé et parfois même goudronné; le système (talus, fossé,

différentes strates végétales) et le réseau de haies démantelés. Dans les années 1980, la démarche est généralisée à l'ensemble du territoire urbain dans le cadre de la politique paysagère de l'agglomération rennaise (Frileux, *idem*). On la repère aussi à l'échelle de l'agglomération angevine mais plus tardivement et de façon *à priori* moins explicite. L'approche est alors strictement urbanistique et paysagère, et centrée sur l'arbre (Fig. 6).

À l'orée de la décennie 1990, les valeurs paysagères et urbanistiques brandies jusqu'alors par les professionnels de la planification ou de l'aménagement s'entrelacent avec des arguments écologiques, en écho aux préoccupations sociétales du moment. Le discours est mâtiné, enrichi d'une rhétorique environnementale et, corrélativement, les autres composantes du système bocager (talus, fossé, strates arbustives et herbacées) commencent à retenir l'attention des acteurs politiques et de leurs conseillers (Fig. 7). Ce changement d'échelle annonce les prémices d'une nouvelle ère dominée par les questions environnementales.

À la fin des années 1990 et tout au long de la décennie 2000, les préoccupations écologiques montent et de nouvelles valeurs environnementales s'imposent. La problématique se renouvelle et la conservation du bocage face à l'urbanisation croissante répond dorénavant à une approche résolument écologique prenant le pas sur l'approche paysagère: le regard glisse de l'arbre vers le système – fossé, talus, haie talus – auquel il appartient. Le maillage bocager est érigé en réseau de corridors écologiques sous l'influence notamment des nombreux travaux de l'écologie du paysage qui a fourbi ses concepts, ses méthodes et ses outils en étudiant le bocage de l'ouest de la France. Celui-ci est d'ailleurs précisément la figure matrice de cette approche scientifique, en particulier en France ; la naissance de l'écologie du paysage est indissociablement liée au bocage. Parallèlement à cette évolution scientifique et conformément à la montée en puissance des questions environnementales, la notion de continuité écologique acquiert une signification juridique (Loi Voynet 1999, loi SRU 2000, Loi dite «Grenelle 1» 2009) qui se traduit par son inscription dans les documents d'urbanisme (Toublanc, Bonin, 2012). Le bocage résiduel, situé à la périphérie de la ville ou en son sein, est alors perçu comme offrant des prises possibles à des projets de trame verte à l'échelle de l'aire urbaine (Schémas de Cohérence du Territoire du Pays de Rennes, 2007 et du Pays Loire Angers, 2011⁸), et à l'échelle communale. Les arbres du bocage qui subsistent aux seuils des villes font le lien avec la campagne environnante et à ce titre, ils sont perçus comme des rotules potentielles entre l'intérieur (urbain) et l'extérieur (rural): porte d'entrée de la biodiversité en ville, accroche pour une continuité verte reliant espaces bâtis et espaces non bâtis

⁸ Cf.: www.scot-regionangevine.fr et www.paysderennes.fr

(agricoles, forestiers, friches, ...) dans des projets de trames vertes, y compris urbaines.

Si un intérêt croissant pour le système est incontestable, l'attention portée à l'arbre lui-même ne faiblit pas. Dans les villes, il est de plus en plus considéré comme produisant de la nature urbaine. À Paris, ce n'est plus seulement la canopée des arbres qui attire l'attention pour sa valeur paysagère et climatique mais leurs pieds qui sont regardés pour leur valeur écologique potentielle ; sur ces micro-parcelles de terre noyées dans une mer de bitume, des expériences de gestion sont menées visant à les intégrer sur le mode du pas japonais dans des continuités écologiques. On peut y voir une tentative pour réintroduire l'arbre dans un système (Maurel et al., 2013). Une telle réflexion ne semble pas avoir eu lieu sur les arbres du bocage insérés dans les villes d'Angers et de Rennes. En revanche, en Anjou, l'arbre têtard est désigné par le milieu associatif comme un habitat écologique remarquable, comme un «écosystème à lui seul» (cf. sites internet LPO Anjou et Sarthe). Et à ce titre, son maintien est encouragé financièrement par les pouvoirs publics dans une zone de prairies alluviales inondables, les Basses vallées angevines, situées aux portes de la ville d'Angers, et classée Natura 2000. Depuis 2004, les propriétaires ou exploitants reçoivent des aides financières pour la régénération et l'entretien des arbres têtards qui parsèment le territoire; un soutien obtenu sous l'impulsion très active d'une association naturaliste, la LPO⁹.

Reffet d'une politique explicite, mêlant logique écologique et raisonnement paysager, les rescapés urbains du bocage paysan sont aussi à mettre à l'actif des urbanistes et des paysagistes qui, à l'instar de certains commanditaires, portent attention à l'existant dans les projets d'extension urbaine qu'ils accompagnent.

Quand les urbanistes et les paysagistes cherchent à arrimer leurs projets sur l'existant

Dés le début des années 1970, les professionnels du paysage ont commencé à développer l'idée de «prendre en compte le paysage existant»; au fil du temps, cette nouvelle conception s'est affirmée. Aujourd'hui, cette vision n'a pas perdu de sa vigueur, elle s'exprime à travers des formulations comme «renouer avec le territoire» (Toublanc, 2013, 101), autrement dit dessiner l'avenir en l'enracinant dans l'histoire et la géographie des lieux.

Cette posture sera un fil rouge dans les parcours professionnels de plusieurs paysagistes de renom. M. Corajoud, par exemple, en 1995, pour l'aménagement du centre ville de Montreuil, commune de la banlieue parisienne, défend l'idée de conserver les murs à pêche encore en place. Quelques années plus tard, en 2003, à l'occasion de la remise du

⁹ Cette association avait déjà joué un rôle déterminant en 1993 dans le lancement, la mise en œuvre et l'animation d'une politique publique de gestion agri-environnementale qui perdure encore de nos jours.

Grand Prix de l'urbanisme, il reviendra sur son projet: «*En sauvant les quelques hectares de pans de murs restant, la ville de Montreuil peut se constituer [...] une mémoire à partir de laquelle, elle pourra, à nouveau, transposer et singulariser sa forme urbaine*»... [Ces traces] «*sont presque toujours le fruit d'une longue interdépendance, d'une patiente négociation entre l'homme et son milieu [...] Elles forment un substrat capable [...] d'initier une autre fondation [...] les murs [...] se sont avérés judicieux plus tard, pour agencer les jardins et les maisons des Montreuillois*» (Corajoud, 2010, p. 111 et 120). Cette attention au socle géographique, à son organisation spatiale héritée de l'histoire du lieu, le plus souvent agricole, est fondatrice de la culture professionnelle des paysagistes¹⁰. Elle s'est amplifiée à partir des années 2000 avec la généralisation de l'idée de développement durable présentée par les paysagistes comme consubstantielle de leur pratique (C. de Courcy, J.-S. Bordreuil, 2013).

Au-delà du paysagisme, «contextualiser les projets» est devenu un mot d'ordre, une injonction, une doxa, dans le champ de l'aménagement du territoire, au nom d'un double principe de continuité et de renouvellement, de permanence et de rupture. Des urbanistes, architectes et autres professionnels de l'aménagement urbain, partagent l'idée que les marques de l'histoire, qu'elles soient rurales ou urbaines, ont vocation à contribuer et à orienter la construction de la ville, et à ce titre doivent être conservées, telle une «génétique urbaine» (B. Huet, 1998).

Mais en fait quel est le sens d'une prise en compte de l'existant, autrement dit, de ce qui se trouve en un lieu et un temps donnés ? Au-delà d'une rhétorique bien «huilée», dans les faits, que signifie ancrer un projet sur le territoire et ses structures passées ? L'intérêt des professionnels du paysage, en particulier les concepteurs, pour l'existant porte plus sur les formes visibles à la surface du territoire – les lignes, les points, les surfaces ... – (i.e., les apparences) que sur la réalité concrète des éléments (i.e., leur essence). Pour eux, arrimer leur projet à l'existant consiste bien souvent à repérer dans l'organisation spatiale, par exemple dans le parcellaire, même si celui-ci n'apparaît qu'en filigrane, des prises formelles pour imaginer le paysage à venir. Une telle posture soulève une question de fond: celle du sens et de la légitimité d'un projet qui s'appuierait sur des formes se rapportant à des éléments, certes hérités du passé et encore présents, mais n'étant plus utilisés et n'ayant plus de raison d'être.

Chargés de produire du paysage en ville, les arbres du bocage sont aussi invoqués pour produire de la biodiversité. Mais qu'en est-il de l'articulation entre les deux ? La mise en forme paysagiste de la nature et du vivant peut-elle s'abstraire, se dispenser d'un

¹⁰ Cf.: www.ecole-paysage.fr

questionnement écologique? Et *vice-versa*, l'interrogation écologique peut-elle se passer d'une réflexion sur les formes?

L'intérêt des acteurs publics et des professionnels de l'aménagement du territoire pour les arbres du bocage croise celui des mondes associatif et artistique.

Quand des artistes et des acteurs associatifs portent un regard esthétique et patrimonial sur ces sujets arborés

Autrefois représentés par les peintres pour leur valeur pittoresque, les arbres d'émonde sont aujourd'hui remarqués et regardés pour leur valeur esthétique et patrimoniale par des artistes qui développent une production artistique à l'interface du champ de l'art et de l'action associative. Leur pratique est en quelque sorte un manifeste: menacés de disparition, ils les érigent en bien commun à conserver (Dominique Mansion, Jardin des trognes, festival international de Chaumont-sur-Loire, 1999; François Boissier, L'arbre en fée, Saint Léger-des-Bois, 2000), rejoignant en cela la position d'associations d'éducation à l'environnement pour lesquelles le têtard et la ragosse sont devenus des figures emblématiques et identitaires. Ainsi les associations «Les têtards du Chemin du roi» (périphérie d'Angers) et «Saint-Gilles Nature Environnement» (Rennes-Métropole), ont choisi comme logo et comme thème de leur mobilisation l'arbre du bocage; celui-ci étant le point de départ d'actions pédagogiques de sensibilisation et d'éducation du grand public à la nature (cf. sites internet)¹¹.

Pour autant, malgré un intérêt politique et associatif pour ces arbres, on peut se poser la question de la durabilité – au sens du développement durable – et de la multifonctionnalité (valeurs paysagère et écologique notamment) des reliques bocagères restées dans les espaces ouverts urbains.

La durabilité des têtards et des ragosses urbaines en question

Qu'en est-il des fonctions présumées, paysagères et écologiques des arbres d'émonde étudiés?

Les objectifs de qualité paysagère qui leur sont assignés ne vont clairement pas de soi. En effet, excepté pour les associations et les artistes qui les érigent en patrimoine collectif, ils ne font pas forcément sens pour les habitants des aires urbaines et même pour ceux des campagnes, qui peuvent aller jusqu'à les rejeter. Ils sont choqués par de telles

¹¹ Le logo de l'association «Saint-Gilles Nature Environnement» sera ensuite modifié, mais il est encore visible sur son site internet (<http://www.sgne.fr>) à la rubrique «Des ragosses en ville?»

silhouettes arborées, privées temporairement de branches et de feuilles, aux troncs tortueux et dénudés. Leur taille radicale est critiquée, assimilée à une amputation: «arbres mutilés», «sortes de moignons», «arbres morts, tristes, morbides», «arbres hurlant leur souffrance», «c'est vilain et cela ne fait pas naturel»... Le mouvement écologique a renforcé cette vision antropomorphique. La critique, «c'est un vrai massacre à la tronçonneuse», est d'autant plus virulente que les individus sont géographiquement ou socialement éloignés des agriculteurs; elle vise les ragosses davantage que les têtards. En effet, l'intérêt esthétique, patrimonial et symbolique est plus fort pour les seconds que pour les premières, moins fréquentes et à l'apparence très controversée, en particulier juste après la taille. Il n'est pas rare alors qu'il y ait des conflits de représentation, des tensions entre les partisans de la taille en émonde et ceux de la taille douce. Outre la question de la perception et de l'interprétation par les populations, la valeur paysagère de ces figures arborées, c'est aussi le rôle qu'elles ont dans la structuration et la composition de l'espace, et là encore, cela ne tombe pas sous le sens, notamment dans les territoires n'ayant pas fait l'objet d'un projet d'aménagement les intégrant.

Si la durabilité paysagère pose question, les finalités écologiques poursuivies à travers le maintien en milieu urbain des arbres d'émonde sont mises à mal à plusieurs égards. D'abord, il ne reste bien souvent du bocage que des arbres isolés aux fonctions environnementales atténuées. Ensuite, ils ont été bien souvent fragilisés lors du chantier (tassement du sol) et le demeurent par la manière dont ils sont ensuite taillés. Par ailleurs, l'aménagement de l'espace qui les environne (ex. sol imperméable) renforce leur vulnérabilité. Enfin, malgré quelques tentatives de gestion différenciée dans les deux aires urbaines étudiées, la conduite très horticole des espaces ouverts dans lesquels les anciens arbres agricoles s'inscrivent est souvent peu compatible avec les exigences affichées: gazon tondu régulièrement, surfaces nues, traitements phytosanitaires persistants malgré des engagements des collectivités locales dans des démarches «zéro phyto».

Conclusion

Quel avenir pour ces arbres? Trompe-l'œil et donc appelés à disparaître à plus ou moins longue échéance ou résurgence du passé s'invitant dans la ville d'aujourd'hui, tels certains monuments anciens, parfois antiques, à Rome par exemple, qui se fondent dans la structure urbaine contemporaine? À la manière de Thierry Algrin¹², on peut se

¹² 2001, «Le monument est-il soluble dans l'urbanisme?», in *Ville d'hier, ville d'aujourd'hui en Europe*, Fayard, Paris cité p. 301 et 311 dans la ville et l'urbain l'état des savoirs, dir. Pacquot, Lussault, Body-Gendrot

demander si les vestiges paysagers de l'ancienne structure paysanne sont solubles dans l'urbanisme, et selon quels processus: englobissement, insertion, ou influence sur le développement du tissu urbain?

Lorsqu'ils sont restés là, sans même peut-être avoir été remarqués, ou parce que leur destruction n'était pas jugée nécessaire, il est vraisemblable qu'il ne s'agisse que de reliques appelées à disparaître prochainement dans un processus lent de dissolution du paysage bocager à moins qu'ils ne finissent par se faire une place et se fondent dans l'espace qui les a accueillis.

Dans le cas contraire, autrement dit lorsqu'ils ont été conservés volontairement pour jouer un rôle dans la composition urbaine, on peut également s'interroger sur leur avenir. En effet, les arbres sont plus maintenus que préservés. La maîtrise d'ouvrage publique met davantage l'accent sur les potentialités du bocage résiduel que sur son appropriation concrète et symbolique par les populations. Pour les concepteurs, l'attention aux formes l'emporte sur la prise en compte de la matérialité vivante. Quant aux acteurs auxquels incombe l'entretien des arbres, ils n'ont pas la connaissance de la nature, les «savoirs et savoir-faire bocagers» (T. Arbousse Bastide, 2007) qui les avaient sculptés et dont étaient dépositaires les paysans.

Nous voici face à une ultime question: tout héritage est-il patrimoine? Rien n'est moins certain, comme le montre l'exemple ici traité. L'histoire a transmis les restes d'un territoire agraire aux caractéristiques bocagères; mais l'appropriation de ce legs paysan n'est pas évidente car elle se heurte aux transformations de la société et met en jeu une rencontre entre des cultures différentes, rurale et urbaine, passée et actuelle, à l'origine au mieux de malentendus, au pire de controverses et de conflits. Que signifie alors la prise en compte du contexte géographique et historique érigée aujourd'hui, dans le champ de l'aménagement du territoire, en nouveau paradigme vertueux? La question reste ouverte et mériterait d'être approfondie à propos d'autres territoires, bocagers ou d'un autre type.

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2

URBAN AND PERI-URBAN AGRICULTURE

2.1

WILL THE NEW COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY IMPROVE THE MANAGEMENT OF RURAL AND PERI-URBAN SETTINGS AND LANDSCAPING?

Andrea Galli, Hubert Gulinck, Ernesto Marcheggiani

The aim of this paper is to stimulate a wide discussion about three key topics, which in our vision are changing the meaning of Landscape Planning for the near future: Rurality, Common Agricultural Policies (CAP) and new the challenges human being is facing to preserve the scarcity of resources. Following this overarching idea a reasoning frame to forward with the concept is above discussed.

Rurality and Peri-urbans Settings: which Contemporary Rurality Do We Have to Face for the Time Being?

To getting acquainted with a depth understanding of the main characters of contemporary rural and peri-urban settings a clear statement on the meaning of modern rurality is a key prerequisite. The modern rurality has become a complex matter due to the deep changes occurred in the agricultural and open space settings over the last decades (Antrop, 2004; Gulinck, 2004). So is the agricultural sector which has played an overall pivotal role in the management and planning of open, rural and agricultural settings across Europe (Rizov, 2004). That has become particularly true after the adoption of CAP reforms (Mac Sharry reform, 1992; Fischler reform, 2003; Rural development, EU Reg. 1698/2005; Cross Compliance, EU Reg. 73/2009). This way new functions of primary sector have emerged (e.g. environmental services, landscape, human well-being and leisure, ...) in addition to the traditional ones, above all the provision of primary goods (Fry, 2001; van der Ploeg et al., 2002; de Groot, 2006; Willemen et al., 2008; Perella et al., 2010). In addition, the relentless pace of change in the structural and functional patterns featuring rural and agricultural lands, and consequently on the ordinary daily life of people living there, has forced the sector to improve and strengthen its relationship with the other sectors of human activities: housing and industrial settlements, commerce, tertiary and services. The progressive sprawling of "alien" structures, functionally and morphologically far from that of classical old rural tradition (van der Ploeg et al., 2008; Gulinck et al., 2010) has led to a contemporary rural landscape made up of new structural and functional mixes strongly diverging from the tradition of places. New patterns bring with them new characteristics not always fully embedded within the cultural setting of each local territorial realm (Antrop, 2004; Gulinck et al.,

2010). Getting closer to the multifaceted rural dimension we can underline how, once vanished the memory of the agrarian tradition, modern rural settings have given out proper “characters” locally forged by people living there according to the: physical, environmental and historical sets (Pedroli et al., 2007), under the pressures of European and Regional policies on territorial cohesion and agriculture, as above mentioned. Therefore a modern rural landscape cannot in any way be merely associated with the agrarian landscape.

Agrarian landscape is in fact an artifact built on human activities at farm level, firstly. Each historical period has had its own agricultural model which shaped peculiar agrarian landscapes (the territorial dimension of farms’ landscaping) containing specific sets of elements (e.g. trees, hedgerows, channel networks...).

On the other side, plethora of diverse elements other than cultivated lands feature in each contemporary rural area. Small and big cities, industrial and commercial settlements, scattered houses, country roads and highways, forests and parks, wetlands, etc.

In sum: each contemporary rural area, intended as a whole, is a complex system that includes different systems.

At this point, it seems appropriate to reflect on the main stages in the evolution of rurality models comparing with CAP evolution over the last 60 years (Fig. 1), with particular reference to those that have characterized the Marche region (central Italy).

Is There a Landscape Perspective in the New CAP?

What do we mean by landscape perspective? Likely we do not think only in terms of traditional characteristics to be preserved; we rather believe landscapes should be *adaptive* but in such a way that sustainability, resilience, beauty, biodiversity, heritage, and other qualities are maintained or improved.

We do have some doubts about the capacities of renewed policies in CAP, including rural policy, to be able to manage landscapes in a comprehensive way. As can be seen, CAP is essentially driven by economic arguments still and many curative side-policies (GAEC, rural policy) tends to remain *incremental*. But there is some hope in the new CAP progress. Then we recognise the complexity of semi-rural areas (peri-urban etc.) for which neither traditional landscape models nor spatial, rural and other policies have sufficient answers for sustainable development.

So again, *what is the “landscape perspective” in relation to CAP?* Hereafter a reference framework is presented (Fig. 2), in order to foster the reasoning as follow:

As landscape experts we are receivers of information about what happens in the world of agriculture and the rural area. CAP (2) is co-modelled by global drivers (1), and results

Key sectors	Agriculture (traditional rurality)	Industry (industrial rurality)	Services (post-industrial rurality)
Rurality definition	Amount of cultivated lands <i>versus</i> other uses	Population density (e.g. EUROSTAT, OECD)	Territorial polymorphism (economy, society, landscape: structures and functions)
Rurality measure	Workforce employed in agriculture		New integrated methodologies?
Main economic issues tackled by the polices	Increasing GDP per capita	Development of industries and tertiary sector within rural settings	Territorial (re) balancing
	Dualism city-countryside	Agricultural Industrialization	Territorial integration and cohesion (national and international level)
CAP goals	Food safety (amount)	Improving competitiveness of farms	Food safety (quality)
	Redistribution of incomes and social stability	Transfer of production factors (working power, business capacity, land, capital,...)	Common goods and services (environment, biodiversity, landscape, culture, identity)
	Boosting an EU construction process		Valorisation of territorial polymorphism and public goods Improve spatial dimension of measures

Fig. 1 - Historical models of rurality (in particular for central-Italy and Marche region) and principal trends in CAP evolution. (F. Sotte, 2006, *Sviluppo rurale e implicazioni di politica settoriale e territoriale: un approccio evolucionistico*, modified by authors).

in a set of ‘appropriate’ agricultural and rural models – not just one model - (3) which are ‘projected’ into real settings (4), which show more or less adaptive (5) to new external conditions. The reaction of landscapes and their agents (5) may be very diverse, from farming adaptation to urbanisation, to rural tourism, adaptation of GAEC, abandonment and decay etc. Which in turn leads to interpretations, eventually concerns, of landscape experts.

Now we wonder *how we can go the other direction* (red lines), and eventually convey useful information to the arena of politics and policies.

Landscape experts, not only academics but also well informed local residents, farmers etc., should be in the frontier of giving ‘hands and feet’ to the deep sustainability concerns (6), including restoring biodiversity, beauty and amenity, climate mitigation and adaptation, local and regional economies etc.

“We” create images of sustainability and resilience and want to co-design models of adaptability (5) which inevitably are faced with real landscapes and their stakeholders (4).

From these “confrontations” also useful agricultural and rural concepts should

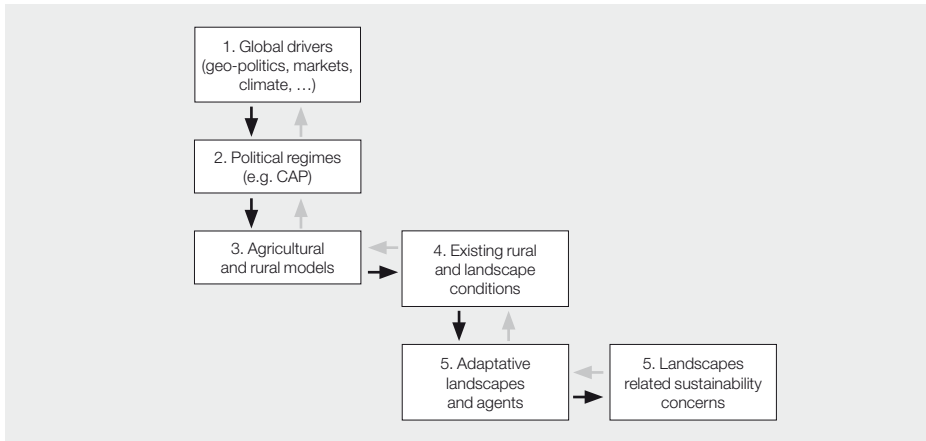


Fig. 2 - The pull idea (1-6) and the push idea (6-1) in the CAP's pathways, looking at the "landscape perspective".

emerge (3), which eventually are fed into the new CAP and related policies.

So that, bearing in mind as that CAP was not intended to be spatial policy as we point out in section 2, so there we can interpret it as a "chapter" in the blue line from node 1 to 6 in the figure. After general interpretation of the negative externalities of agriculture and its supporting policy (among others, because of its lack of "spatiality"), the reverse line has started to work (from node 6 to the beginning at node 1) already in the 80-ies and 90-ies of past century, in which the convergence of environmental concerns and continuing globalisation, technological progress, markets etc. have led to among others the introduction of agro-environmental schemes, new rural policies etc. Public opinion has assimilated many of the signals related to sustainability concern and has been instrumental in adaptation of policies.

Now there is a convergency of growing concerns related to food security, climate, health, and not in the least landscape, which needs strong support from holistically thinking experts. Of course these experts, let us think now of landscape experts, are just one group of agents, but an important one in helping to design new landscape and environmental models to be applicable in concrete regions and landscapes.

This is a new push from 6 to 3 in the first place: through which adaptive principles (5) can sustainability and resilience (6) be made operational in concrete landscapes (4)? And what does it mean in terms of appropriate agricultural and rural models (3). The latter is of particular important in complex urbanised rural areas.

At the same time they should be aware of the opportunities likely to be offered by new CAP concepts (2), such as the new focus on its spatial dimension (from 2 to 5).

So, what is the “landscape perspective”? It is a “pull” idea: drawing the best from CAP and other policies, be translators and conveyors of such policies to local and regional conditions and with support of stakeholders. And it is a “push” idea: feeding back creative ideas of landscapes the way back to of course local stakeholders and landscapes, to rural and agricultural models and ultimately to CAP itself.

Common Agricultural Policy (CAP): an Effective Tool to Better Manage the Rural Landscape?

Before dealing with this matter, it’s compulsory to underline that CAP was never intended to be a spatial policy. As a matter of fact, agricultural planning is so far rather a matter of upkeeping a production basis, much more than territorial planning. Agricultural systems are normally being maintained and developed on a pre-existing spatial base in the rural area, in which agriculture used to be the key stakeholder. Spatial planning, on the other hand, has indeed and essentially be an instrument for organising multiple urban and industrial stakeholders. In recent decades, spatial planners have realised the importance in protecting open spaces, but also for the sake of the life qualities of a society that culturally has become essentially “urban”.

Remarkably and during last decennia, both agriculture and urban development tend to find each others in matters of environment, in a certain way. The GAEC 5.2 standard (Buffer Strips) and the GAEC 4.4 standard (Landscape Features) are a good example to find a linkage between the two. But a major drawback of these instruments is that they apply incrementally, at the level of individual enterprises and of fields. In other words, the basic intention may be comprehensive and holistic, in reality it is rather a matter of punctual application of a principle, in an implicit hope that individual applications converge to a connected network of protective bufferstrips and improved agrarian landscapes.

Nevertheless, another important driver must be taken in account: the public opinion. His role in influencing political choices is increasing in modern society. Because of problems arising due to the de-industrialisation process, a new social demand in rural areas requires a solution to improve environmental conditions (pollution, erosion, loss of biodiversity, climate change, renewable energy, landscape degradation) as well as the safety of goods (food safety, traceability, product quality) and quality of life (economic, cultural and psychological aspects).

Therefore, spatial planning and agricultural policies are both pressed from society, in a certain way, to tackling these questions. Some answers seem to come out. Note the

context of spatial planning in Italy, for example, where the most part of technicians are agreeing with the necessity to reshape the old laws regulating that field at national and regional level. A considerable number of proposals on this matter are under discussion, they mainly refer to a set of new paradigms (most of these are inspired to European Landscape Convention) whose basic aim is to ameliorate the relationships between urban areas and rural areas. On the other hand, if we consider the ongoing debate about the new CAP for the 2014-2020 period, it seems that some interesting novelties are coming out. The new agricultural policy is probably going to set his goals much more concretely than before on the spatial dimension of CAP (in particular in the second pillar: Rural Development): to boost the services provided by rural areas to the community (environment, landscape, culture, food safety and quality); to foster a better integration among the different economic activities rooted in rural areas.

What Challenges for the Near Future?

According with the previous reasoning, researchers and practitioners and decision makers at regional level mainly (for their effective responsibility in translating CAP directives as real measures) could be interested to face the following challenges:

- To deeper assessing and spatially better characterising the “neo-rurality” of territories through the help of sound methodologies. Unfortunately sound methodologies able to integrate the objective and subjective perspectives are still lacking within the methodological toolset of landscape sciences (Makarow et al., 2010). Nevertheless we must overtake the population density parameter as unique criterion for the rurality defining. This is the real crucial point.
- To managing and designing rural landscapes adopting an integrated vision in place of the sectoral perspective. If we accept this principle it is clear that agricultural policies alone are not able to sustain the overall responsibility of rural planning. CAP's measures remain the first driver for shaping cultivated lands, but they might have a more wide function and a better integration with other European funds (SEF, ERSF).
- To integrating the specific agricultural and rural policies with spatial policies of all other sectors (urban, industry, commerce, tourism, culture,..). All these sectors of human activity influence the formation and evolution of landscape (the latter intended as a whole, as a system), then they have to take their responsibility. Integration is a mutualistic process, each sectoral policy can gain something if gets out from egoism and blindness.

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2.2

ECONOMY OF RURAL SPACES. TWO RESULTS OF OUR WORK WITH STUDENTS

Kerstin Gothe

In this paper I want to provide examples of student work that involves rural spaces. Basic conditions for planning in a rural context in Germany:

- Demands on landscape are changing, developed areas are ever-growing; in Baden-Württemberg alone 6,3 hectares of agricultural land are being declared as settlement areas daily. Surfaces used for energy production and compensation for impact mitigation compete with agricultural uses.
- The number of inhabitants in rural areas is decreasing and people are getting older.
- Costs for heating and especially mobility are growing and weigh heavily on rural households.
- New ways of living in rural areas and uses for agriculture have to be found.
- Also tourism in Germany has to answer to new demands.
- One proposed method is to keep settlement and landscape structures as a basic condition for the designing of regional architecture as well as using the landscape as a new source of income and energy. Ideas based on this concept are shown in two students projects: one about a valley in Lower Saxony and one in two villages in the Black Forest in the south of Germany.

First Example: Gut Walshausen in Innerste Valley. (*Diploma thesis by Sebastian Selbmann and Daniela Walz at the faculty of architecture at KIT, 2012*)

Gut Walshausen is an old estate, first mentioned in 1146, surrounded by a historically valuable park which has fallen into disrepair. In 1829 Georg Ludwig Friedrich Laves built a classicist villa and rearranged the adjoining buildings into a symmetrically styled courtyard ensemble. The park was remade into an English style landscape park. Over time, the estate was temporarily used by the church, where it was a place of scientific studies and served as a representative summer residence. It was derelict from 1940 to 1980 and then fell into disrepair. After that period, it was yet again inhabited, but due to rising costs for energy the estate is currently in a precarious situation.

New concepts for thematic and economic uses and remodelling of building substance should be developed for many of these old estates in the Innerste valley area situated on the border between wetlands and agricultural plots on the slopes.

The further use of fossil energy sources was not a valid sustainable or financial option,



Fig. 1 - Ideas for a new scenery along the river: new path, fast growing woods and biogas plants (Computer animation by Selbmann, Waltz, KIT 2012).

therefore the research project asks for a self-sustaining energy supply. It extends its focus on the local region. The project includes aspects of regional planning, agriculture and forestry, building and landscape design as well as building research and has been closely developed with the involved participants.

Initial setting of the Innerste Valley: The valley runs along the river Innerste. Heavy metal legacies pollute the riverbanks, making them unavailable for agraric uses. Agriculture has been relocated to the fertile slopes along the hills. Forests can be found on the ridges. Roads and railway tracks run inbetween the riverbank and the hills, linking villages with castles and country estates like the Gut Walshausen along the way. Tree-lined avenues structure agricultural lands. Historic as well as modern style renewable energy facilities form part of the natural scenery.

Concept for the Innerste Valley: The project's concept for Gut Walshausen not only generates new ideas linked to the refurbishment of the landscape park, but also gives for a development of the whole valley. The authors propose a bicycle path along the river, linking villages to the scattered castles and estates, increasing mobility for tourists and inhabitants. The path links old and new railway stations with e-bike-stations, cultural

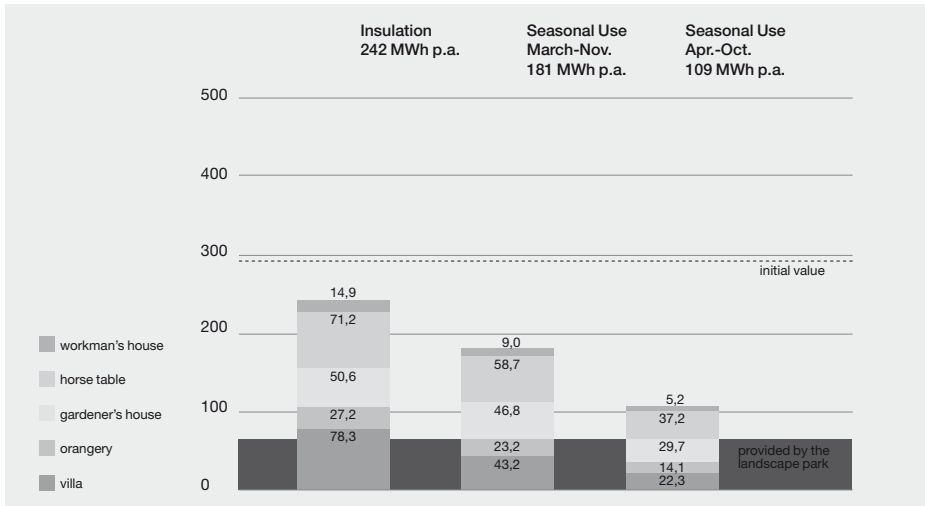


Fig. 2 - Energy concept for the different buildings of Gut Walshausen. Energy demand by installing an insulation and in addition by using the buildings only temporarily (ibid.).

and recreational institutions as well as publicly accessible sites of energy production. These sites – such as water mills, “energy forests” of fast growing woods or biogas plants – form the new scenery.

The cultivation of bioenergy crops in the valley follows a historical use pattern: Former meadows – the polluted banks of the river - are now used to grow bioenergy crops instead of being used for food production resulting in a new scenic aesthetic evolves from the established energy fields and woods while preserving the river valley characteristics.

Concept for Gut Walshausen: The estate’s proposed redesign exemplifies the incorporation of regional energy cycles. Average heating energy consumption is calculated for each building, with differences resulting from individual factors like orientation, position, geometry and building condition. (The already refurbished villa shown in blue, the green house in yellow.)

The energy concept: Wood from the park is to be used for heating, although only covering a basic percentage of the required amount. The authors propose a decrease of the present energy demand (dash line) by installing an insulation in accordance with restoration guidelines (energy consumption left column) and the use as a guest house from either March to November (middle column) or from April to October (right column).

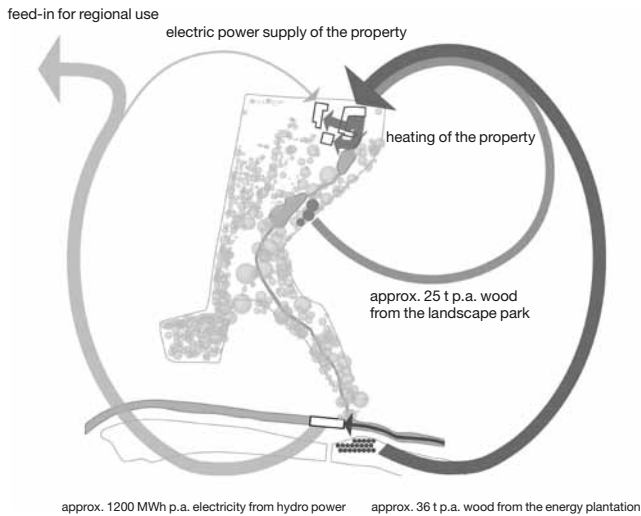


Fig. 3 - Energy cycles help cultivating landscape and preserving the historical building substance. (ibid.).

This applies individually to each building. User groups include tourists as well as regional institutions such as the universities or colleges of Hildesheim. Some buildings could host artists in residence in their upper floors of the manor offers hotel rooms or in the ground floor seminar rooms. Only one house is inhabited year round. Wood from the park is used for heating: Assuming seven hectares of the park are to be re-established as an English style landscape park with one percent of the tree stock being cut down for heating per year, there still remains a gap of about 2.4 hectares of wood which needs to be taken from an energy plantation to fully cover the heating energy demand. This wood can be grown on the riverbanks without compromising the natural scenery. A representative, newly built power plant with an affiliated bistro bridges the river and stages diverse means of energy production such as photovoltaic, solar collectors, heat pumps or a hydro-electric power plant. This new building intends to combine the traditional barn typology with a more contemporary aesthetic of energy production.

New, regional energy cycles are initiated, which are visible for the public.

Results: An example of a local, sustainable energy production is shown to be feasible. New ways of energy production help to the care for cultivated landscape and to preserve the historical building substance at the same time. A carbon neutral operation mode and

heating of the estate in accordance with restoration guidelines is made possible with individual use concepts and a seasonally graded use intensity for the various buildings. The notable historical scenery can thus be preserved with the addition of contemporary elements. The region which formerly covered only 14% of its energy consumption with renewable resources (as is the German average) can now develop new prospects.

Second Example: Summerschool Update Schwarzwald in August 2012. New Prospects for Two Black Forest villages

In a ten day long on-location case study in the villages Bernau/Menzenschwand, 22 architecture and urban planning students from the Universities of Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Hamburg, Tübingen, Linz and Wageningen, tutored by lecturers from KIT and the University of Stuttgart¹ generated ideas on how to activate regional creative potential and how to bridge vacancies in old Black Forest houses, lodges or bankrupt clinics. They also tried to identify potential local players and to develop new concepts for existing buildings. Accompanying lectures for the students and interested citizens from the concerned villages were provided as an opportunity for informal discussion.

From the many of the useful ideas that were developed, I will elaborate on one of the proposals that was made: Julia Schütz, Claudia Zimmermann and Julia Kolk found that there were numerous apprenticeship and qualified professional positions available and many commuters, which led them to their concept titled „bed'n'job – Black Forest on trial“. Job positions will be offered in combination with optionally furnished property for rent, such as in an apartment, a flat or a house, shared or for single occupancy, which encourages young people like apprentices, interns or job entrants to try living in the countryside. Vacant buildings used anew are re-established as a quality for rural regions.

The “bed'n'job“-administration will bring together job and housing offers. The “inhabitants on trial“ can share communal rooms, even means of transportation (i.e. carsharing). They add to local associations and make use of the recreational potential of the region with activities like hiking, mountain biking or climbing; they introduce new leisure activities and lifestyles to the community. The students show how newly restored facades on buildings mirror the transformation and how existing spatial structures are more or less applicable to the various new living requirements.

I have picked three other works which focus on different aspects:

New concepts of hosting guests and visitors: A selection of 0 to 4 star accommodation, recreational and restaurant facilities cater to a wider range of clientele: The whole of the

¹ Kerstin Gothe, Philipp Dechow, Johann Jessen, Luigi Pantisano, Antje Stokman and Johannes Jörg.

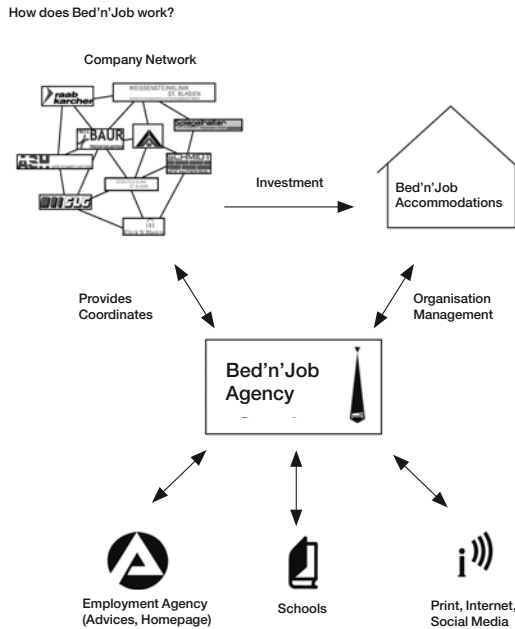


Fig. 4 - Concept: The “bed'n'job“-administration will bring together job and housing offers. (Julia Schütz, Claudia Zimmermann and Julia Kolk, Summerschool 2012).

village as an adventure playground, individual combinations of offers possible.

Offers for the stressed-out urbanite (city-dwellers): the craving for nature, a holistic lifestyle and physical labour are met with typical Black Forest hospitality, already offering a wide range of choices to relax and decompress.

A strengthening of the local building culture by means of cooperation: the concept „workroom Black Forest“ proposes cooperations between local crafts (artisanry) and trade and institutions like the KIT, for example in the form of joint workshops involving apprentices and students, restoring old buildings in a representative way.

The student projects give various incentives for rural progress, though each village has to identify its individual style. Rural energy concepts differ starkly from urban energy concepts. Villages have to be open to new concepts, adapting and modifying their offers answering to new trends, as well as to people living in urbanised areas. Active persons in the villages could take advantage of the new opportunities. This paper has hopefully shown a few examples worthy to be tested in practice.

2.3

L'AGRIURBANITÉ: TROIS MODÈLES, DE LA VILLE AGRICOLE À LA VILLE JARDIN

Pierre Donadieu

Aujourd'hui comme hier, les responsables politiques des villes de toutes tailles n'ont pas en général mesuré l'intérêt que les villes et leurs habitants ont à conserver ou à recréer les espaces boisés, agricoles et jardinés. Ce qu'on appelle le plus souvent la nature d'un point de vue praticien, mais aussi littéraire et artistique, et qui correspond aux espaces verts (boisés, agricoles et jardinés) et aquatiques urbains. Dans ce texte, nous indiquerons comment il est possible au XXI^e siècle d'avoir recours au concept d'agriurbanité pour prendre les décisions publiques concernant la persistance des espaces agricoles dans les régions urbaines. Enfin nous décrirons trois scénarios tendanciels qui peuvent être réunis dans le même territoire administratif urbanisé: en France par exemple, les communautés d'agglomération et les communautés urbaines, dont les populations varient de 50 000 habitants à plus de six millions d'habitants (Paris Métropole).

La nécessité agroécologique de proximité

Dans la plupart des villes du monde, les migrations vers les villes ainsi que la croissance démographique, surtout dans les pays du sud, ont abouti à la concentration des populations dans les agglomérations. En 2010 plus de 50 % de la population de la planète est urbaine. Dans la plupart des pays d'Europe, plus de 80 % de la population se concentre dans les aires urbaines (*urban areas*) et les agglomérations, centrales ou périphériques, qui s'y localisent.

Dans ces régions urbaines, au sens élargi de l'écologie et planificateur anglais R.T.T. Forman (2008), il est possible de penser la question non seulement de la sécurité alimentaire des habitants, mais des multiples services environnementaux et sociaux que ces espaces agricoles et jardinés peuvent fournir aux citoyens. N'oublions pas que «800 millions de personnes pratiquent aujourd'hui l'agriculture urbaine assurant 15 à 20 % de la production mondiale de nourriture»¹. Et que la crise environnementale (pollutions, réchauffement climatique) et sociale (chômage, pauvreté, ségrégation sociale) des villes est chronique.

¹ Courrier International, n° 1112, 2012.

Perte de l'agriculture et des espaces publics

Les tendances les plus lourdes de l'urbanisation sont celles qui suppriment l'agriculture des villes (désagricolisation). En France par exemple, la consommation d'espaces agricoles (par l'urbanisation, mais également par l'abandon agricole des terres en montagne) ne cesse de s'accroître en dépit des politiques publiques de protection des terres agricoles: environ 60 000 hectares ont disparu en 2010. Cette désagricolisation des régions urbaines s'accompagne de trois phénomènes.

Dans beaucoup de pays de l'Europe du nord et de l'ouest, les terres agricoles non construites des régions urbaines sont *reboisées* pour des finalités environnementales (séquestration du CO₂, microclimatisation urbaine), sociales (loisirs de proximité ou régionaux) et culturelles (l'intérêt social pour les arbres et la nature). Beaucoup de ces espaces boisés ou jardinés deviennent publics en raison du rachat par la puissance publique (agences foncières en France par exemple). Mais d'autres restent privés, en Grande-Bretagne notamment. Car beaucoup de municipalités ont recours à une alternative à l'agriurbanisation possible de la ville: celle de la *naturalisation de l'espace* par les boisements. Au sud est de Montpellier par exemple les projets publics urbains «Eco-cité» mettent en avant la notion de ville-nature. Depuis 15 ans à la place des anciens vignobles, ils créent des parcs publics (les parcs Marianne et de la Lironde), avec des finalités de limitation des risques d'inondation des rivières et d'accueil du public habitant. En outre, on observe, ce qui n'est pas un phénomène récent, que les espaces non ou peu construits des régions urbaines passent ou restent sous le contrôle des logiques marchandes. Non seulement dans les parcs d'attractions payants, mais également dans les terrains de sports (associations, clubs) notamment sur les bords de mers et de lacs (restaurants, hôtels). On observe ces phénomènes de *réduction de l'espace public accessible* à tous tout autour de la mer Méditerranée, à Beyrouth ou à Tunis par exemple.

C'est dans les pays de l'Union européenne que l'on note de plus en plus des *résistances* ponctuelles à la disparition de l'espace public agricole. Des périmètres protégés émergent depuis 20 ans sous la forme notamment des parcs-natures à la fois boisés, agricoles et aquatiques (Lyon, Barcelone, Berlin) et des parcs agricoles (Barcelone, Milan, Turin). À l'ouest de Montpellier et de Paris, comme au Nord de Bordeaux ou à Reims des espaces viticoles et agricoles privés et protégés par les règlements d'urbanisme font désormais partie des agglomérations, en principe de manière pérenne.

Peut-on penser la ville avec ces deux objectifs: nourrir les citoyens proches et créer les conditions d'une ville habitable (risques naturels et anthropogènes limités, offres d'espaces publics de loisir, cadre attractif vert)? La nourriture de proximité ne fait-elle pas partie des conditions souhaitables de l'habitabilité de la région urbaine ?

Nécessité des agricultures de proximité

Les postulats de l'économie libérale ont fait valoir depuis le XVIII^e siècle les principes du libre échange à l'échelle mondiale. Tout consommateur urbain trouve donc, et encore aujourd'hui, normal de disposer de n'importe quel produit alimentaire à n'importe quel moment de l'année, quelle qu'en soit l'origine géographique. Or les perspectives internationales de raréfaction des ressources énergétiques carbonées, et la nécessité de restreindre les rejets de carbone dans l'atmosphère se traduisent par une nouvelle prise de conscience politique autant que citoyenne: limiter la circulation planétaire des biens alimentaires. C'est pourquoi depuis 2005, le mouvement des *locavores* (s'approvisionner localement dans un rayon de 150 à 200 kilomètres autour des villes) préconise ces nouvelles pratiques citoyennes (Novel, 2010). Non seulement pour participer à la lutte contre le réchauffement climatique, mais pour se nourrir mieux en identifiant les producteurs et leur commercialisation locale, et en s'attachant aux cuisines et aux produits locaux, biologiques ou non (comme ceux des AMAP – Association pour le maintien de l'agriculture paysanne – en France), le mouvement international Slow food, les cueillettes directes, les circuits courts de vente, etc.). Cette idéologie rencontre de nombreux opposants: les partisans du commerce équitable et du soutien des paysannes lointaines par les consommateurs des pays du nord; ceux qui constatent que les agricultures des régions urbaines sont en général peu favorables à ces pratiques, et la grande distribution qui fait valoir sa rationalisation de l'approvisionnement, plus efficace du point de vue énergétique (et du rejet de CO₂) que les petits producteurs- commerçants, regroupés ou non.

Même si les idées locavores sont logiques, elles ne constituent qu'une réponse partielle à la crise climatique et surtout énergétique. C'est pourquoi, la tentation d'une région urbaine autonome sur le plan alimentaire restera longtemps une utopie, chimérique mais nécessaire. Personne n'arrêtera les déplacements des marchandises à travers la planète. En revanche, il est tout à fait possible aux pouvoirs publics des régions urbaines d'organiser un ensemble de communes pour qu'elles tendent vers l'autosuffisance en produits frais de base (légumes, fruits, fleurs, lait, fromage, viandes, etc.). Pour cela il est indispensable de penser la multifonctionnalité des espaces et l'usage multiple des activités agricoles et jardinières qui y sont localisées.

Installer la multifonctionnalité de l'espace non bâti sur un sol vivant

Le trait commun essentiel aux espaces non bâtis est leur sol naturel, vivant, plus ou moins fertile selon leur histoire et les situations climatiques et topographiques. La dénaturalisation de la ville accompagne la perte de ses sols. Tout sol, selon ses caractéristiques pédologiques, peut permettre l'implantation d'arbres, de buissons ou

d'herbes, de boisements, de champs, de jardins, de serres, de plans d'eaux ou de parcs publics. Plus il est artificiel (sols urbains, cultures hydroponiques ou aquaponiques), moins il est souple pour s'adapter à l'arbre, au buisson ou à l'herbe. La résilience de la ville (sa capacité à s'adapter) face aux crises chroniques ou non en diminue d'autant, et celle du citadin également. Plus le sol est naturel, plus il est facile de passer de l'herbacé au ligneux (et inversement) et de permettre de s'adapter à des besoins imprévisibles (nourrir en cas de guerre par exemple) ou prévisibles (microclimatisation, fixation du carbone, loisirs extérieurs, etc.). Plus il est fertile (riche en matière organique), plus son usage agricole intensif est possible.

C'est pourquoi, la conservation et la reconquête des sols vivants (avec une activité microbienne et de la matière organique en quantité suffisante) sont fondamentales. Ce qu'enseignent les sciences agroécologiques. Car leur perte (par la construction) est irréversible pour un territoire donné, même s'il est possible de les reconstituer pour des cultures intensives (les sols horticoles). Aussi, chaque commune ou groupe de communes sont-ils invités à penser la répartition spatiale des fonctions et usages des sols non construits. Si les sols sont agricoles (et en général privés), les pouvoirs publics ont la possibilité de les préserver non seulement pour des productions de biens agroalimentaires à destination de la ville et de ses habitants, mais en tant qu'espaces ouverts à la promenade piétonne, au cyclisme et à l'équitation. En tant également qu'espaces d'accompagnement des transports automobiles, ferroviaires, par tramway et canaux, des transports d'électricité et de gaz en particulier, sans compter ceux qui sont associés aux gares et aux aéroports. En outre, ces agricultures, surtout si elles sont biologiques, peuvent favoriser la biodiversité locale et être pensées simultanément en vue de la transmission d'un patrimoine architectural de fermes et de petits patrimoines, hydrauliques notamment, comme dans le parc agricole au sud de Milan, ou les parcs naturels régionaux périurbains en France.

À l'inverse, un espace boisé, privé ou public, peut être imaginé certainement en fonction de sa production de bois ou d'accueil de la faune sauvage, mais surtout pour l'espace du loisir qu'il offre quand il est aménagé à cet effet. Sans compter les effets de microclimatisation, de dépollution et de fixation du carbone de l'air. C'est donc la hiérarchie entre ces fonctions et usages qui doit être réfléchi et décidée avec les habitants, les propriétaires, les agriculteurs, les forestiers et les pouvoirs publics locaux. Cette gouvernance des projets urbains est essentielle pour une politique de développement urbain qui recherche la transmission aux générations futures des meilleures conditions locales et globales d'habitabilité des territoires. Elle est difficile car l'information des acteurs est hétérogène, et les conditions d'un débat public équitable pas toujours réunies. C'est pourquoi, il est nécessaire d'introduire de nouvelles notions éthiques et politiques dans ce débat.

L'espace cultivé comme bien commun public des citoyens

La démocratie (le gouvernement par et pour le peuple) s'oppose à la tyrannie d'un seul ou de quelques-uns. Elle n'est pas toujours dirigée par des valeurs morales comme la dignité, l'égalité, la justice ou la liberté. Et elle ne se prononce pas nécessairement sur la place des ressources publiques et privées, comme les biens environnementaux.

Le bien commun paysager agricole

D'un point de vue juridique on appelle biens communs, les ressources indivises que chacun peut consommer (et surconsommer). Ces biens donnés par la nature, comme l'air, la diversité biologique, l'eau des nappes phréatiques ou les poissons des mers et des cours d'eau, longtemps considérés comme *res nullius* (biens de personne) ont été surexploités, et le plus souvent sont en voie d'altération ou de destruction. Pour les protéger, et préserver ainsi les chances de survie des générations futures, il existe deux postures possibles. Soit les privatiser, comme le suggère de plus en plus l'économie libérale, et en faire un bien marchand profitable, soit lui donner le statut de bien public au sens éthique et politique (Donadieu, 2012; Grange, 2012, p. 25).

Dans ce dernier cas, il s'agit de faire prévaloir, par des règles d'usage publiques et hors du marché, au nom notamment de la solidarité et de la justice sociale (Petrella, 1996), l'intérêt du plus grand nombre. Ce qui serait visé, est de constituer une communauté de ressources, repérables dans l'espace matériel (l'eau par exemple, mais aussi les sols agricoles et les forêts), et sans doute de la sortir des logiques d'échanges marchands (Grange, 2012, p. 27). En remplaçant la logique du prix de marché par celle des valeurs civiques (la survie) et de transmission, il serait possible d'accroître ce que l'économiste et philosophe Amartya Sen (2009) appelle la capabilité, c'est à dire la possibilité de choix pour soi et son groupe. Ce qui a été déjà préfiguré par la politique de l'UNESCO de désignation des biens patrimoniaux mondiaux (940 sites inscrits sur la liste du patrimoine mondial en 2012).

Comme dans le cas de l'eau qui peut leur être associé, si les sols agricoles et forestiers deviennent patrimoine commun (sans compromettre leur statut foncier le plus souvent privatif), cette construction nouvelle devrait sortir ces biens communs publics de la logique du profit. Devenus non appropriables sous la garantie d'une autorité (des Régions et des États à l'Europe et à l'UNESCO), ils échapperont peut-être aux logiques du marché. Cette position de la philosophe Juliette Grange permet de ne plus faire des biens communs des marchandises. Toutefois elle réduit, de manière lucide, la libre disposition des biens privés (les sols agricoles), comme celle des biens publics (avec la pêche ou le gibier par exemple). Les biens communs publicisés peuvent être également immatériels, nous le verrons avec les biens communs paysagers.

Ces biens communs, en tant que valeurs premières (comme vivre une vie humaine, avoir une bonne santé, un emploi, etc.) s'inscrivent sans difficulté dans un cadre républicain. Dans ce cas l'autorité de l'État républicain providentiel (*welfare state*) garantit en principe les biens communs comme l'accès à l'eau, le patrimoine culturel et naturel, la santé, la sécurité sociale ou l'éducation, et toutes valeurs qui répond à la mise en oeuvre de droits (à la liberté, au savoir, à la justice, à la nature, au plaisir, au bien-vivre, au bien-être, etc.). En pratique, dans bien des Etats, la mise en oeuvre de ces droits régresse au profit des entreprises privées qui proposent certains de ces biens et de ces services (Petrella, 2010), par exemple la thalassothérapie en promettant le plaisir du bien-être. Et pour cette raison, il est souhaitable d'avoir recours au débat démocratique pour organiser les territoires avec l'outil du paysage.

Les biens communs dits paysagers sont réduits à ceux qui sont perçus par les regards humains qui les jugent et leur donnent un sens. Car la notion de paysage, dans la plupart des cultures occidentales ou occidentalisés, exprime les relations humaines à l'espace et à la nature perceptibles. Elle désigne à la fois les espaces et les lieux matériels, les biens environnementaux et les valeurs esthétiques, symboliques et éthiques qui permettent d'en juger. Il s'agit donc de biens matériels (les espaces, les sols et ce qui les occupe) et de services, lesquels sont pour les uns privés (les productions agricoles, les logements par exemple) et pour d'autres publics (les services environnementaux, sociaux et culturels propres à ces biens).

Pour la "Convention européenne du paysage de Florence" de 2000, ratifiée par la plupart des pays du Conseil de l'Europe en 2012, le paysage est «une partie de territoire telle que perçue par les populations et dont le caractère résulte de facteurs naturels et/ou culturels et de leurs interrelations (...)» (Art. 1). Les biens communs paysagers sont ceux qui sont désignés et reconnus par les populations comme des biens revendiqués pour des raisons variées: identitaires, patrimoniales, culturelles, écologiques, économiques, de loisirs, spirituels, etc. Certains peuvent être inscrits sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, comme en France la Baie du Mont Saint Michel et les vignobles de Saint Emilion ou en Italie ceux des Cinque Terre.

En ayant recours à la notion de paysage pour qualifier les biens communs, on met l'accent sur leurs attributs visibles et leurs sens appréciables ou réfutables selon les jugements qu'ils suscitent. S'agissant de biens agricoles ou forestiers, et donc de biens de nature à fonctions environnementales et/ou économiques, il est possible de mobiliser ceux qui perçoivent et jugent (les habitants), et par la même de provoquer le débat public démocratique pour prendre les décisions publiques nécessaires (par exemple protéger les sols agricoles et forestiers des régions urbaines).

Inscrite dans un cadre politique républicain qui formule les responsabilités d'intérêt

général, la notion de paysage devient un outil de la concertation entre ceux qui habitent un territoire et ceux qui le gouvernement, entre ceux qui souhaitent garder les agriculteurs et leurs terres, ceux qui veulent les construire (les propriétaires) et les pouvoirs publics qui contrôlent les documents d'urbanisme. Analysons quelques exemples.

Construire le bien commun paysager agricole

En Europe: les Basses vallées angevines et les parcs nature de Berlin

Dans l'ouest de la France, dans la région urbaine d'Angers Loire Métropole (une ville moyenne de 263 000 habitants), il a été possible de trouver une solution à un conflit entre les acteurs d'une vallée inondable chaque année: les Basses vallées angevines (600 hectares). En raison de l'inconstructibilité de la vallée submergée par les eaux 4 à 6 mois par an, les plantations de peupliers risquaient de l'envahir. Evolution paysagère qui excluait à la fois les éleveurs, les naturalistes et les promeneurs au bénéfice des seuls populiculteurs. L'intérêt général était de trouver une règle commune qui limitait la plantation des peupliers. Ce qui fut fait entre 1995 et 2005 par concertation entre l'Etat, la ville, les éleveurs, les naturalistes et les populiculteurs. Les éleveurs de bovins propriétaires et locataires de prairies bénéficiaient en 2009 d'une aide de l'Etat de 200 à 300 euros par hectare à condition de faucher après des dates variant entre le 20 juin et le 20 juillet. Ce dont tiraient profit les associations de protection des oiseaux nidificateurs dans les prairies et les landes. Mais également les promeneurs qui empruntaient les sentiers de randonnées de cette vallée (attractivité des paysages).

Les paysages de prairies (et non les terrains) sont ainsi devenus des biens communs aux habitants d'Angers, aux populiculteurs, aux éleveurs et aux naturalistes. Avec des motivations éthiques différentes: la valorisation monétaire du bois de peuplier pour les uns et des produits de l'élevage pour les autres, les produits de la location des terres pour les propriétaires fonciers, et la conservation active, hors marché, des milieux de nidification des oiseaux (dans les landes et les prairies) et des circuits pédestres. Des échanges multiples entre acteurs et usagers ont eu ainsi lieu. Ils partagent (au sens de prendre part à et non de diviser) aujourd'hui des valeurs esthétiques qu'ils n'auraient pas imaginé partager. C'est l'autorité publique (l'Etat) qui garantit la stabilité de l'échange et qui accorde le prix des services produits (la fauche tardive de l'herbe) à ceux qui en subissent les effets négatifs (les éleveurs).

Il faut préciser que, dans cette interprétation, les paysages matériels de peupliers ne sont pas devenus publics (le sol n'est pas accessible à tous et reste privé). Mais ils ne sont pas seulement privés car leur jouissance est conditionnée par le droit de chacun à jouir de leur visibilité à partir de circulations publiques. La construction du bien commun paysa-

ger équivaut donc à celle d'un droit à jouir collectivement et non individuellement d'un paysage. Elle ne limite pas le droit de propriété ou de fermage d'un sol mais le fait évoluer vers des usages communs jugés équitables. Ce qui se fait cependant aux dépens d'une politique locale d'extension des cultures de peupliers et limite la liberté des populteurs.

Les processus d'émergence de ces nouveaux paysages composites, à usages multiples, à la fois urbains et agricoles, peuvent être observés dans de nombreux pays dans et hors de l'Europe. À Berlin (3 450 000 habitants en 2010), les parcs publics périurbains (*landschaftpark*) du Barnim (296 ha) desservis par le métro (S-Bahn) réunissent des vergers, des champs de céréales et de pommes de terre et des prairies, sans pesticides, qui ont été rachetés par le Sénat de l'Environnement (Jacquand, 2012). Aménagés par des paysagistes, les parcs sont ouverts au public qui emprunte des cheminements piétonniers et cyclistes mettant en scène les caractères paysagers locaux (des lignes électriques, des châteaux d'eaux, des silos agricoles, un bunker, des observatoires d'oiseaux, etc.). Au sud-ouest de Berlin, le parc agricole de Gatow s'ouvrira bientôt. Peut-être s'agit-il de phénomènes propres à des villes à faible croissance? Qu'en est-il en revanche en Chine, haut lieu de croissance urbaine et de planification urbaine centralisée?

En Chine les vignes et vergers de Xi'an

Dans la métropole de Xi'an (9 200 000 habitants en 2010), capitale de la province du Shaanxi au centre de la Chine, et presque autonome pour l'approvisionnement agricole, l'urbanisation a consommé au cours des dix dernières années l'espace agricole disponible sans créer suffisamment d'espaces verts publics (Yueting, 2012). Ce qui, avec le développement de la voiture, déclenche des afflux périodiques de touristes dans les campagnes périphériques et l'apparition de l'agrotourisme (*nong jia le*) chez les agriculteurs. Depuis 2005, les pouvoirs publics de Xi'an ont mis en place des programmes d'agriculture urbaine pour protéger les espaces agricoles (1/4 des espaces agricoles et naturels de la métropole). «Une première couronne accueille des parcs de jardins fruitiers (des pêchers), viticoles et potagers, la deuxième concentre la transformation des produits, et la troisième près de la montagne Quin Ling est vouée à l'agriculture biologique et à l'agritourisme» (Yueting, 2012, p. 207). Certains parcs viticoles, propriétés de la collectivité, comme celui de Han Xuan Ling ont été aménagés avec soin: avec des allées pavées, des ombrages et une statuette locale. Les parcelles sont louées par l'Etat à des viticulteurs souvent pluriactifs et la vente des produits a lieu sur place. Dans le village rural de Shanwang, des hôtels pour touristes ont été construits et les espaces publics réaménagés en font «une campagne idéalisée». Laquelle en fait devient de moins en moins agricole car les activités liées au tourisme (jeux, restaurants, hôtels, lieux de loisirs) sont beaucoup plus lucratives. Et les produits agricoles viennent de plus en plus



Fig. 1 - Vergers de pêchers à Xi'an (Chine), Photo C. Yueting.

de la ville voisine! La désagricolisation qui apparaît a pour origine la transformation des acteurs agricoles en acteurs touristiques. Sachant que, en Chine, un contraste saisissant subsiste entre agricultures traditionnelles pauvres et agricultures modernisées.

Dans ces trois exemples de villes d'importance démographique différente, le bien commun paysager agricole est construit à partir de l'autorité publique métropolitaine qui recherche le contrôle de la propriété et de l'usage des sols. La reconnaissance et le développement de paysages de campagnes attractifs pour les habitants peuvent selon les cas créer et maintenir les activités agritouristiques ou favoriser l'apparition de nouveaux métiers, non agricoles, liés aux activités de loisirs.

Dans d'autres situations, notamment de crise économique (chômage), les jardins qui apparaissent spontanément à proximité des immeubles permettent aux habitants de survivre grâce à des ressources alimentaires de proximité comme à Lisbonne (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2 - Huertas de la région de Lisbonne (Portugal), Photo P. Donadieu.

L'agriurbanité et le pragmatisme de John Dewey

L'idée générale qui traverse ces nouvelles pratiques peut être condensée dans le concept d'agriurbanité. Ce néologisme emprunte à la notion commune d'urbanité. Est urbain depuis la fin du Moyen-âge le comportement social qui est fondé sur la politesse, l'affabilité et la connaissance des codes sociaux de savoir-vivre ensemble d'un groupe dans une culture donnée. La méconnaissance de ces codes entraîne le plus souvent une exclusion de l'impoli, du rustre mal ou peu éduqué, hors du groupe. Ce sens éthique disparaît cependant quand l'urbain s'oppose au rural sans connoter le respect des règles de civilité. Il désigne alors depuis une quarantaine d'années en France ce qui est propre à la ville, mais qui peut s'étendre au-delà de son périmètre matériel et diffuser dans les campagnes, ce qui est le cas par exemple des nouvelles techniques de communication et des manières d'habiter les résidences secondaires qui sont souvent d'anciennes fermes. Les valeurs esthétiques et éthiques urbaines se généralisent alors sur un territoire aux dépens de celle des mondes agraires qui disparaissent. Cette extension géographique s'accompagne de la redéfinition de la naturalité sous les traits du sauvage, de l'agricole et du jardiné qui requa-

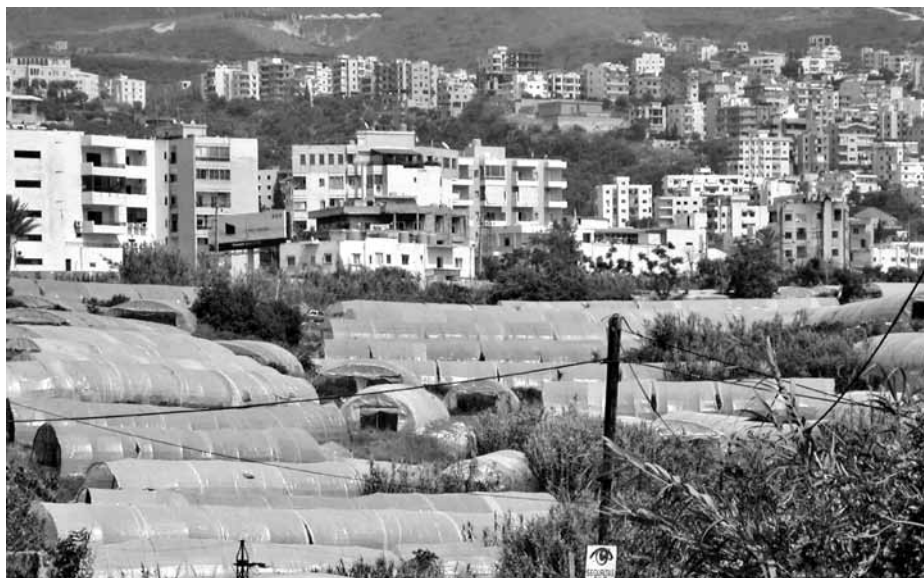


Fig. 3 - Serres maraîchères à Beyrouth (Liban), Photo P. Donadieu.

lifient souvent la relation humaine à l'espace agricole. Le phénomène n'est pas nouveau, les voyageurs français en Espagne au XIXe siècle ne voyaient-ils pas que des déserts à la place des cultures céréalières de l'aride meseta castillane, et des jardins opulents (huertas) en Andalousie en négligeant les paysages secs d'oliviers (Du Vachat, 2012).

Le concept d'agriurbanité apparaît alors comme un oxymore qui réunit deux termes qui s'excluent: l'urbanité d'une part, l'agriculture d'autre part, de la même manière que la notion de *campagne urbaine* que j'avais inventée pour le titre éponyme d'un manifeste en faveur de la conservation inventive des paysages et des activités agricoles dans les régions urbaines (Donadieu 1998.). En tant que concept de connaissance (et non de projet), l'agriurbanité s'inscrit dans la théorie de la reconnaissance sociétale, (d'invention ou de construction sociale) de paysages nouveaux (Donadieu, 2013; Luginbühl, 2012), comparables à ceux des rivages (Corbin, 1988) ou des montagnes (Roger, 1997). L'agriurbanité désigne le caractère de ce qui est reconnu par la société et les institutions comme à la fois agricole et urbain: une activité agriurbaine (le maraîchage urbain, des jardins partagés, des toits cultivés); une ferme (agri)urbaine ; une économie agriurbaine; un environnement, un paysage, un produit agriurbains.



Fig. 4 - Champ de Jacinthes (Pays-Bas), Photo P. Donadieu.

L'agriurbanité s'inscrit dans une dynamique des mentalités et des espaces. Dans le modèle de la ville agricole, comme dans la périphérie de Beyrouth au Liban (Fig. 3), elle caractérise pleinement et sans ambiguïté les traits d'une agriculture qui a fusionné avec la ville et en fait partie. Si bien que la disparition de l'espace agricole n'est pas plus envisageable que celle d'un parc ou d'un monument public. Elle est nécessaire aux citadins qui y trouvent des produits frais et transformés qu'ils peuvent contrôler. Cette alliance n'exclut pas les conflits dus à des nuisances, des inconforts et des risques, mais elle les tempère en incitant les protagonistes au dialogue et à la recherche de compromis. À l'agriculteur rural succède l'agriculteur urbain avec le double sens du producteur qui vit dans la région urbaine, et du citadin qui se vit comme urbain avec les règles élémentaires et nécessaires de civilité d'une culture comme aux Pays-Bas (Fig.4).

En revanche l'agriurbanité change de nature et de règles sociétales quand les modèles de vie dans les quartiers sont plus proches de la nature sauvage et jardinée. Les ambiances forestières, des landes, des garrigues, des marais et des cours d'eau permettent des conduites plus libres, moins contraintes que dans les espaces agricoles et des pratiques différentes y sont possibles (la chasse, la pêche, le cerf volant, le VTT, l'observa-

tion naturaliste, le rafting, etc.). Même si certaines sont prohibées ou plus ou moins tolérées (la prostitution, la vente de drogues). On pourrait alors parler de *naturbanité* comme dans la réserve de nature de la petite Amazonie à Nantes ou sur les bords du Lez à Montpellier en France (Fig. 5).

Mais c'est dans le monde du jardin privé ou public que l'urbanité policée raffine davantage ses règles et ses codes, la passeggiata italienne ne peut avoir lieu que sous les ombrages des arbres d'un mail, elle suppose la connaissance des codes d'habillement et de civilité, là où viennent se montrer ceux qui désirent être vus. L'agriurbanité disparaît alors au profit de l'urbanité ordinaire de l'espace public et privé, à la ville comme à la campagne (Fig. 6).

Dans ce contexte que nous enseigne la philosophie pragmatiste de l'Américain John Dewey (1859-1962) qui puisse éclairer le recours à l'agriurbanité pour mieux comprendre la construction des régions urbaines? Dewey qui était un philosophe de la démocratie s'est évertué à mettre fin aux dualismes encombrants comme ceux de la théorie et de la pratique, de l'individu et du social, ou de l'éthique et de la politique. Ni rationaliste, ni positiviste, ni libéral, il s'intéresse aux transactions, aux associations entre les hommes et à la manière dont ils expérimentent et construisent, entre l'Etat et la société «le public» en fonction d'intérêts communs et citoyens. Il écrit: « Percevoir les conséquences d'une activité conjointe (...) crée un intérêt commun, c'est-à-dire une préoccupation de la part de chacun pour l'activité conjointe et pour la contribution de chacun des membres qui s'y livrent» (Le public et ses problèmes, p. 288). Il préconise «l'enquête» pour discerner comment émerge la redistribution des formes sociales et comment la domination d'une seule forme d'association (l'Etat, l'Eglise, la famille) appauvrit la vie sociale et ralentit le dépassement de dualités comme celle de l'opposition entre agricultures et villes. C'est un fait que le contrôle social (celui des agriculteurs innovants par les agriculteurs conventionnels majoritaires en particulier) ou le contrôle politique (l'application variable des règles juridiques) bloque les innovations d'intérêt général (moins polluer les eaux et les sols par exemple). En d'autres termes, il précise (p. 305) que les mesures politiques et d'actions sociétales doivent être traitées comme des hypothèses et non comme des buts à atteindre ou des programmes à appliquer. C'est à ceux «qui portent les chaussures de savoir s'ils se blessent, et non seulement aux experts de la chaussure», même si ce sont les experts qui mènent les enquêtes. L'agriurbanité à ce titre n'est qu'un repère culturel dans la construction des paysages urbains qui peut laisser place selon le débat public à des formes hybrides et imprévues selon la qualité de l'échange démocratique.



Fig. 5 - La rivière du Lez (corridor écobioique) à Montpellier (France), Photo P. Donadieu.

Conclusion

Quand une politique publique agri-sylvo-urbaine métropolitaine existe, trois scénarios agriurbains peuvent donc coexister dans les espaces ouverts des régions urbaines avec des logiques économiques et politiques différentes.

Les exploitations agricoles traditionnelles et les entreprises d'agroindustries dominent les activités agricoles et alimentent directement les marchés locaux, comme les marchés régionaux, nationaux et internationaux. C'est le scénario de la ville agricole avec des périphéries agricoles céréalières, arboricoles, viticoles ou d'élevage qui n'ont pas ou peu en général de relations directes avec les consommateurs proches. Cette ville, fragile, peut se désagricoliser (si les entrepreneurs se délocalisent ou si la politique agricole européenne change) ou tendre vers les scénarios agroécologique ou paysager (naturalisation). Les biens communs paysagers sont rares et ponctuels quand ils sont reconnus ou créés. C'est le cas de la plupart des périphéries agricoles des agglomérations dans le monde, y compris de parcs agricoles comme celui de Baix Llobregat près de Barcelone ou du sud de Milan.



Fig. 6 - Parc public des Batignolles au nord de Paris (France), Photo P. Donadieu.

Les exploitations agricoles (agriurbaines) se tournent essentiellement vers les marchés urbains proches en produisant et commercialisant des produits frais et transformés et des services (environnementaux, paysagers, sociaux) pour les citoyens de la métropole. C'est le scénario de la ville agroécologique où le producteur local établit des relations directes avec les consommateurs locaux intéressés (circuits courts, AMAP, équitation, pêche, chasse, pédagogie, agritourisme, etc.). Cette ville peut se désagricoliser totalement en passant au scénario de la ville-jardin (paysagement sur le mode jardiné) ou de la ville-nature (naturalisation écologique, naturbanité)². Les biens communs

² La notion de nature utilisée ici distingue la ville agricole (avec des agricultures conventionnelles) de la ville agroécologique tournée de manière durable vers les marchés de proximité (avec des produits perçus comme plus naturels) et de la ville jardin (avec des espaces verts sans agriculteurs). Pour les aménageurs urbains, la notion de ville nature recouvre les trois types de ville.

paysagers reconnus émergent avec une propriété foncière publique ou privée. C'est le cas des Basses vallées angevines, des parcs agricoles de Berlin, des espaces agricoles protégés de Xi'an, ainsi que des jardins familiaux qui sont installés dans les parcs publics comme à Angers dans le parc Balzac³.

Dans le scénario classique de la ville jardin, les agriculteurs disparaissent et sont remplacés dans les espaces ouverts par les acteurs techniques des services publics environnementaux et paysagers à la ville. Et la propriété publique des terres non construites se substitue progressivement à la propriété privée. Des étapes intermédiaires subsistent avec les deux autres scénarios. Les biens communs paysagers et environnementaux deviennent publics. Mais ils peuvent également être privatisés dans le cadre d'une économie ultra libérale.

Correspondant à ces trois scénarios, les paysages des campagnes urbaines sont donc évolutifs. Les directions prises, ville par ville, ou quartier par quartier dépendent essentiellement des politiques publiques d'urbanisation des régions urbaines. Elles peuvent se désagricoliser, soit au profit de l'urbanisation, soit à celui des espaces de natures non agricoles (parcs et boisements publics et privés). Ou bien rester agricole, s'agriurbaniser (Donadieu, 2013), grâce aux principes de l'agriurbanisme (sécurisation foncière notamment) déjà mis en œuvre aux Pays-Bas, en Suisse ou au Québec.

³ Ce scénario de l'intégration de la nature agricole dans la ville est particulièrement mobilisée dans la plupart des dix projets du Grand Paris en 2009.

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3

**PUBLIC SPACES, SOCIAL DYNAMIC AND CITIES
IN EVOLUTION**

3.1

URBAN OPEN SPACES. TRADITION AND MODERNITY

Josefina Gómez-Mendoza

Criticism of Historical Cities and Extensions in XIX Century

First Modernity, from Cerdà to Le Corbusier, has openly condemned, in the name of hygiene and circulation, the design of historical urban centres, rejecting both their construction and their open spaces: streets and lanes with their broken, curved layouts of variable lengths and widths; squares, patios and courtyards, market gardens, gardens and wooded promenades. From this perspective, historical town needed to be renewed which meant partial demolition (Gómez-Mendoza, 2005).

Some of the planned urban extensions for town centres constitute remarkable and unequalled pieces of design and urban conception, in particular the extraordinary *Eixample* (or *Ensanche*) in Barcelona by Ildefonso Cerdà. Undoubtedly, the most evident and emblematic aspect of the *Eixample* is its reticular plan, but it would be a big mistake to perceive only the regular pattern in Cerdà's contribution. As a child of his century, the Catalan engineer and town-planner was pursuing the goal of an egalitarian city. He based the city upon the residential unit and his genius rests in making the most of the compact city through a continuous pattern of quadrangular «blocks of buildings» (*manzanas de casas, pâtés de maisons*), each side 113.3 m in length and with chamfered corners at 45° (Fig. 1). All the blocks had double ventilation to the streets and to an inner courtyard providing all the dwellings with light, sunshine and ventilation. This was how he conceived the «urbanization of the country and ruralisation of the city», as he postulated in his *General Theory of Urbanization* (Cerdà, 1859, 1861). In Cerdà's urban theory, there was a proportional relationship between circulating and living and between the width of the streets and the distribution of open and constructed spaces on the block. According to him, there should be «a perfect harmony between the dwelling and the mobility of side walkers, both on foot and on horseback». Nonetheless, in the endless implementation process of the *Eixample*, landowners, promoters, technicians and town councils came to disfigure the project and, as in many other cases, reduced the size of the open spaces. The engineer had projected blocks with buildings around a perimeter and inner courtyards almost always occupying half the area, but reality turned out to be quite different because, in the vast majority of cases, the buildings occupy most of the land area of the plots (Solà-Morales, 1986; Fig. 2 and 3).

In this initial stage, before the Modern Movement established its canons of design,

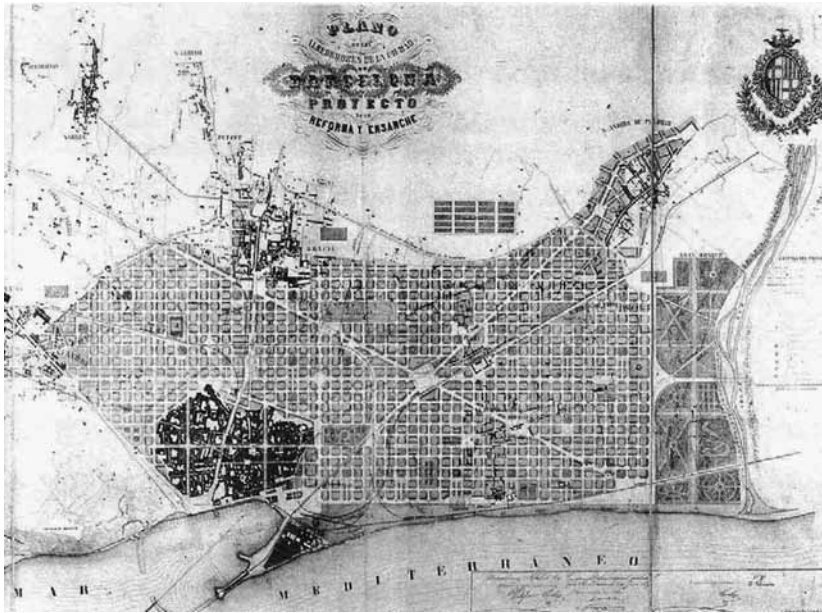


Fig. 1 - Cerdà Plan of Barcelona Reform and Extension (1859).



Fig. 2 - Barcelona: Old city and Eixample (Google map).

of town construction, they were some great landscape architects (such as, for instance, in the case of Spain, Jean Claude Forestier, Javier de Winthuysen or Nicolau Rubió i Tuduri) with ambitious proposals on town planning. They all had good knowledge both of the European tradition of wooded promenades and of the American parkways, and the desire to base construction of the city upon a system of open spaces, parks and boulevards. They were not echoed and their ideas could only be implemented in isolated projects. Forestier, for instance, said that «the boulevard-avenues constitute pleasant communication and access roads. They offer an uninterrupted stroll. They can also help to provide value to the viewpoints, riverbanks, and interesting landscapes» (Forestier, 1906; Le Dantec, 1996). In this sense, the engineer José de Lorite proposed for the city of Madrid a linear system of parks along the river, in the west of the city, making use of the topographic conditions to create cultural images and landscapes. “Goya’s painting of the San Isidro meadow would suffice to make this part of Madrid an intangible place» (Lorite, 1931). Unfortunately, nowadays image remains far from Lorite’s idyllic thought (Fig. 4 and 5).

Open spaces in Mass Production Houses

The Modern Movement, with Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe or Ludwig Hilberseimer, attempted to make cities healthy, with great open blocks of apartment residence rising up among gardens. Prior to the Chart of Athens, Le Corbusier had said in his first book, *Towards a new architecture*, in 1927: «Instead of towns being laid out in massive quadrangles, with the streets in narrow trenches walled in by seven-storey buildings set perpendicular on the pavement and enclosing unhealthy courtyards, airless and sunless walls, our new layout, employing the same area and housing the same number of people, would show great blocks of houses with successive set-backs, stretching along arterial avenues. No more courtyards, but flats opening on every side to air and light, and looking, not on the puny trees of our boulevards of to-day, but upon green sward, sports grounds and abundant plantations of trees» (Le Corbusier, 1926 in 1946: 59-61). This is the criterion for the so-called «*House Machine*», for «Mass Production Houses», this mass production of buildings that are “healthy, morally and beautiful too”. In his book, *L’urbanisme des trois établissements urbains* (1945), Le Corbusier postulated the death of streets: “Il faut tuer le corridor”. The aesthetics of what came to be called New Architecture opened up walls like curtains onto fresh air, light and sunshine, freeing the building from its heavy foundation and highlighting the importance of structural functions with simple and intelligent design; aesthetics that, according to Gropius, “respond as well to material needs as to psychological ones” (Gropius 1935).

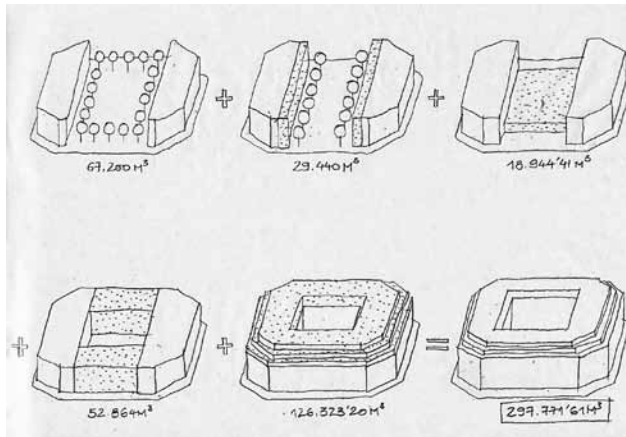


Fig. 3 - Process of occupation of Cerdà block (Drawn according to: Cerdà I la Barcelona del future. Realitat versus project, 2009).

In most cases, however, the urban landscapes developed under the theoretical auspices of the Modern Movement constitute great open-blocks complexes for public housing (*grands ensembles*, *polígonos de bloques abiertos*, *siedlungen*) (Fig.6). Often they consisted of several rows of multi-storey walk-up apartments interspersed by slab blocks and point blocks. As in the case of Cerdà, the initial great ideas were betrayed: they gave way to monotonous, unsafe and banal environments. Many projects apparently based upon these principles gave rise to standardized urban landscapes, all too often sacrificed, in turn, to the so-called International Style and the creative option of the designer. But what is of greatest concern for our purpose here is that a town planning doctrine which precisely set the standards of public space has in practice led to the virtual disappearance of use of these spaces due to their inappropriate size and to the fact that they are unsafe and uncomfortable. In this respect, the literature is well known, starting with the books of Edward Relph and Jane Jacobs, the former concluding with these words: «Great planning ideas have repeatedly been rendered mediocre by standardization. [...] To the extent that these hopes and aims could have been, but have not been, realized the modern urban landscape has to be judge a failure» (Relph, 1987: 264); and the latter defending that streets are the main, true and safe parts of a city (Jacobs, 1961: *passim*).

Before talking of contemporary extensions and peripheries, we should recapitulate upon the open spaces of the different urban layouts. A research project conducted in



Fig. 4 - East view of Madrid in Goya's *La Pradera de San Isidro*, cultural landscape.

Madrid at the end of the last century measured the parameters of open public spaces and urban equipment as well as private spaces in the four main zones of urban evolution: the old part of the city, sectors of the planned bourgeois extension, unplanned an poorer extension areas, and finally, in different estates of free-standing blocks, so-called *polígonos*. The results are noteworthy. In all the estates of blocks, the open spaces constitute huge areas, always greater than 75% of the total surface and there is not private open space. By contrast, in the planned extensions the open spaces do not exceed 26 % or 32 % in old city. It is interesting to note that, unexpectedly, contrary to the reasons for criticizing the traditional city which brought about the initiative of the extensions, the open spaces are bigger in the former while the densities are greater in the latter. Correlatively, the private spaces are relatively small in the estates of blocks (20%) being generally equivalent only to the projection of the blocks, three times this size in the extensions (62%) and over double in the city centre (56%). The population density of the different zones is also very expressive: denser in the Centre and Extension (1.4 persons/Ha) and less in the large multi-storey housing neighborhoods (0.1 to 0.9 persons/Ha). These figures highlight the importance and variety of the open spaces in the traditional layouts and the flexibility provided to them by the relationship between public and private spaces through numerous mixed forms, whereas the spaces of the blocks of flats are completely void of this complementariness, and in this sense of poorer design (Martínez Sarandeses *et al*, 1999: 19).



Fig. 5 - Historical Madrid East View 2012 (Picture JGM).

After II World War and until the seventies, in the United Kingdom, initially for eradication of slums and due to urgency of reconstruction, politicians and councilors who provided the political and organizational impetus behind large-scale housing production, supported ambitious building plans of Modern blocks in British and Scottish towns. As many studies have pointed out from the 1950's designers of the Modern Movement, especially those of the London County Council enjoyed both professional power and political backing. Twenty years later the effects of the new forms in town were contested. «In fact, one can say than town planning and architectural preferences completely reversed between the late forties and the late sixties. In the forties, cottages or tenement lining traditional streets were condemned, while high blocks set in open space were praised; by the late sixties and early seventies a rejection of highs blocks and public open space had set in, and there was a renewal liking for 'traditional' rows of housing along ordinary streets» (Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994: 4).

In France, Spain or Italy, the flat tradition was strong and unchallenged, but the bad quality of materials, the physical layout of the blocks estates as well as social considerations contributed to develop criticism against the new neighborhoods. From an open space point of view, the large multi-storey housing complexes constitute poor



Fig. 6 - Block States: Construction of Begoña Neighborhood. Madrid 1972 (Picture José Martínez Sarandeses).

and homogeneous landscapes of parallel rows of similar narrow buildings, without courtyards and streets, and absence of blocks (*manzanas*) and plots (*parcelas*). During the eighties, urban social movements at the grass root level in Paris *grand ensembles* or in Madrid or Barcelona *polígonos* were common. In Madrid, the first democratic city council, after forty years of dictatorship, undertook in the first eighties a plan of slum clearance and neighborhood's renewal (*Remodelación de barrios*) based upon new town planning criteria. The *Ensanche* tradition was re-evaluated, and the block reintroduced. But differences between these news *ensanches* of the eighties and the historic one were considerable (Fig. 7): Peripheral locations; lower block densities in the new areas; urbanization by large lots; first floors devoted to dwellings instead than to stores and business (without «eyes on the street» using the Jane Jacobs concept); priority for motorways. And above all, a unified access in a single point of each block. (López de Lucio, 2013: *passim*). Even though the quality of materials as well as social qualities improved significantly, there continued to be problems in design that impacted the open spaces, leading to closed blocks and, in a way also to gated communities.



Fig. 7 - New extension in Madrid with blocks (manzanas): Valdebernardo (1996) (Google map).

Hybrid Peripheries Without Urban Life in Open Spaces

The urban sprawl has diluted the margins and put an end to the compact city, occupying periphery with heterogeneous pieces that are all too often disproportionate, and almost eliminating the relationships that characterize a city. According to the architect Fernando de Terán, «we are in front of a ‘non-city’ which sprawls over territory, dotting it with expressways and other infrastructures, consuming natural [and cultural] landscapes and deteriorating the environment» (Terán, 2002: 38). What occurs in the

peripheral city is opposite, in all senses, to the attributes we typically assign to our traditional cities (quoting other Spanish architect, a specialist in urban peripheries, Ramón López de Lucio, 2007:8-12): discontinuity, fragmentation, impermeable boundaries; functional specialization in homogeneous packages, whether due to their use, their type of construction or the social class; a predominance of private cars; many huge shopping malls; an absence of streets because the roads, with no pedestrians, are limited to traffic; a metropolitan life that takes place in large constructed containers, such as shopping centres. «The periphery is any space lacking continuity or repetition or system» (Solà-Morales, I. 1992). It is a place, not so much of emptiness, but rather in which there is a persistent feeling that things are indifferent to each other, in which unity is achieved only by contiguity or proximity, a vertiginous succession of images more than a patchwork landscape. «The worlds of cinema and photography have appropriately captured the force of these landscapes in which both activity and construction are always relegated by the divested space in which they are presented» (Solà-Morales, I. 1992: 2).

Many authors maintain that the peripheries are giving rise to the progressive construction of new aesthetic canons, relating above all to the *terrain vague*, a space of abandonment and void, which one drives through, contrasted and contradictory images occurring at a tremendous rate, a periphery of simultaneous kinetic perception, a landscape of zapping (Muñoz, F., 2012: 89-90 y 108-112). I have rarely had the chance to experience such an exciting and disturbing kinetic approach to peripheral landscapes as when I travelled last year in a high-speed train in China through the outskirts of the cities of Yangtse, with their extraordinary dimensions. In Chinese town planning, both traditional and socialist, one of the clearest features were boundaries between the cities and the large agricultural zones intended to supply them. Currently, along the uninterrupted urban corridor which follows the former Great Canal from Nanjing to Hangzhou, paddy fields of all sizes cohabit with the most extravagant types of buildings and multiple infrastructures. If one considers that in the last thirty years in China, migration from the country to the city has affected approximately 600 million people, and of these, around 200 million are illegal migrants who have moved into the undefined outskirts, then it can be assumed that peripheries are becoming the present city. Some use the term *sub-suburbanization*.

Without reaching these dimensions, Madrid's periphery, deployed among its ring-roads, give rise to hybrid territories presenting highly varied uses, forms and sizes: motor ways and energy infrastructures, large extensions of the metropolitan cities, open neighborhoods and gated communities, planned or spontaneous industrial estates, shopping centres, peripheral university campuses, business estates, big infrastructures, tertiary campuses, linear spontaneous settlements, interstitial spaces and



Fig. 8 - Extension of Carabanchel, city in the Madrid first metropolitan ring, 2012. (Picture JGM).

agricultural remnants, abandoned spaces, large gated properties, marginal occupation of slums, whether linear or areal, etc. There are vast hybrid areas in which the public space is reduced to the interstices and to abandoned land, while the shopping malls designed by specialists in marketing and private promotion are becoming the New Public Squares, pertaining to a society of shows and consumerism.

In a world of automobiles, some of the pieces constructed as highly architectural ones attempt to respond to criteria of energy sustainability. On the outskirts of Madrid, one can find certain paradoxical examples such as the so-called Eco-Boulevard located in the *Ensanche* of the town of Vallecas (Fig. 8). The project that won the international contest was presented as an innovative exercise of town planning that attempted to reinforce environmental comfort, promote social exchange and constitute a model of sustainable growth; the winning solution consisted of creating an enormous boulevard, with artifacts called «air trees», self-sufficient from an energy point of view, where the idea was to bring people together in a comfortable environment. The financial crisis, along with the architecture of this new neighborhood, which constitutes an extravagant catalogue of volumes and solutions, the disproportionate size of the boulevard, the artificialness



Fig. 9 - Ecoboulevard of Vallecas, Metropolitan Madrid, with an air tree (2012)
(Source: Ecosistema urbano).

of the «trees», the abandonment thereof, have all made of the Vallecas Urban Extension Plan an exhibition of failure and an counter-example of landscape. Within spaces of disproportionate design, invoking sustainability is not always reconciled with good landscape solutions.

The new urban peripheries contrast with all the previous urban areas in that they cannot be understood on the order and system of their layouts. This is well expressed by Ignasi Solà-Morales: «The contemporary city, the metropolis, the diffuse megalopolis, without limits, in permanent processes of formation and devastation, cannot longer be understood by means of a vision that finds support for permanent intelligibility in the order of its patterns. The city of the twentieth century with its streets and avenues, squares and gardens, still presented a comprehensible, general and permanent form. In short, the city of Modern Movement attempted, by means of centrality defining areas and transport infrastructures, to be seen as a simple and comprehensible structure. [...] In a situation of continuous construction and deconstruction, of permanent growth and renewal, of mutation and obsolescence, the unforeseeable condition of the current city becomes its true means of exhibition» (Solà Morales, 2002: 156-157).

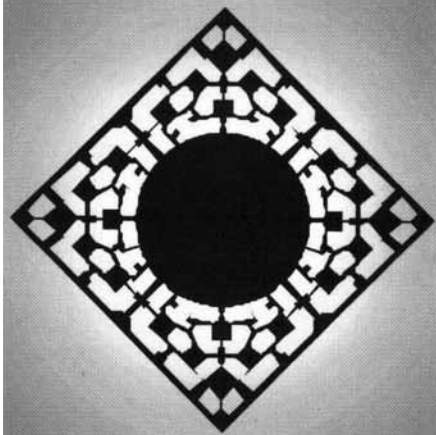


Fig. 10 - A model of good design: modulation of open spaces (public and private), residential buildings and motor and pedestrian ways (Source: Martínez-Sarandeses and al. 1999).

Towards Design Open Spaces for Sustainable Landscape and Quality of Life

The brief survey around the developmental patterns of some European cities illustrates the changes that have occurred in the city open spaces. From well-defined, open, safe, and multifunctional spaces, both public and private, we have ended with fewer public spaces of undefined character without continuity and of excessive size. The spaces between blocks are not really green spaces, rather, they are patchwork areas isolated by traffic networks, so they are often insecure and hardly used by pedestrians. Much sport activities are increasingly isolated to spaces within the residential blocks where access is restricted to residents. Families socialize only within these closed and restricted dwellings (López de Lucio, 2013: *passim*).

This may be true, but this perspective of the unit as a whole should not prevent the attention which must be paid to the large scale, to the minor areas or sectors. There is a need to recover traditional urban layouts in order to create a comfortable city and sustainable landscape, at least in concrete zones. As in all the processes I have been reviewing, the key still lies in open public spaces. Herein, there is a need for design, for guidelines of urban design containing appropriate rules of town planning and renewal, urbanization and maintenance of open spaces. The exercise performed on a theoretical plane by the architect and town planner Martínez-Sarandeses is a good example of this: he uses «a basic design unit» which suitably combines public and private open spaces as well as different roads and equipments. The proposal involves a basic module for a model of unlimited urban development which, compared with classical exten-

sions, acquires the proportions of a «superblock». In the shape of a rotated rhombus (Fig.10), it is based on the application of certain parameters: maximum distance to the junctions of public transport, which is located at corners; decreasing gradient of density, from the outside to the inside of the block – from the blocks on the perimeter to the single-family units at the core; the layout and the hierarchy are those of a road system that is never linear; the gradient too, in the public spaces, runs from the small intermediate square to the large central park. All of this makes up an autonomous organism generating a city by means of addition and which is seen as an approach to utopian thinking, but is based upon absolutely pragmatic principles (Martínez Sarandeses *et al*, 1999, 11-41).

The original and innovative ideas of some visionaries in urban planning have often ended in mediocre and even perverse results, given the number and strength of all the vested interests affecting urbanization, not to speak about the greed of some of the developers. We must excel in the design of public spaces, fitted for current and future uses, to enhance the present urban landscapes and the quality of life.

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3.2

HIDDEN LANDSCAPE. RETHINKING THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

*Henrique Pessoa Pereira Alves**

Introduction

The exponential urban growth in the contemporary world – with the world’s urban population reaching proportions and numbers never seen before – must orientate landscape research and project aimed at restoring the quality of life in the city, mainly with regard to the man/nature relationship and the demand for living space and recreation. The difficulty of rethinking contemporary urban landscape depends not only on the dimension of the urban phenomenon, but also on its complexity and on the more and more important environmental issues.

It is necessary to answer some basic questions on project interventions: which urban landscape arises from attempts to restore landscape and environment? How much can be done within the existing urban fabric? Where and how can be identified the new project areas? How far the destruction of the environment can be contained through new ways of ‘using’ the cities?

While trying to discuss again these questions, it is important to emphasize the importance of the ‘creation’ of a citizen sensible to the environmental impact of simple actions and decisions taken by him or her in everyday life. Only the education to these principles can change the standards that are needed for the recognition, appreciation and promotion of the new urban landscape. Assuming that ‘the city of the future’ already exists, it is the aim of landscape architects and urban designers to develop and promote systems of ‘gentle mobility’, which leads to a different way of understanding the relationship between man and nature. It is possible to unveil new ways to enjoy the city by its inhabitants – a perspective which has wider implications for the design process, even considering its ‘silent’ implementation.

It is also necessary to deal with the myriad of micro-spaces that are not concerned by edification and with the use of disused infrastructures. Often created for the transport of people and goods, these structures become the desired network connection between the surrounding areas and the city itself.

* This paper is an introduction to a more large study on the new urban landscape, based on the analysis of recent projects and urban situations in some major western cities.

Sustainability

“The city is in constant movement, transforming itself, metamorphosing. Nothing looks more like a living being than this rocky body”¹. We could speak in a similar way about landscape. What does city and landscape have in common? The city can be viewed as the greatest human creation of all times, and the main form of social organization. Landscape can be viewed as a major expression of culture. Thinking about the future of the city is the task of urban planners, architects and statesmen, but it is also a subject that fascinates and involves almost all, from intellectuals to ordinary citizens.

Shortly before the transition to the twenty-first century, the global phenomenon of urbanization reaches a crucial threshold. Considering the world’s population, the proportion of individuals living in the city exceeds that of the population living in countryside². But this is not the only threshold which is then reached.

The reversal of the relative proportions of citizens and countrymen, which already breaks a fragile balance, has been exacerbated by an unprecedented growth of global population and an alarming prospect for the future. The estimation for the year 2050 is of nine billion three hundred million people living on the planet (which corresponds to an increase of about two billion to the current figure). It is believed that about six billion three hundred million (the equivalent of nearly sixty-eight percent of individuals) will live in urban centers³. This is a disturbing figure, considering that it is *in the city and for the city* that the environmental failures were originated

At the same time, the traditional idea of city is changing. Troubling statistics are not the only way to figure the situation. A new physio-geographic dynamics can be observed, so it is now more appropriate to refer to the new realities as ‘city area’, ‘city networks’, ‘metropolitan region’, ‘city-region’, ‘megalopolis’ or ‘megistopolis’. It is evident that for the live of these agglomerations more and more unimaginable amounts of energy, raw materials and supplies are necessary, resulting in a enormous production and dispersion of waste in the environment.

The physiology of these new urban formations dramatically amplifies environmen-

¹ Michel Ragon, *L’homme et les villes*, Albin Michel, Paris 1995, p. 6.

² Roderick Lawrence, *Agir en Milieu Urbain: un défi intersectoriel pour promouvoir la santé*, in O. Coutard – J.-P. Lévy (a cura di), *Écologies Urbaines*, Ed. Economica, Paris 2010, p. 259.

³ *World Population Prospects*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, United Nations (UN), New York, for the years 2010, 2011 e 2012: http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Documentation/pdf/WPP2010_Volume-I_Comprehensive-Tables.pdf
http://esa.un.org/unup/pdf/WUP2011_Highlights.pdf
http://esa.un.org/wpp/documentation/pdf/WPP2012_%20KEY%20FINDINGS.pdf.



Fig. 1 - São Paulo, Brasil. (Photo Silvio Soares Macedo, FAUUSP Archive).

tal problems, resulting in an emergency situation we can already notice in the cities, bringing consequences for all the planet. It is clear that the possibility of regaining the environmental balance of the planet will be played around the urban areas.

It should be noted, however, that the awareness of the environmental damage derived from human speculative and predatory activities is not recent. It develops in the second half of twentieth century, becoming a main point of discussion in the scientific community. Ecological disciplines are then created and deepened. 'Landscape ecology' appears in the United States of America in the early eighties, considering man as an integral part of ecosystems and bringing the sciences of society nearer to the natural sciences⁴.

City governance – specially regarding the supply chains needed for its metabolism – acquires fundamental importance within a framework built on the idea that the planet must be thought of as a closed energy system. The new policies of urban government

⁴ Phillipe CLERGEAU, *Écologie urbaine et biodiversité* in O. Coutard e J.-P. Lévy, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-165.



Fig. 2 - Malines, Belgium.



Fig. 3 - Paris, France.

seek to contain or minimize the failures of the previous decades, when the environmental impact of decisions were neglected, given the allegedly inexhaustibility of coal as a source of energy, the limitless availability of land and the environment's ability to process pollution and waste produced by the city.

Despite this scenario, we still observe with a feeling of helplessness the adoption today of measures aimed at effectively addressing the issue of the urban environment in its various situations. This impasse can often be seen in all levels of decision – from the top of the government hierarchy to the individual citizen – when decisions are related to the environment in its everyday implications. Just see how much some governments are reluctant to sign international treaties aimed at establishing guidelines for shared use and exploitation of environmental resources at the global level, and to establish a development policy that actually adheres to the precepts of what it is now called 'sustainability'.

There is now a widespread awareness of the direct relationship between a policy for environmental protection and the quality of the landscape and the urban life, with its decisive role in the design of the city and in the creation of the new landscape. However, a real change of mentality will need generations. In this process, it is of paramount importance the development of a system of laws and a rigid control of its implementation. The analysis of this problem, given its specificity and extent, is beyond the scope of this paper. Our main point of interest is the identification of urban situations needed for the creation of a new landscape. The research is placed on a double track, in which discussion of legislative norms and considerations on the nature of the contemporary urban landscape are brought together in order to create an interactive dynamic leading to mutual 'interference'.

Hidden Landscape

A main theme of interest is the search for a new urban landscape, resulting from the application of the principles of sustainability to the design of the city, either as a result of a government policy, either in the case of spontaneous and vernacular expressions.

The approach we propose can be translated in the sentence: the city is already a 'matter of fact', it is already 'present'. By consequence, it is necessary to discover alternative forms of 'using' the city, which will create new perceptions of the urban landscape, and even a new urban landscape – an unusual one, even when already existing from a long time. The aim is to 're-invent' a new user of the city, and to highlight new qualities of the urban landscape.

A main aspect in the government of the contemporary city is related to the sustainability of its design, leading to the expression of a new way of life, consisting of urban



Fig. 4 - London, England.

practices reinvented. From the point of view of our investigation, it is necessary to analyze which perspectives are born from the implementation of new policies. Initially, it is necessary to verify how far decisions aiming 'to adapt' the city to the canons of sustainability can lead to a new form of use of the city itself. 'To adapt' often means to reorganize, in reference to a existing situation.

We believe that simple expedients can help quite effectively to increase the quality of life in urban areas. It is assumed that the recovery of 'gentle mobility' is – together with the use of public transportation – the most appropriate form of getting around the city: so it is necessary to implement it discovering the most interesting situations within the surrounding reality.

It is possible to verify and confirm the validity of this thesis analyzing possible and actual interventions in some European and American big cities or megalopolis. These cities, with so many strong differences within them, are perfect 'laboratories' for our purposes.



Fig. 5 - Madison Square, New York, USA.

The process of urban metamorphosis often produces a trail of decaying structures and neglected spaces, becoming the object of important projects and large discussion. However, other idle or under-used spaces are not noticed at all: they are part of a 'unknown' city within the 'official' one. What could unravel these areas if, through minor interventions, they were included in the system of *soft mobility*? We intend 'minor intervention' like opening a gate, clearing a passage, building steps or a ramp, a small bridge on to a little water course or over the shore of a lake or canal, blocking car traffic in a section of a urban street... From this point of view, we can affirm to have *created a new landscape*, while acting in a very limited form. All the factors were already in place: they were already part of the 'urban tangle', our starting point. It lacked only the one element, on which depends the very existence of the landscape: man's eyes.

Conditio sine qua non in this process is the ability to grasp visually the components of what is called 'landscape'. The ability to read the landscape in some depth, the ability to

decode it, to understand its poetics and the power of its stimuli are cultural attributes, so it is the same concept of 'landscape'. These general assertions acquire a particular importance in the case of the landscape of the city. The fascination of things that are not explicit, and which should be revealed, adds value to the *hidden landscape*.

Given the urban scene in which we are called to intervene as 'committed designers', our attention is driven in a particular way to the following question: what are the new criteria and what are the new values that should guide landscape projects, while we are searching for a new parameter for the quality of urban life? Which landscape will 'dominate' in the huge agglomerations of men we call megalopolis? To what extent does the landscape project will effectively contribute to the enhancement of the quality of urban life?

We can not forget how far the theme of the 'city of the future' has historically stimulated the imagination of men, driven by fear and fascination for the unknown. Plans, constructions, and studies on the subject are well known, from the cities of foundation to utopian visions. However, the interest for the city of the 'future' has never been the prerogative of only architects or urban planners. The 'idea' of fantastic cities have always solicited the imagination of so many individuals. Writers, painters, and filmmakers⁵ have viewed, and even anticipated a image of city and of social organization that became true after some time.

We must recognize that the 'city of the future' already exists. It was created in recent decades as the result of adaptations induced by the great rapidity of the changes in the world. The inevitable process of metamorphosis suggests that "you have to run if you still want to see things – everything is disappearing", to paraphrase the famous words of Cézanne. The urban landscape is the main factor in this process.

So we have to consider the effects generated by the environmental emergency in urban areas and by the global economic crisis. In recent years, the words 'sustainable city', 'sustainable development', 'development or sustainable cities', have had a tremendous success in the media, but it does not always have a precise meaning. There are different conceptions of 'durable city', for example, so you need to specify which one you are referring⁶.

Observing and listening to the basic needs of human beings may be a way to recover forgotten practices. It must be emphasized, however, that it does not mean acting di-

⁵ Jean Motett et al., *Les paysages du cinema*, Champ Vallon, Seyssel 1999.

⁶ Catherine Charlot-Valdeiu, Philippe Outrequin, *L'urbanisme durable. Concevoir un écoquartier*, Group Moneur, Paris 2009, p. 24.

rectly on economic issues (survival of the people: how to feed, educate, preserve health, provide decent housing for the population of a city) – things that can not be ignored, but they are not the purview of the landscape architect. We can only hope that these questions are raised and answered by those who should deal with it.

Very often the expression ‘sustainable development’ has a magic effect for people speaking about issues related to the salvation of the Earth and humanity. Very often such expressions are used only for the purposes of political propaganda or commercial interests. The mere reference to ‘sustainability’ gives any decision or product, in any field, a ‘politically correct’ image. This expression is declined in various ways and the danger is to find it combined with purely cosmetic solutions. Nevertheless, the seriousness of the matter should not be diminished, and it is now widely recognized by the international scientific community.

The ultimate goal of the work I am interested in is the identification of what can be called ‘landscape of sustainability’, which should provide inputs to new urban government policies. The demand for a better quality of urban living is not only derived from statistical information mentioned by government documents, but corresponds to an actual and pressing need of the most different groups of citizens in the new urban realities. This is a strong element in support of the objective of revealing the *hidden landscapes* – *i.e.*, the aim of producing a new landscape which recreates the quality of everyday life in urban contemporary areas.

3.3 THE GEOGRAPHY OF PERI-URBAN LANDSCAPES IN EUROPE

Marc Antrop

Defining Urbanisation

The settlement continuum

An urban place is one of many possible forms of human settlement. The United Nations recognised already in 1955 that “there is no point in the continuum from large agglomerations to small clusters or scattered dwellings where urbanity disappears and rurality begins [...] the division between urban and rural is necessarily arbitrary” (United Nations, 1955). Until the 19th century, towns and cities were easily recognisable as distinct urban places, as islands in a vast rural countryside, from which they were clearly separated by town walls. Historical towns had a characteristic morphology, a special way of life, a great autonomy and freedom thanks to a proper law, and they were centres where many specialised functions concentrated. Moreover, as political and economical core areas they controlled a vast hinterland and formed with other places urban networks. With the process of urbanization, many typical urban functions spread to all places and changed lifestyle even in the remote countryside. The clear distinction between urban and rural vanished. The main questions now are how to define urban places, and how to define urbanisation? Actually, urbanisation refers to two very different concepts: as a statistic and as a process.

Urbanisation as a statistic and as a process

First, the word urbanisation is used to denote a quantitative indicator as a statistic. The oldest one was expressing the degree of urbanisation by the proportion of the total population living in urban places. This is commonly used in international statistics. However, the meaning of ‘urban places’ varies a lot from country to country and defining and delimiting urban areas is a difficult and complex task.

Second, urbanisation refers to a process, which was initially defined by the United Nations as the movement of people from rural to urban areas, causing the growth of urban places and population decline in the countryside.

However, urbanisation can also be seen as a diffusion process of a new life style (*genre de vie*), introducing new functions and values, also in the countryside, and which demanded new forms of land use and consequently also transforms the landscape. This process changes the relationship between the urban and the rural and affects even the

remotest countryside. Urbanisation is a complex process and manifests itself in a great variety of new morphological forms and patterns. Consequently, many new concepts have been introduced to cover this complexity. Meeus and Gulinck (2008) gave an overview. A non-exhaustive list looks like this:

- suburbanisation - peri-urban, semi-urban, suburb, rurban, urban sprawl, urban shadow, (inner/outer) urban fringe,...
- counterurbanisation – disurbanisation, exo-urbanisation
- network city - città diffusa, fractal city, Nebelstadt ...
- reurbanisation – city villages, city agriculture ...
- primate city - megapolis
- metropolitan area
- metropolitan villages
- edge cities
- desakota
- exurbs
- ecopolis - lobe-city
- Large Urban Zone (LUZ)
- Functional Urban Regions or Areas (FUR/FUA)
- Urban Morphological Zones (UMZ)

The first series of concepts in this list is rather varied, which illustrates also the complexity of the matter. There is also a subtle linguistic difference: the concept peri-urban is more commonly used in Latin languages (French, Portuguese, Italian, etc.) in the sense of suburban as used in the English publications. In this article, peri-urban is used in a more general and generic way, encompassing these differences.

Often, the first phase in the urbanisation of the countryside is a functional change, while morphology remains unchanged. The classical example is a farm becoming a weekend house, residence or restaurant. The phase of functional urbanisation (Antrop 2004) has also been called ‘urbanisation in disguise’ (Præstholt and Kristensen 2007). In a second phase, morphology changes as well: new architecture, new constructions and infrastructure, and generally more build up land. Rural landscapes gradually transform into semi-urban or peri-urban landscapes (Meeus and Gulinck 2008, Antrop 2004, Berger et al. 1980).

Defining urban places

Urban areas can be defined mainly according to four different groups of criteria: 1. administrative units (e.g. municipalities), 2. statistical units (e.g. NUTS units), 3. mor-

phological characteristics (mainly land cover, e.g. built-up area, surfaced areas), and 4. functional indicators (e.g. population density or commuting distances). Most often, areas defined by each of these groups of criteria do not coincide. For Europe, ESPON collected eight different urban typologies (see Table 1).

Urban area typology	Author/ Sources	Year	Format	Geographical coverage
1. Urban Morphological Zones (UMZ)	EEA	2000	Raster (25 ha)	EU27 plus Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Liechtenstein and Macedonia
2. Degree of urbanisation	Eurostat, Statistical Yearbook 2006	2004	LAU2 grid	EU27 plus Norway, Iceland, Switzerland and Croatia
3. Functional Urban Areas according to their population	IGEAT / ESPON 1.4.3	2007	NUTS 5	EU27 plus Switzerland and Norway
4. Large cities and metropolises according to their population	IGEAT / ESPON 1.4.3	2007	NUTS 5	EU27 plus Switzerland and Norway
5. Typology of Functional Urban Areas (FUA)	IGEAT/ESPON 1.4.3	2007	Statistical indicators	EU27 plus Switzerland and Norway
6. Typology of Functional Urban Areas (FUA)	Nordregio/ ESPON 1.1.1.	2005	idem	EU27 plus Switzerland and Norway
7. City-types mapped	Urban Audit / DG Regio	2007 (data 2004)	15 indicators city level	Approx. 200 cities in EU27
8. Urban Audit Participating cities	Urban Audit	2006/ 2007	LUZ, 250 indicators	357 cities in EU27 plus Norway, Switzerland, Croatia and Turkey

Table 1 - Urban typologies according to the ESPON Typology Compilation (ESPON 2003b).

The problem of making the distinction between urban and rural and defining urban places can be illustrated very well with the Belgian situation (Antrop 2004). The Global Report on Human Settlements (United Nations Centre for Human Settlement (HABITAT) 1996) gives for Belgium a figure 97% for the urban population in 1995. For the most urbanized region of Flanders, the average population density was >400 inhabitants per square kilometre in 1993, while in the southern uplands of Wallonia the average density is <20 inhabitants per square kilometre. In Belgium, urban centres are defined and classified according to many criteria such as the concentration of population, the multi-functionality of the centre and its sphere of influence, the heterogeneity of

the population and the building density (National Committee of Geography 2012). It is more sensible to say that Belgium counts 15 urban regions of at least 80,000 inhabitants, grouping about 53% of the total population. Besides the main cities there are many other (large and small) towns and urbanized villages.

However, according to the ESPON 2013 Database (ESPON 2013a), the conurbation “Bruxelles-Antwerpen-Gent” occupies the 6th place in the top ten ranking of Urban Metropolitan Zones (UMZ2000 database) with 3,769,885 inhabitants and a density of 1,841 inh./km². Brussels is a typical example of a city that stretches far beyond its administrative borders and over different political regions (Flemish region and Brussels-Capital region). The ESPON naming rules for the UMZ resulted in a type of “UMZ with several cores” named “Bruxelles-Antwerpen-Gent”, which does not perfectly correspond to the definition of the “Flemish Diamond” and “Brussel”, as used in the Belgian planning context.

As population counts are based on administrative spatial units, which vary a lot in size and shape and are defined on very different criteria, the outcome of defining urban places by population size or density becomes hazardous. For example the population size of London in 1991 was estimated as 6.7 million inhabitants in the main built-up area, 7.4 million in what was defined as ‘urban region’ and 12.5 million for the ‘metropolitan area’. A settlement is considered an urban place when it has >2,500 inhabitants in the USA, when a municipality in The Netherlands exceeds 2,000 inhabitants, while in France an agglomeration of contiguous housing of >2,000 inhabitants is needed.

Often population size is used to define the typology and hierarchy of urban places in series, such as mega (world) cities – metropolis – primate cities – main (capital) cities – towns – villages – hamlets – farmsteads – homesteads. The distribution of the settlements ranked by size shows a remarkable regularity known as the rank-size rule, also referred to as Zipf’s law (Fonseca 1988). In general, the frequencies of settlements of a given rank decrease in size relative to the size of the largest city in the areas (country, region, world) according to a power function. This results in a few large cities and a much larger number of smaller settlements depending on their rank. In its simplest form, the rank-size rule states that the size of the city with a given rank tends to be equal to the size of the largest city divided by that rank (Haggett 1975). The rank-size rule was popular amongst the urban geographers during the 1960s to 1980s. The rule helped to classify national or regional city-systems according to the degree of dominance exhibited by a primate city. However, many anomalies to the rank-size rule existed due to regional specificities and history, and later studies showed increasing anomalies as settlement forms and urbanisation became more complex. For example, the deviation from Zipf’s law is most significant for the top ten UMZ in Europe (ESPON 2013a).

With the availability of high resolution aerial imagery and the development of land cover mapping, built-up and surfaced areas became new criteria for defining urban areas. Also here, spatial size (resolution) and shape of the map units and the choice and definition of the land cover categories being considered as urban, resulted in different solutions. Most common in Europe have become the Urban Metropolitan Zones (UMZ), but many other concepts emerged as well. Some will be discussed briefly.

From Urban–Rural Dichotomy Towards *Functional Urban Regions* and *Urban Morphological Zones*

The European Spatial Development Programme introduced the concept of Functional Urban Areas (FUA) (SPESP 2000). It was an attempt to solve the problem that the functional urban area typically extends well beyond the administrative and morphological boundaries of a town or city and that all kind of fluxes and flows could cover vast areas over long distances. Simultaneously, the relationship between urban and rural was defined, as expressed by the types of functional urban areas that were recognised:

- Regions dominated by a large metropolis
- Polycentric regions with high urban and rural densities
- Polycentric regions with high urban densities
- Rural areas under metropolitan influence
- Rural areas with networks of medium-sized and small towns
- Remote rural areas

Clearly, the vision is one over urban dominance and the rural countryside offering services to the cities (ESPON 2007).

Meanwhile, the Directorate-General for Regional Policy (DG-Regio) of the European Commission took the initiative for the Urban Audit (European Communities 2004). The aim was to harmonise definitions of urbanisation in Europe and to collect comparable statistics and indicators for cities, at three different scales (Sub-Districts, City Core and Larger Urban Zones). These definitions were agreed between Eurostat and the National Statistics Offices of the different countries. Eurostat introduced the concept of a Larger Urban Zone (LUZ) attempting to delimit and map functional areas around cities, mainly related to commuting zones. The approach is bottom-up, using the national definitions and statistical sources to define the LUZ, which are subsequently adjusted to administrative boundaries that approximate the Functional Urban Region (FUR). In 2006 LUZ definitions were changed significantly improving the comparability of LUZ definitions across different countries.

The LUZ are mapped in the European Urban Atlas and are basically inter-comparable,

high-resolution land use maps for 305 Large Urban Zones and their surroundings, having more than 100.000 inhabitants as defined by the Urban Audit for the year 2006 (EEA 2013, Mequignon/SIRS 2011). Essentially, the Urban Atlas only represents the land use of selected urban areas based on statistical criteria, i.e. the major, 'benchmarking' cities in Europe.

The European Environmental Agency used the concept of the Urban Morphological Zones (UMZ), defined by Milago (2007) and Simon et al. (2010) as "a set of urban areas laying less than 200m apart." It is a typical top-down approach starting from a unique set of criteria and a common dataset. These urban zones are identified from land cover classes contributing to the urban tissue and function, derived from CORINE Land Cover data (CLC) 'Urban core classes' are used, i.e. continuous and discontinuous urban fabric, industrial and commercial units, green urban areas, and adding 'enlarged core classes' in case they fulfil certain neighbourhood conditions to the core classes (e.g. port areas, airports, sport and leisure facilities, as well as transportation networks within a 300 m buffer from the core areas, and forest en scrub areas situated within the core areas. Urban Morphological Zones have been determined for 2000 and 2006 and can be downloaded from the EEA website. UMZ have been linked also to the Urban Atlas (EEA) and Urban Audit.

The method used to define the UMZ was inspired by the one used by French Census Board (INSEE) to define the French urban areas (*unités urbaines*). Criteria and rules were set to define and name the UMZ in relation to the administrative units where population data were extracted. When the majority (> 50%) of the population of the UMZ is located in one administrative unit, the UMZ corresponds mainly to one morphological centre that gives its name to the UMZ. In other cases the UMZ can encompass several urban cores (and gets a complex name in case all cores are equally important, or otherwise gets the name of the most populated place). Consequently, the names of the UMZ do not correspond to cities names in other classifications, such as Eurostat of the national ones. This makes comparison extremely difficult as illustrated in Table 2.

City	UMZ name	UMZ top50 population	Eurostat population (2003-2006)	Official population (actual)
Paris	Paris	9,656,810	2,181,374	2,243,833
London	Greater London Urban Area	8,221,307	7,429,200	8,308,369
Milan	Milano	4,164,504	1,299,439	1,366,409
Essen*	Essen/Duisburg/Dortmund//Bochum/Gelsenkirchen-1	3,892,380	588,084	566,862
Madrid	Madrid-1	3,823,031	3,228,319	3,233,527

City	UMZ name	UMZ top50 population	Eurostat population (2003-2006)	Official population (actual)
Brussels*	Brussel/Antwerpen/Gent	3,769,885	999,899	1,138,854
Manchester*	Manchester	3,546,819	437,000	510,772
Athens*	Dimos Athinaion	3,489,768	796,442	655,780
Berlin	Berlin-1	3,367,457	3,387,828	3,394,130
Barcelona*	Barcelona	3,088,470	1,621,537	1,620,943
Naples	Napoli	2,354,010	995,171	956,664
Birmingham*	West Midlands Urban Area	2,286,859	992,400	1,085,417
Budapest	Budapest	2,042,024	1,695,814	1,740,041
Warsaw	M.St.Warszawa	1,948,024	1,716,855	1,711,324
Bucharest	Bucaresti-1	1,925,741	1,927,448	1,883,425
Rome	Roma-1	1,891,236	2,553,873	2,799,350
Hamburg	Hamburg-1	1,838,019	1,734,830	1,742,707
Katowice*	M.Katowice/M.Sosnowiec/M.Gilwice/ M.Zabrze/M.Bytom-1	1,810,260	319,904	308,269
Cologne*	Koeln-1	1,767,659	969,709	1,024,373
Vienna	Wien	1,756,034	1,598,626	1,749,673
Lisbon*	Lisboa/Sintra	1,749,316	529,485	547,631

Table 2 - Comparison of some major UMZ according to their population size and naming. * indicates that the city is one of many urban cores in the UMZ.

A Diverse Geography of Urban Landscapes in Europe

Following analysis is based on the mapping of the Urban Morphological Zones (UMZ2000) by the European Environmental Agency (EEA 2013) and the Top 50 rank of UMZ having a population larger than 500 000, and as named and classified by ESPON (ESPO 2013a). The geographical situation, shape and size of the UMZ were used for a typological classification of the map patterns of the major UMZ in Europe. The result is shown in Figure 1.

Following observations can be made. The Top 50 rank of UMZ is based on their population (2001) and clearly other UMZ with smaller population but larger area exist as well (on the map: red patches with blue symbol or not marked).

Most UMZ have a star-shaped footprint. This holds for large UMZ (i.e. having a diameter of at least 50 kilometre), such as Paris, Berlin, Milan, Budapest, as well as smaller

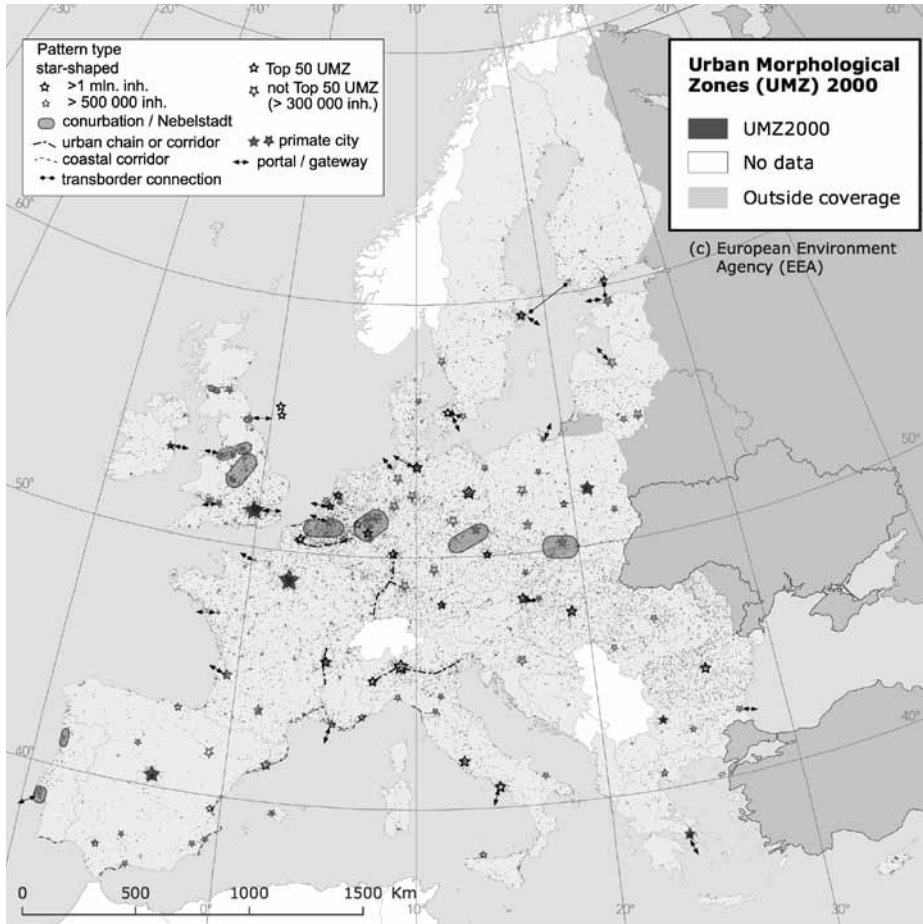


Fig.1: Urban Metropolitan Zones in the EU (dark spots, EEA UMZ 2000 database) occupied only 4.3% of the total area of the EU in 2009, but had 80% of total population (2006). Star-up symbols represent the Top 50 UMZ with their typology of their spatial pattern; star-down symbols indicate cities with more than 300,000 inhabitants not belonging to the Top 50 UMZ (further explanation: see text).

UMZs, such as Prague, Lyon, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Belgrade, Bucharest, Warszawa, Sofia, Vilnius, Torino, Madrid and Rome.

The star-shape corresponds to a type of urban sprawl controlled by the access roads and time distance to the centre, as described by the model of Lewis and Maund (1976)

and Antrop (2000). Although many of these are not rigorously planned as for example the Finger Plan of Copenhagen, the morphology of the spatial pattern is similar. For smaller urban places this morphology looks also similar to the result of city planning according to the ecopolis strategy or the concept of a lobe-city (Tjallingii, 2000, 2006), but the processes that created these patterns are often completely different and did not aim a sustainable development.

Another observation is that, in some countries, primate cities are developing fast, while simultaneously their hinterland is emptying. These are indicated by shade symbols in Figure 1. Examples are Dublin in Ireland, Oslo in Norway, Copenhagen in Denmark, Helsinki in Finland, Tallinn in Estonia, but also Athens in Greece.

Depending on their situation, cities can develop international linkages (see Figure 1). This is the case for example between Tallinn-Helsinki, Stockholm-Turku, Copenhagen-Malmö, but also between Vienna-Bratislava. Clearly, natural barriers and political borders give opportunities for international networking.

The coastal situation offers the possibility to develop sea portals or gateways, e.g. Riga, Gdansk, Naples and Lisbon, or form urban chains and corridors, such as along the Côte d'Azur, the Costa Brava, or stretching inland as La Spezia-Livorno-Lucca-Firenze.

Urban chains also develop along borders of main natural landscape regions (e.g. along the Alpine foothills with the corridor Milan-Brescia-Verona-Padua as a typical example). Also natural corridors are used to develop urban chains, such as the Rhine valley and tributaries, with Strasbourg-Karlsruhe-Mannheim-Wiesbaden-Frankfurt am Main) and the Mosel valley (e.g. Nancy- Metz- Luxemburg-Saarbrücken).

More complex and often mixed types of UMZs are found in the 'Blue Banana', e.g. Nord-Pas-de-Calais in France; the Flemish Diamond and Brussels, the Borinage-Liège axis in Belgium, Randstad Holland in the Netherlands and the Ruhr in Germany. These are typical for urban-industrial conurbations and types of urbanisation as *rurban*, *città diffusa* or *Nebelstadt*.

Urbanisation as a process

To operationalize concepts related to urbanisation and to achieve useable delineations, the main problem is to get up-to-date, significant and reliable data. Statistical data and land cover maps only show a static moment in time, and are most often the result of the combination of data with different time references. Thus, times series of data and maps are needed to deal with changes. However, changes observed in this manner do not always reveal on-going processes (Antrop & Van Eetvelde 2008). To understand how processes interact and what mechanisms are active, theoretical models are needed to understand the dynamics of spatial patterns. Urban studies offered new concepts and

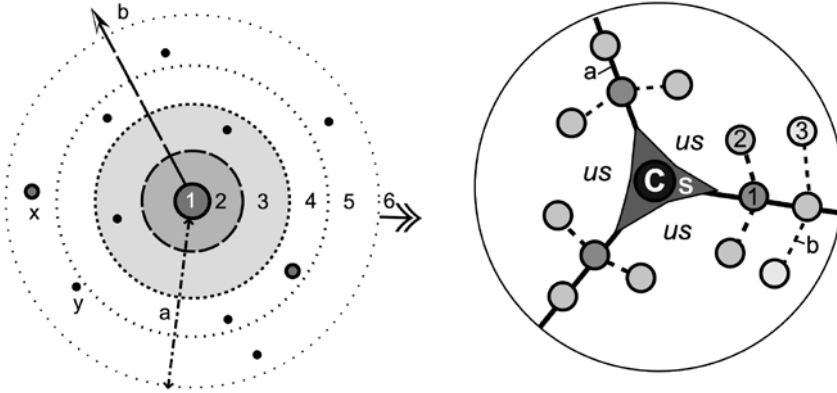


Fig. 2 - The urban field and fringe according to the model of Bryant: 1. core, 2. inner fringe, 3. outer fringe, 4. urban shadow, 5. rural hinterland, 6. weekend and seasonal life space, x. urban node, y. isolated residence, a. max. commuting zone, b. urban field or the city's countryside (after Bryant C. et al. 1982).

Fig. 3 - Urban sprawl along access routes: C city centre, S urban sprawl, US Urban shadow, a. major transport axis, b. secondary transport axis, 1-3 successive phases in urbanisation of smaller places (after Lewis and Maund 1976).

models to understand urbanisation as a process and some significant ones that are helpful to understand the diversity and development of urban patterns are discussed briefly.

Spatial models

Since von Thünen (1842) demonstrated how land use zoning around estates are formed by economic factors and Christaller (1933) conceptualised central places and settlement networks, it became clear that urban places interact with vast hinterlands and with each other. Landscape, in particular land use, is organised accordingly. Early models defined the influence of an urban place on its surroundings as a function of the distance to the centre. A classical example is the concentric model by Bryant et al. (1982) defining concepts such as urban field, urban fringe and urban shadow (Fig. 2).

Large centres develop better interconnections causing a gravitational effect on time-space. This is called urban implosion. Areas nearby urban centres that have poor accessibility (i.e. by road, public transportation) become less dynamic and changes slow down. These areas form the urban shadow. Clearly the access routes to the urban core area are important to explain urban sprawl, as illustrated by the model of Lewis and Maund (1976) (Fig. 3).

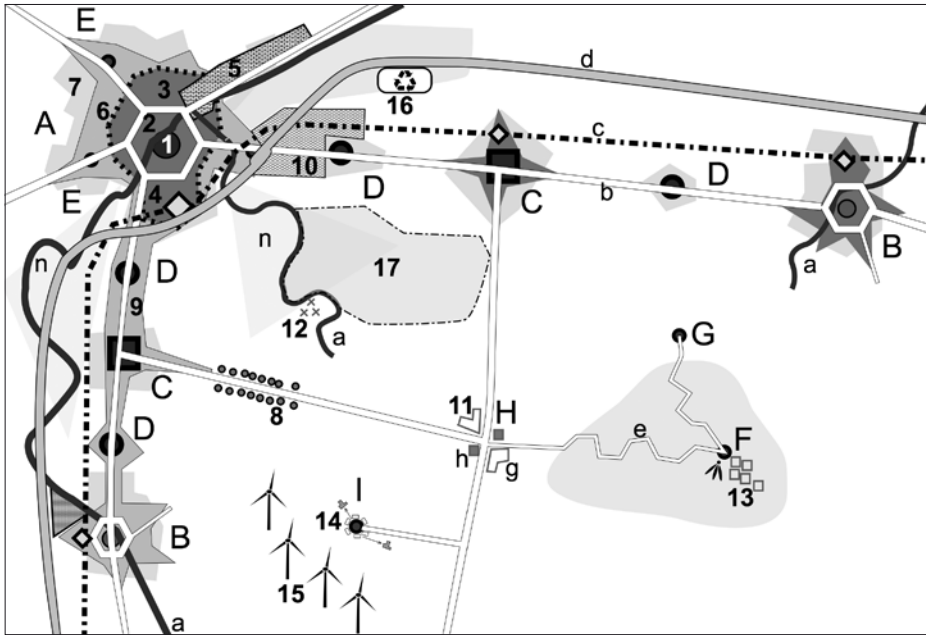


Fig. 4 - Star-shaped model of the complex urbanisation process. Explanation: see text. Figure not on scale (after Antrop 2000).

Continuing urban sprawl and diversification of the urban fabric created complex urban conurbations and networks, and also caused urbanisation of the countryside, resulting in fragmentation of rural, natural and forest landscapes. Antrop (2000) made an attempt to synthesize these processes of urbanisation in the European context (Figure 4). An urban network consists of places of different size: (A) city, (B) town, (C) small town, (D) village, (E) village absorbed in urban agglomeration, (F), (G) and (I) isolated villages in the countryside and (H) crossroads clusters. These are connected by different means of transportation: (a) river, (b) main (paved) road, (c) railroad, (d) motorway, (e) rural road. Larger places have an old historical centre (1) and former town walls became ring roads (2). Successive phase of urban sprawl are (3) the 19th century fringe, (4) districts around railway stations, (5) industrial zones, (6) first phase of high-density suburbanisation, absorbing adjacent rural villages, (7) low-density suburbanisation of the surrounding countryside (rurban). River valleys constitute greenways with important natural qualities (n). Other developments are: (8) ribbon-building along the roads

offering a good accessibility to the main centres, (9) urban-commercial corridors, (10) new activity zones near crossroads and edge cities, (11) crossroads settlements old (h) and new (g), (12) weekend houses, (13) exurbs, (14) up-scaled farms move out of the village, (15) wind farm, (16) shopping mall, (17) compound.

One of the ways spatial planning attempted to control this kind of star-shaped urban sprawl and the urbanisation of the countryside, was the development of zoning plans and protecting the untouched open rural land in the urban shadow between the urban corridors, by creating greenways, emphasizing on ecological networks, both green and blue (water) corridors. An early example of this kind of planning was the Fingerplan of Copenhagen.

Spatial-temporal models

Urbanisation is a highly dynamical complex of interacting processes, which can be described by diffusion models (Antrop 2004). Significant is the observation that cycles of urbanisation and counter-urbanisation can be recognised. The model of differential urbanisation by Geyer and Kontuly (1993) is an important example (Fig. 5). It explains the decline of the urban fringe through counter-urbanisation and the time lapse between the urbanisation processes of larger places (cities, towns) and smaller settlements, such as villages. The successive phases of urbanisation are like a diffusion wave from large urban centres to the deepest rural countryside. Cheshire (1996) applied the concept on the large Functional Urban Regions in the EU and showed the regional time shift from Northwest Europe to the Eastern Mediterranean.

Counter-urbanisation, urban renewal and urbanisation of the countryside

Counter-urbanisation is the process of decline and deterioration of urban fringes, suburbs and peri-urban areas and causes many indirect effects elsewhere. The causes of counter-urbanisation are multiple and following have been recognised (Antrop 2000, Lucy and Philips 1997, Champion 1989, 2001):

- Loss of qualities in suburbs as a result of several related factors. First, there is deteriorating housing quality. Buildings that are not anymore compliant with environmental and safety rules, e.g. energy consumption and isolation. Also, architectural styles are not attractive for new generations. Real estate prices drop. Second, increasing traffic congestion makes that the city is not anymore nearby in terms of time. Finally, the semi-rural landscape of the urban fringe became lost and new developments are rarely aesthetical.
- Services and industry are seeking rural locations. Job opportunities are growing in

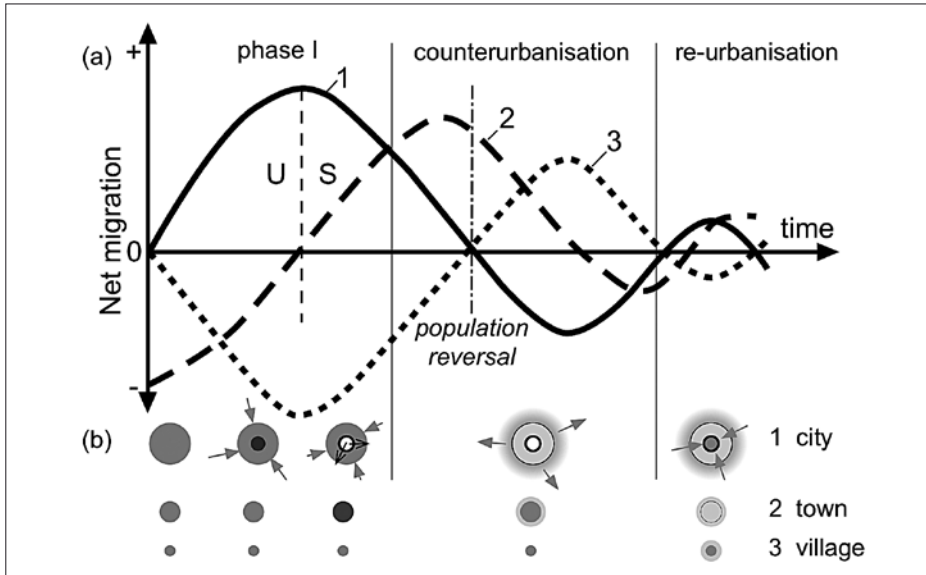


Fig. 5 - Model of differential suburbanisation (after Geyer and Kontuly 1993, Champion 2001, Antrop 2004).

the outer urban fringe with good accessibility (edge cities). Loss of time due to traffic congestion near cities makes you getting faster in the countryside using inter-city motorways. Also, increasing tele working stimulates this process.

- The countryside is becoming empty and cheap. Urban places attract people from the countryside, with marginalisation of the land use and even land abandonment as consequences. The remote countryside becomes the 'rural residue' (Lowenthal 1997). However, because land becomes cheap and environmental restrictions are often less strict, the countryside also becomes attractive for new forms of development.
- Changes in agriculture offer new opportunities in the peri-urban: subsidies for development of rural activities (such as EU CAP and rural development programmes) (Vos and Klijn 2000); part-time and hobby farmers who are "attached to the land" but not part of the "maintenance of the fabric of rural society" (Robinson 1990).
- The development of second homes, weekend cottages and the emergence 'summer suburbs'.
- The retirement migration from the suburbs to the city centre, becoming more attractive due to urban renewal, or to coastal resorts.

The major driving factors here can be summarized as changing life style, changing mobility and accessibility.

Conclusion

Statistical indicators are used to define urban places and areas and aim to express the degree of mainly morphological en in a lesser degree functional urbanisation. This is mainly based on population and land cover data sources. Different approaches lead to different classifications of urban places, which rarely coincide or are consistent. Moreover, in the attempt to obtain internationally comparable classifications, the European scale does not reflect the internal spatial heterogeneity or the specific identity of the urban places. The geographical diversity of urban places is still very rich and contributes to the regional character. Also, the international classifications do not include how general driving forces act at the regional and local scale and what processes are involved.

Urbanisation and the related industrial and commercial development and densification of transport infrastructure, is factor of pronounced process of polarisation of geographical space. In rather small core areas urban occurs a concentration of people and activities, resulting in an extreme intensification of multifunctional land use. Simultaneously, vast areas in the periphery and in between urban core areas, in the urban shadow, are becoming extensively used. These areas are characterised by reducing services, loss of functionality, increasing marginalisation, reforestation and rewilding, and finally land abandonment. Clearly as a process, urbanisation is affecting all landscapes, and all aspects of the landscape are affected.

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3.4 LES RAPPORTS SOCIAUX À LA NATURE ET LEURS ÉVOLUTIONS

Yves Luginbühl

S'opposant à la dynamique régulière et inexorable du paysage que les historiens des années 1930 supposaient, l'actuelle conception des temporalités des paysages fait de leur évolution une succession de ruptures, d'accélération et de chaos. Les paysages européens, et sans doute de la planète ont traversé des crises qui n'ont pas provoqué que des changements matériels: ils en ont profondément modifié les représentations et les valeurs¹. Conçu comme une double construction sociale, matérielle et immatérielle, le paysage est le produit de l'interaction entre la dynamique de la nature et de celle des activités sociales; les rapports sociaux à la nature s'inscrivent directement au sein des représentations que les sociétés se construisent des paysages. Préciser l'évolution de ces rapports permet de mieux comprendre comment les sociétés ont envisagé leur insertion dans les paysages et comment ils imaginent y vivre et y développer leurs activités.

Les récentes recherches sur les paysages ont fourni la mesure des liens étroits établis entre la gouvernance territoriale et les rapports que les sociétés entretiennent avec les paysages. Il a fallu cependant que se rencontrent, à l'occasion de l'ambition européenne de la recherche sur le paysage², des conceptions presque diamétralement opposées, les unes plutôt tournées vers la dimension politique du paysage et d'autres, orientées vers les interactions entre le biophysique et le social. L'explicitation de ces liens a procédé par étapes successives, qui ont tout d'abord mis l'accent sur le rôle fondamental des temporalités – naturelles d'un côté – sociales de l'autre permettant de saisir la complexité des rapports sociaux à la nature et des modes de gouvernance des territoires: temps écartelés entre les temps géologiques et les temps sociaux, qui peuvent être à la fois aussi longs que brefs (le temps de la formation de la terre et celui d'un séisme, le temps de l'histoire et celui d'un mandat politique).

¹ Luginbühl Yves, *La mise en scène du monde, construction du paysage européen*, Editions CNRS, Paris.

² Voir notamment les programmes de recherche du Ministère Français de l'Écologie sur le paysage: 1998-2005, *Politiques publiques et paysages: analyse, évaluation, comparaison*; 2005-2010, *Paysage et développement durable*, phase 1; 2010-2015, *Paysage et développement durable*, phase 2. Voir également les colloques internationaux organisés par le même ministère en 2004 (Bordeaux; *De la connaissance des paysages à l'action paysagère*), et en 2011 (Perpignan-Gérone, *Paysages de la vie quotidienne*).

Cette première réflexion a croisé un second processus, celui de la prise de conscience de la question environnementale par l'individu-monde, confronté aux pressions de la mondialisation de l'économie et de sa financiarisation, résolu de se dégager de la hiérarchie descendante qu'exerce la politique sur la prise de décision dans l'aménagement du territoire et souhaitant désormais peser lui aussi dans un processus ascendant que le monde politique a du mal à admettre.

La crise actuelle éclaire l'évolution du sens du paysage au cours de l'histoire pendant laquelle se sont croisés ces divers processus: elle a modifié les rapports sociaux à la nature, eux-mêmes associés aux caractéristiques sociales, au mode de gouvernance territoriale, aux rapports de classes sociales, notamment.

Les paysages périurbains, les plus en expansion aujourd'hui, souvent décriés comme les paysages les plus dégradés et opposés à l'idée de l'harmonie paysagère, posent en effet la question des rapports à la nature. Ni ville, ni campagne, ils représentent une catégorie hors des canons esthétiques habituels: les spécialistes n'ont pas encore trouvé une dénomination qui pourrait leur convenir. Parmi ces paysages, ceux qui entourent les villes d'Europe de l'est présentent une configuration singulière: depuis l'instauration du collectivisme après la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, ils ont été envahis par d'innombrables lotissements de jardins ouvriers et familiaux qui répondaient à l'incapacité de l'économie du système soviétique à nourrir les populations.

C'est à travers l'analyse des rapports à la nature qu'entretiennent les «jardiniers» de ces parcelles que peut être saisie leur dynamique en les comparant à celle des pays d'Europe occidentale.

Temps des crises et modèles paysagers

La crise du 14^{ème} siècle, démographique avec la disparition de près de 50% de la population européenne³, climatique avec une période d'étés froids et pluvieux, économique avec l'essoufflement du système agraire féodal et politique avec la prise du pouvoir économique par les classes bourgeoises aux dépens de l'aristocratie et du clergé, qui annonce la Renaissance et l'arrivée des termes équivalents au paysage dans les langues européennes, révèle les modèles paysager du pastoral ou du bucolique et du pays de cocagne. En même temps, elle annonce le déclin du droit coutumier au profit d'un droit

³ En raison de la grande épidémie de peste mais également de l'affaiblissement des populations ayant moins accès à une alimentation carnée donc protéinique, car la période précédente a vu une forte poussée démographique entraînant des défrichements aux dépens des espaces de pâture, donc de l'élevage.

régalien qui met à mal les modes de gouvernance territoriale locale fondés sur les usages locaux, comme le précise Kenneth Olwig⁴.

La crise du 18^{ème} siècle est plus profondément politique tout d'abord, bouleversant les régimes de monarchie absolue au profit de la démocratie, notamment en France et aux Etats-Unis; mais c'est surtout une crise économique qui voit la fin du système économique féodal, remplacé par le libéralisme qui permet le développement industriel, en Angleterre tout d'abord, dans le reste de l'Europe ensuite, avec l'instauration généralisée de la propriété individuelle du sol, la suppression de la propriété collective et la fin corrélative de l'interdiction de la clôture des champs. Le développement industriel, fondé sur la suprématie de l'homme sur la nature, dont il accélère la vitesse pour devenir plus puissant qu'elle (la machine à vapeur et les lois de la thermodynamique) instaure ainsi le modèle paysager du sublime, exprimant la victoire de l'homme sur la nature et celui du pittoresque, fondement esthétique du tourisme.

Les sociétés européennes et mondiales sont entrées dans la troisième grande crise, politique, qui déstabilise le fonctionnement des démocraties et laisse la place aux extrêmes, économique où les forces financières mettent à mal la redistribution des richesses et bien évidemment écologique avec le développement du protectionnisme de la nature et les risques du changement climatique et de l'érosion de la biodiversité. Tout ceci ne se fait pas sans changement de l'organisation sociale, ni sans changement des modèles paysagers: apparaissent alors les modèles du pittoresque biologique et nostalgique, ainsi que celui du paysage quotidien, notamment reconnu par la Convention Européenne du Paysage adoptée en octobre 2000 par 18 Etats du Conseil de l'Europe et aujourd'hui ratifiée par 36 pays membres. Le paysage quotidien est le principal enjeu de l'aménagement des paysages aujourd'hui, car il est celui qui environne la très grande majorité des européens et même des populations de la planète, celui qu'elles vivent dans l'exercice de leur vie quotidienne.

De quoi est fait le paysage quotidien ?

Définir le paysage quotidien revient à se pencher sur ce qui fait le cadre de vie de chaque individu; le paysage quotidien est tout d'abord fait de la matérialité naturelle et artificielle qui dessine des formes produites par les effets des activités économiques, culturelles, sociales sur les milieux, mais plus précisément par l'interaction entre le

⁴ Olwig, K. R., 2002, *Landscape, Nature and the body politic, from britain's renaissance to America's new world*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

biophysique et le social, c'est-à-dire par l'immatérialité des représentations sociales du paysage qui expriment l'effet en retour des transformations matérielles des milieux et des paysages sur les formes de pensée de la nature.

Le paysage quotidien est donc fait aussi de valeurs que les individus attribuent aux paysages et qu'il est inutile de repréciser ici: valeur de liberté, d'harmonie (sociale, écologique et esthétique) qui suppose leurs contraires, c'est-à-dire la contrainte sociale et la dysharmonie. En outre, les rapports que les individus entretiennent à la nature dépendent en partie des sens humains mobilisés pour l'évaluation sensible des paysages.

Les individus se représentent le paysage quotidien selon trois échelles qui expriment les manières dont le paysage a été structuré dans le cours de l'histoire: une échelle globale, ou arrière plan selon John Searle⁵, qui fait référence aux modèles paysagers évoqués précédemment, et qui expriment le sens des rapports à la nature conçu et diffusé par l'ensemble des médias (littérature, peinture, photographie, cinéma, etc.); une échelle locale, qui fait référence à des lieux précis auxquels l'individu ou le groupe estime appartenir, mais aussi à la mémoire sociale, aux rapports sociaux et aux cultures de la nature, modes de connaissance et d'apprentissage empiriques des milieux «naturels»; une échelle individuelle enfin, qui renvoie à l'expérience de l'individu et qui lui est irréductible. Ainsi pensées, les représentations sociales des paysages permettent de comprendre pourquoi un paysage peut être envisagé à la fois comme beau et laid par un même individu, car celui-ci se réfère à plusieurs échelles ou plusieurs modèles; c'est là la complexité du paysage comme peut l'être aussi un être vivant, ambigu, contradictoire, flou, qualités que la science positiviste n'admet pas⁶. L'évaluation d'un paysage est ainsi complexe et difficile, car elle est très rarement univoque, et il est nécessaire de l'inscrire dans ces trois échelles.

Mais les représentations sociales des paysages évoluent également, et dans le contexte de la crise actuelle, cette évolution prend un sens singulier: avant les années 1990, le paysage était surtout synonyme de campagne; à partir de cette période, le sens du paysage change et la campagne s'efface devant la nature, tout en subsistant, mais en changeant de sens: elle devient la campagne nostalgique des paysans, alors qu'elle est en réalité celle des entrepreneurs agricoles ou agri-managers. L'effacement relatif de la campagne au profit de la nature tient surtout aux effets des crises alimentaires (ESB, fièvres aviaires, aphteuse, le bœuf cheval, etc.), aux pollutions et aux transformations des paysages agraires.

⁵ Searle John, 1995, *La construction de la réalité sociale*, nrf essais, Gallimard, Paris.

⁶ Morin Edgar, 2005, *Introduction à la pensée complexe*, Essais, Points, Seuil, Paris.

Cependant, la nature évoquée dans les représentations sociales des paysages n'est pas n'importe pas laquelle des natures: il s'agit d'une nature lointaine, épargnée par les appétits inconsidérés des hommes, c'est-à-dire pure et harmonieuse. Ces appréciations, cependant, doivent être relativisées par rapport aux divers groupes sociaux qui ne donnent pas forcément le même poids à la nature, comme par exemple les classes d'âge jeune pour lesquelles la nature domine largement leur pensée du paysage, à l'inverse des personnes âgées qui pensent davantage campagne que nature.

Changements des rapports sociaux à la nature dans le post-communisme

Les jardins ouvriers et familiaux à l'ouest comme à l'est constituent un objet idéal d'analyse des rapports sociaux à la nature, car ils représentent une construction de nature manipulée par la pensée humaine et subissent les effets des transformations sociales et politiques des pays où ils se développent. En Europe de l'est, ils compensent pendant la période collectiviste, la déficience du système agricole soviétique centré sur la production industrielle; très nombreux, au nombre proche du million en Pologne⁷, entourant les villes comme à Miskolc, en Hongrie, où 180.000 habitants entretiennent 40.000 lots de jardins, ils concernent toutes les catégories sociales et ont subi un changement manifeste et rapide.

Leur densité se comprend en raison de la forte demande sociale motivée par le faible accès des populations à une alimentation diversifiée et par le symbole qu'ils représentent d'un attachement à une parcelle de terre, impossible dans des pays où la propriété individuelle n'existe pas; c'est d'ailleurs pour cette raison qu'ils sont contestés par les pouvoirs politiques qui leur attribuent une signification bourgeoise; mais il sont peu à peu acceptés sous la pression de cadres de l'industrie (médecins des entreprises collectives notamment) et de la forte demande ou bien par des «astuces» de leurs promoteurs qui proposent que les cadres des administrations en bénéficient également.

Jardins d'avant 1989

Avant 1989, sous le régime soviétique, ces jardins sont tout d'abord le siège d'un rapport utilitaire qui se traduit par la culture potagère, fruitière mais aussi de fleurs qui agrémentent la parcelle, reproduisant les modèles villageois. Les fleurs souvent mélangées aux légumes expriment un rapport contemplatif, les compositions faisant de toute

⁷ 960.000 jardins sous contrat associatif + les autres qui ne sont pas toujours identifiés mais aussi sinon plus nombreux.

évidence d'une recherche esthétique singulière, où le jaune or des soucis se mêle au vert bleuté des choux par exemple. Rapport également symbolique, la possession apparente d'une parcelle qui compense l'absence de propriété individuelle du sol et qui va de pair avec un sentiment d'appropriation d'une nature que l'on semble posséder et parfois collectionner. Rapport enfin de domination, d'une nature contre laquelle on lutte, qu'on cherche à maîtriser ou que l'on prend pour allié.

Ces jardins jouent un rôle social fondamental: la survie tout d'abord dans le contexte de pénurie alimentaire, mais aussi de sociabilité et de bien-être, le séjour dans le jardin représentant un moment de paix et de sérénité par rapport à l'univers bien plus contraignant des immeubles de résidence, au point que très vite, les cabanons deviendront des résidences secondaires. Leur processus de développement répond à des objectifs principaux officiels, inculquer une culture (morale) de la nature ou lutter contre l'alcoolisme et la délinquance et à des objectifs occultés, assurer l'alimentation des populations et éviter les contestations politiques.

Les jardiniers sont la plupart du temps des ruraux de toutes catégories sociales qui se rassemblent dans un processus associatif puissant qui leur permet de lutter pour accéder au confort minimum. Car les autorités politiques municipales leur imposent des contraintes fortes, comme la limitation de la superficie construite, un statut locatif parfois temporaire pour contribuer à la rotation des occupants en raison de la forte demande, l'obligation de participer à une association; en outre l'accès aux infrastructures est le plus souvent absent: pas d'eau courante sauf un robinet collectif, pas d'électricité ni d'assainissement. Les réactions des jardiniers ne se font pas attendre: ils contournent les règles ou réalisent eux-mêmes les réseaux comme les puits individuels ou les lignes électriques qu'ils installent collectivement; ces pratiques contribuent au renforcement de l'esprit collectif et de la lutte pour obtenir de nouveaux services; en respectant la superficie au sol, l'addition d'un étage permet de bénéficier d'une pièce supplémentaire, ces modes de construction ayant sur les cabanons un effet de bricolage, un éclectisme des aménagements jardiniers, ou une esthétique populaire un peu «kitch», mais souvent avec un certain charme et une marque d'une grande inventivité. En tout cas une esthétique non-conformiste lointaine de celle des pavillons de banlieue ou des lotissements du périurbain.

Jardins d'après la chute du mur de Berlin

La libéralisation du système politique provoque une transformation des jardins liée à l'évolution sociale, au changement économique et à l'ouverture des pays d'Europe centrale au marché de l'occident et notamment aux modèles esthétiques. L'évolution sociale qui accentue les écarts entre riches et pauvres et à des effets sur les jardins: une diminu-

tion de l'entretien des lotissements, l'abandon ou la mise en vente des parcelles et des cabanons, le vieillissement des jardiniers qui ne peuvent plus entretenir leurs jardins ou encore une demande de jardins par les plus pauvres et en particulier par ceux qui entrent dans une catégorie sociale encore inconnue, les chômeurs.

Les temps de travail ont changé: ceux qui ont un emploi n'ont plus le temps de s'occuper de leur jardin chaque jour, comme ils le faisaient avant 1989. C'est en général le potager qui en fait les frais au profit de la pelouse que l'on vient tondre le samedi ou des fleurs, achetées désormais dans les nouveaux supermarchés offrant des plantes importées d'Europe de l'ouest et remplacées souvent en raison de l'accès à de nouvelles espèces encore inconnues qui ne résistent pas aux conditions de ces lotissements; s'ensuit un nouveau rapport consumériste à la nature qui a pour corollaire un apprentissage plus commercial de la flore à travers des livres ou revues importées: un rapport cognitif se développe plus ou moins selon les groupes sociaux. Par ailleurs, un nouveau rapport plus hédonique s'accompagne d'une recherche individuelle du bien-être corporel et spirituel qui tend parfois à l'ésotérisme. La sociabilité qui caractérisait les lotissements de jardins dans les pays d'Europe centrale fait plus souvent place à cet individualisme alors que les jardins partagés à l'ouest sont plus favorables à l'action collective.

Points communs avec la France et l'Europe de l'ouest

L'entrée des pays d'Europe centrale dans un contexte politique et économique similaire à celui des pays d'Europe occidentale pourrait laisser penser que les situations respectives des jardins ouvriers se rapprochent et tendent vers des caractéristiques semblables. Celles-ci sont, il est vrai, de plus en plus communes aux deux univers européens ; mais en même temps, subsistent des différences⁸.

Ce qui est similaire concerne tout d'abord les modes d'habiter: le jardin symbolise l'ancrage dans un lieu et l'affirmation de soi, le lien social et le don par l'abondance des productions qui augmente le plaisir que le donateur ressent dans le plaisir procuré à l'autre. L'organisation associative conduit à l'élaboration d'une «république jardinière», quasi autonome par rapport à la société environnante, où les normes confèrent au milieu périurbain une certaine rigidité alors que le fonctionnement des jardins est plus souple, plus propice au bien-être individuel et social; pour les retraités et les chômeurs, le jardin constitue le moyen de renouer avec les rythmes de la vie sociale. Similitude

⁸ Voir à cet égard: Molnar Melinda, «*Les rapports à la nature et les modes d'habiter à travers les jardins ouvriers et familiaux en France et en Hongrie, analyse et comparaison*», Thèse de Doctorat de Géographie soutenue le 4 mars 2013 à l'Université de Paris1 Panthéon Sorbonne, sous la direction d'Yves Luginbühl.

également dans les rapports à la nature: l'apparent contrôle de la nature contribue au bien-être, car le jardin est un lieu d'expérimentation permanente, où les jardiniers sont les paysagistes de leur propre destin, investissent leur propre sensibilité et leur inventivité, réfléchissent à l'avenir du lotissement et pas uniquement de leur parcelle.

Mais en même temps, les jardins à l'est et à l'ouest présentent des différences; dans les modes d'habiter, les jardins ne sont pas encore complètement légitimes pour les autorités, ils restent des lieux marginaux, alors qu'à l'ouest, ils établissent avec leur environnement social des relations apaisées et figurent même comme des pratiques vertueuses. À l'est, l'investissement spatio-temporel des jardiniers a été bouleversé par les changements dans les rythmes de travail, les chômeurs pouvant consacrer plus de temps au jardinage alors que ceux qui ont un emploi, au contraire, ont vu leur temps de jardinier diminuer. Une différence majeure est leur statut de résidence secondaire à l'est, impensable en Europe occidentale. Toutefois, ces jardins s'inscrivent bien dans l'ère post-industrielle: produits de l'industrie, ils font partie d'une société dont l'activité dominante est l'activité tertiaire.

En ce qui concerne les rapports à la nature, une première différence réside dans la place donnée à ce qui est considéré comme naturel: en Europe de l'ouest, la priorité est donnée au «naturel», alors qu'à l'est, l'artificiel est encore fréquent. Par ailleurs, les lotissements de jardins sont devenus des espaces de nature à voir, à visiter, une biodiversité à protéger, un paysage à savourer dans ses textures et ses couleurs, situations encore peu admises en Europe de l'est où, malgré des expériences d'ouverture des lotissements de jardins au public, les jardiniers n'adhèrent pas globalement à ces projets.

Conclusion: Habiter la nature ?

Les recherches poursuivies sur ces jardins conduisent à la rupture de l'opposition entre les modes d'habiter et la nature. Elles incitent à se poser la question: «comment habiter la nature?», et le périurbain est précisément un lieu où on peut habiter la nature. Cette question renvoie ainsi à d'autres interrogations: «quel mode d'habiter?», «quelles natures?». Ce qui revient à poser le problème de la gouvernance des modes d'habiter et des natures, c'est-à-dire penser l'habiter et les natures ensemble et non séparément, comme les pratiques de contrôle politique de l'habitat et de la nature ont donné l'habitude de le faire.

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3.5

LIFESTYLES AND ETHNIC ECONOMIES. THE CONTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN SPACES IN BERLIN

Edith Pichler

“People of the same kind do not create a city.”

Socrate¹

Immigration and Entrepreneurship

The politics of the German government regarding immigrants in the years after the Second World War were founded on the principle of rotation. Nevertheless, more and more immigrants tended to establish themselves in Germany instead of going back to their native countries.

Summarily we may notice diverse periods of immigration and so diverse types of migrants that sometimes are characteristic for a determinate period:

- *The Guest-worker period (1955-1973)*²
- *The period of family reunion and settling*
- *The period of the east-west migration after 1989*
- *The period of the globalisation*
- *The period of the new European mobility-immigration*

The number of people from an immigrant background living in Germany is estimated at 15 million and will increase. Now Germany is confronted with a young migration from the countries of South-Europe like Spain, Greece or Italy. These young people often with a good professional education are looking for a better quality of life in the cities of Germany. Particularly Berlin is one important destination of these young *migrant* generation that I call *the new mobiles*. (Pichler: 2002, 2013)

Recapitulating we can find the following groups of immigrants:

- EU citizens
- ethnic German immigrants from eastern Europe

¹ Cit. Dilger, T./Fürst, H., German Journal of Urban Studies Vol. 47 (2008), No. 1.

² 1955 Italy and Germany signed the first bilateral agreement about the recruitment of guest-workers, it followed a similar agreement with other countries like Turkey, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Morocco, Tunisia, Yugoslavia. Because of the oil crisis and also the crisis of the mass-industries in 1973 the German government stopped this policy of recruitment. As a consequence migrants began to bring their family to Germany. (Pichler: 1997).

- dependents of people from third countries (non-EU citizens)
- asylum seekers and refugees
- limited-term labor immigrants
- highly qualified specialists.

Häußermann and Siebel (2000) ascertained that immigrants prefer to live in the cities. So: “The inner-city neighbourhoods of large cities have been and remain important ports of entry where people arriving from abroad are received and integrated... Immigrants are thus increasingly important actors in urban development processes and in the further development of the quality of urban life” (Dilger/Fürst, 2008).

So we can observe that immigrants more and more took back and re-urbanised areas which had been abandoned by German shop owners, artisans and restaurateurs. So at the beginning of the eighties the number of migrant entrepreneurs is more growing than the number of the German entrepreneurs, alone in the nineties their amount has doubled. This development reflects on the one hand the changing of the migrant generation, on the other hand indicates the deteriorating Job-situation in Germany, upon which the immigrants react with entrepreneurships. Ethnic economies represented a self-inclusion practice in a context in which pronounced forms of social exclusion exist. However this orientation may be facilitated by the fact that the majority of emigrants did not come from a proletarian milieu but from families with a self-employment tradition (artisans, farmers, salesmen). (Pichler, 1997)

Culture of Entrepreneurships or Reaction Model?

The works of Weber (1920; 2010) on Protestant ethics, of Simmel (1908) on the *Fremden* (strangers) and of Sombart (1911) on the importance of the Jewish religion for the development of modern capitalism can be considered as pioneering studies regarding the economic activities of ethnic minorities. On the wake of these studies, concepts such as that of middleman minorities were developed in the research of ethnic economy, and they underline the importance of cultural factors and the possibility that the ethnic context represents a resource for the entrepreneur. These conceptualisations single out a certain propensity to self-employment in determined groups, like the possibility to activate resources, for example, social capital, solidarity, cultural competences and knowledge, etc. All of these are factors which facilitate the foundation of enterprises. On the other hand, other theories wonder in which measure minorities that are discriminated against in society and socially disadvantaged are pushed, precisely by these reasons to develop an entrepreneurial rank, stressing the economic behavior of immigrants in the

modern industrial states. These concepts with a structural trend emphasize environmental effects and analyze the weight that social and institutional conditions have in the choice to start a self-run activity, such as discrimination and occupational perspectives. (Pichler: 2011a) Summing up, one could then speak of a “cultural” model and of a “reaction” model (Bonacich, 1973; Waldinger et al. 1990)

Analyzing Italian entrepreneurship in Germany, one can ascertain that both models are present, and that sometimes they can interact among themselves. The reaction model can probably be valid for the generation of the “Gastarbeiter” in the years after the Second World War and of their ancestors, who are the most touched by the production crisis, by a segmented and unsure work market, and by a scarce social mobility, and who see a possible way out of this situation in self-employment. A clear cultural model, intended as the possibility to activate ethnic resources such as cultural competences etc, probably goes more for the most recent generation of emigrants.

A Definition of Ethnic Economy

A division is also made regarding the type of ethnic economy. On this point we differentiate between:

1. complement ethnic economy
2. niche ethnic economy.

The complement economy covers the demand for determined ethnic products inside one’s community. This requirement, which results from the migration situation, is not covered by autochthonous suppliers. Food shops, import activities, and video shops are examples of what is a part of this. Then with time, even due to the formation of better-educated groups and freelance professions inside these communities, bookshops, translations offices, banks, software producers, consultants etc. come to be. (Schüleri et al.: 2005) Some of these activities become more and more important, even for the local economy, and they can develop in the direction of an ethnic niche economy if, for example, the economic activity which at the beginning was directed at satisfying the consumption needs of one’s community, begins to expand due to the demand of the native population (grocery stores, fruit and vegetable markets).

The supply of the ethnic niche market is prevalently aimed at satisfying the demand of the country of adoption, and it includes restaurants, Ice-cream shops, lunch bars, tailor’s shops, and markets. The division between complement ethnic economy and niche ethnic economy is, however, not always very clear. Many market “niches”, moreover, are linked to the entrepreneurs’ presumed cultural competences. In the case of Italians in Germany, in particular, if we focus principally on commercial and gastronomic activi-

ties we risk not picking up on the new developments of immigrants in the direction of professionalized and qualified services. (Pichler, 2003).

Migrant Milieus and Lifestyles

A long time and not only in the public opinion but also by experts dominated the opinion that the migrant communities are a homogenous formation: The majority of their members appertain to the working class with a low education and a low professional level. Through transformations between the communities and through immigration of diverse types of migrants, we can observe that the milieus are changing: from the *guest worker* Milieu to the multicultural, intellectual-cosmopolitan Milieu.

In a survey by Sinus Sociovision “*Migrants in Germany – Socio-Economic Environments and Housing-Related Interests*” (2007) one important result was:” migrants from varying original cultures can be seen to adopt common life-world models. Factors such as ethnic affiliation, religion and migration history inevitably influence day-to-day culture and the cultural background, however they seldom shape the milieu nor give identity” (Perry/Beck: 2009, 45). Consequently the ethnic origin seems to be not the only factor in the determination of socio-economic environment and milieu affiliation.

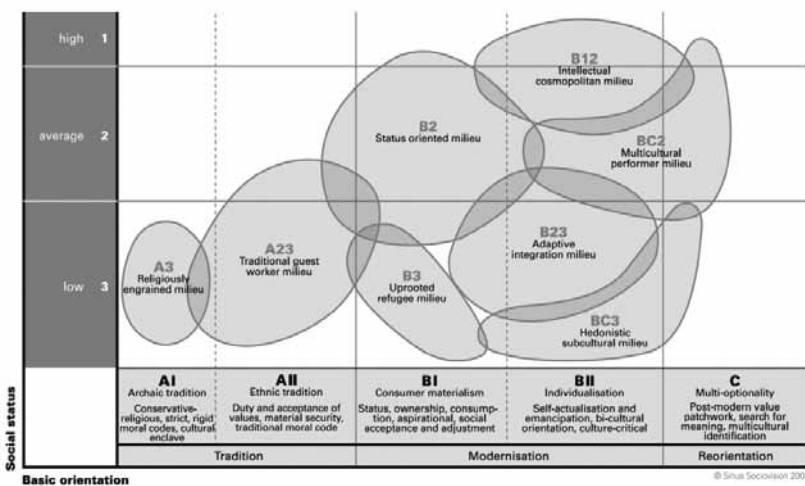


Diagram 1 - The Migrant milieu in Germany 2007-Social status and basic orientation.

The study describes a total of eight migrants with their own distinctive values, lifestyles, everyday aesthetics, levels of integration and housing preferences.

In the diagram we can distinguish the positioning of the migrant milieus according to social standing and basic orientation: “The higher the milieu is on the socio-economic scale, the higher is their level of education, income and professional group; the further it stretches to the right, the less traditional is the milieu” (Perry/Beck: 2009, 45).

The researchers ascertained in total three large milieu groups:

1. “The mainly older members of the traditional migrant group are still attached to the social traditions from their country of origin. This group comprises mostly first generation migrants that are only marginally integrated into German society. This milieu is made up of a large number of elderly people and pensioners.
1. In contrast milieus that have embraced the process of modernisation are now only partially influenced by the traditions of their country of origin. They strive for integration and speak good German. Many of them have jobs requiring qualifications. It is only the group of deracinated refugees that comprises refugees from areas of civil war such as former Yugoslavia that is less well integrated.
2. Young second and third generation often belong to the post-modern migrant milieus. They are usually more familiar with German culture than with the culture of their country of origin. In part their cultural identity is ambivalent: they are living in Germany; a life in their country of origin is not a realistic alternative. But the German culture has not become their *native culture*.” (Perry/Beck: 2009, 45f.)

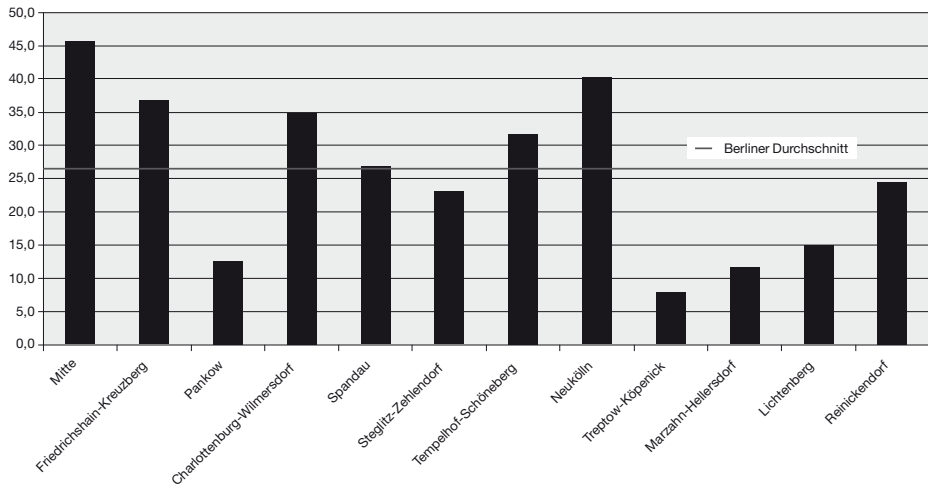
The young achievement-orientated milieu with bicultural identity, cosmopolite - postmodern lifestyle, aims often at professional success. By the development of their own business they are oriented to adopt the new lifestyles, and diverse forms of distinction, especially regarding consumer behavior. Because of their ability to use the own cultural and social capital, they can offer not only “ethnic food” but also culture; and not only “ethnic culture” but rather milieu-orientated culture. Culture as an “ethnic resource” means-for this group not only a business opportunity, but also the possibility to accomplish individual interests.

Migrant-Berliners and their Business

Already in 1960 22.000 immigrants were living in Berlin. After the construction of the wall their figure rose to 162.509 in 1972 and 385.911 in 1992. In 2012 the number of foreigners was 518 969, but when we added the number of people with a migration-background the total is 971.758.

Nationality	Foreigners	Germans with this migration background	Total
Turkey	101.061	75.688	176.743
Polish	46 945	52.705	99 650
Italian	19 771	5 161	24 932
Greece	10 953	3 486	14 439
Ex Yugoslavia	48 771	19 875	68 646

Tab. 1 - Some foreign inhabitants in Berlin 31.12.2012. Source: Statistisches Amt Berlin-Brandenburg.



Tab. 2 - Distribution in % of foreigner's population in the Berlin Districts (2011). Source: Statistisches Amt Berlin-Brandenburg.

The *Berlin Chamber of Commerce and Industry* and the *Berlin Chamber of Skilled Crafts* captured in its publication “International Business in Berlin” the most important economic developments by foreigners during the last years. According to the publication: “Compared to 2009, the number of foreign enterprises recorded by the study has risen by 6,286 to 38,659 in 2011. The foreigners’ share of all businesses in Berlin rose by 1.4 percentage points in 2010 and 2011 and now stands at 13.8 %. ...The foreign business

Polish	7.368	Swiss	543
Turkish	5.370	Greek	510
Bulgarian	3.306	Dutch	493
Romanian	1.855	Lithuanian	472
Vietnamese	1.734	Spanish	436
Latvian	1.311	Bosnian and Herzegovinian	422
Italian	1.145	Croatian	397
Russian	981	Iranian	357
British	945	Yugoslavian	330
Austrian	828	Hugarian	293
French	650	Cypriot	284
Ukrainian	612	Chinese	274
Lebanese	609	Israeli	264
Thai	565	Danish	260
US-American	543	Luxembourgish	207

Tab. 3 - The 30 largest foreign business communities in Berlin 2011. Source IHK-Berlin 2012.

community is therefore becoming a key factor of Berlin business life. Over 90 % of all foreign enterprises were founded in the last ten years. More than a third of the new registrations are accounted for in 2010/2011 alone” (IHK-Berlin: 2012, pag.7).

The foreign business people comprise 170 nationalities, and even in the last years with the immigration of people from East-Europe the establishment of their business is increasing. The greatest number of foreign businesses is still located in the district of Berlin-Mitte with 7,944 registered businesses and a 20.5 % share of all foreign companies. The second biggest group of foreign businesses is in the district of Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf with 16%. followed by Neukölln with the third highest number of foreign enterprises. Neukölln has the heights rate of inhabitants with a migrant background: mostly Turks and Palestinian refugees. (IHK-Berlin: 2012, pag. 19)

In trade (retail and wholesale as well as vehicle trade) are involved some 23 % of all

registered foreigner businesses, followed by construction with 18.5 % of all enterprises in the survey. Corresponding the information of the IHK-Berlin a total of 3,835 business “were founded in 2010/2011 alone. The strongest force here is provided by Eastern European enterprises: some 86 % of all foreign companies in construction are Polish, Bulgarian, Romanian or Latvian”. (IHK-Berlin: 2012, pag. 19)

Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	8.933
Construction	7.137
Other service activities	4.676
Administrative and support service activities	3.993
Accommodation and food service activities	3.799

Tab. 4 - The five sectors in which foreign businesses in Berlin are most active- 2011. Source IHK-Berlin 2012.

A case of study. Italian and Turkish Entrepreneurs, the Myth of *Dolce vita* and Orientalism

The entrepreneurs coming from the so-called recruitment countries like Turkey and Italy are concentrated in the food and commercial sectors, where the bureaucratic administrative barriers are relatively low, and in particular an expert title³ is not required. They are, however, marked by a strong degree of competition and by a rather traditional character.

The IHK-Berlin Survey found out “Accommodation and food service activities as well as trade, each with 26.2 % of all Italian enterprises, are the two key sectors of the

³ Having qualifications is not necessary for some professions: the so-called *handwerksähnliche Gewerbe*. Among these we can find the profession of ice-cream maker, for example, and the *Änderungsschneider* (tailor who only makes repairs and modifications to clothing). Many Italian tailors, even with a high level of professionalism, can therefore run their business only in this role, as they are without a *Meistertitel*.

Italian business community. The accommodation and food service activities consist almost entirely of food and beverage service activities. Trade is predominantly concentrated in retail trade (61.7 %) and wholesale trade (34 %)” (IHK-Berlin: 2012, pag. 51) Through the new immigration in the last time new areas of activity are appearing: advertising, design, media, translations, IT service as well as other professional activities (Pichler, 2013).

According to the information of the IHK-Berlin (2012) “the Turkish business community has actually been declining in recent years” (IHK-Berlin, 2012, pag. 33). This could be a consequence of the high naturalization rate of the Turkish population, therefore the businesses of naturalized people don’t appear in the statistics about ethnic entrepreneurship.

Sector	Registration
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles	300
Accommodation and food service activities	300
Professional, scientific and technical activities	155
Other service activities	88
Administrative and support service activities	83
Information and communication	52
Real estate activities	47
Arts, entertainment and recreation	26
Manufacturing	19
Financial and insurance activities	18

Tab. 5 - Italian businesses in Berlin the ten largest sectors - 2011.

Sector	Registration
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles	2.142
Accommodation and food service activities	1.149
Transportation and storage	442
Administrative and support service activities	357
Professional, scientific and technical activities	273
Arts, entertainment and recreation	269
Information and communication	209
Other service activities	165
Construction	127
Financial and insurance activities	95

Tab. 6 - Turkish businesses in Berlin the ten largest sectors – 2011. Source IHK-Berlin 2012.

Turkish business activities are broadly diversified, being distributed among 18 sectors. First important sector for Turkish entrepreneurs is trade with 40% of business-activities (73.5 %, of it are retail trade), followed by accommodation and food service (21.4%, mainly food and beverage service activities) (IHK-Berlin: 2012, pag. 33). As said before between the entrepreneurs of Turkish origin one can observe a diversification in the ethnic economy structure, where especially second generation university graduates launch professional, freelance enterprises: “Turkish business operators are involved in the four service activities, of which most provide professional, scientific and technical activities or administrative and support activities for companies. In addition, services to buildings and landscape activities should also be mentioned” (IHK-Berlin: 2012, pag. 33ff.)

Corresponding with the collected data of the IHK-Berlin (2012) Charlottenburg-

Wilmerdsdorf with a business presence of 20.3 %) is the most attractive district for the Italian entrepreneurs, it follows Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Berlin-Mitte (each with 16.2 %) as well as Pankow (11.4 %). (IHK-Berlin: 2012, pag. 51). These districts located in East-Berlin with its quarter Prenzlauer Berg has been characterized in the last years through gentrification: young professionally educated people with a good income and a distinguished Lifestyle *replace* the earlier inhabitants: the inhabitants of the GDR time, the students and artists-bohemians of the time after 1989.

For the Turkish entrepreneurs one of the most important districts is Berlin-Mitte (20.4 %), followed by Neukölln (18.1 %), Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (16.3 %) and Tempelhof-Schöneberg (11.4 %). (IHK-Berlin: 2012, pag. 51). As already mentioned in the district of Neukölln lives a high number of inhabitants with a Turkish background and as well as in Kreuzberg.

We can observe an occupational ethnicisation here, each *migrant* group occupies determined niches. The Markets are so linked to the entrepreneurs' presumed cultural competence and the expectation of the autochthone population in this regard. Sometimes, in this way, in this context the imagination of the host country regarding the identities and the characteristics of determined groups, with attributions which often verge on stereotypes: by the Italian the *seducing Dolce Vita* (Janz/Sala: 2011) and by Turks the *strange intriguing Orientalism* (Said: 2009). The migrants themselves however speculate with this stereotypes and imagination and utilize this (sometimes consciously; sometimes unconsciously because of their tradition) in their business.

Turks are highly active in the fruit, vegetable and groceries business; Italians however are specialized in catering trade (mainly Restaurants). The decoration of the Turks fruit and vegetable stalls on the Berliner open markets and also in the Turks stores seem to be like what in the imagination of the customers could be an "*oriental bazaar*". Italian restaurant owners *play* instead with the idea or imagination of the Italian *way of life* by the diverse milieu of their customers: from the *dolce vita* lifestyle evocated in the Italian films, books or songs to the left-radical chic *dolce vita* feeling by the socially involved customers.

For example some young Italian taking advantage of the climate in the 70then would invest their own social capital by opening places with a "left-wing" image, a mix between a brewery and a tavern. The "Italian left-wing" fascinated many Germans, who were very pleased to show their solidarity with the "left-wing movement" and with the emigration world, between a class of red wine and a plate of lasagna. Some new establishments in East Berlin after the reunification, "nostalgically" rediscovering the left-wing environment. This type of memory, which in part had some folkloristic connotations, seems to have been successful. Easily, the former activists in the 1968 protest movement like the

no-global activists, symbolically identified themselves with this environment.

Through this “specialization” a syllogism has appeared: each ethnicity occupies determined niches. This division became so ingrained in one’s imagination that the phrase “go to the Turk’s” (*zum Türke gehen*) means mainly to buy vegetables, while “been to the Italian’s” (*war beim Italiener*)⁴ means in the most part to have gone to lunch or dinner in an Italian⁵ establishment.

Ethnic Segregation or Urban Recycling? Migrant’s Economy and Urban Development

Hillmann (2001; 2012) criticizes that the debate about immigration and urban development in the media and by politicians is often connected with problems. There is the talk about the formation of Ghettos, of one *urban underclass* and a warning sign of social exclusion. The urban researcher Dilger/Fürst (2008) underlay instead in their paper that the “revitalization of urban culture”, which was an essential component of successful urban development, happening through increasingly heterogeneous lifestyles – including those of immigrants. But immigrants not only have an advantage by the revitalization of urbane culture but also contribute with their lifestyle and activities to an *urban recycling* (Yildiz: 2013) Through the *(post)migrants* (Yildiz: 2013) the *urbane Orte* (urbane places) open themselves to the *Welt* (world) and change themselves to a center for manifold cultures and experience. At the same time the daily praxis of migrants are pioneer examples of transnational communication (Yildiz: 2013)

With their businesses, the foreign entrepreneurs in Berlin cover the needs of their own ethnic group, on one hand, and on the other hand they cover the growing need for ethnic products or other services by a part of the native population. The ethnic economy contributed to the stabilization of some neighborhoods, giving back a certain urbanity to districts that were living some segregation processes. In fact, the immigrants often acquired establishments and shops which had been abandoned by German merchants, because they were no longer competitive with the large chains of distribution. So for

⁴ This “stereotype” is reproduced for example also in the media. In an interview with the social-democratic politician Steinmeier he answered a question about his meeting with an other politician: “...Manchmal treffen wir uns sogar zufällig beim Italiener...” (Sometimes we even meet each other accidentally by the Italiener”. (Tagesspiegel 19.08.2013). In this example the reader knows that with the Italiener is meant not a specific person but an Italian-Restaurant.

⁵ Recently, moreover, with the concept “der Italiener” we mean even the numerous Italian specialty shops, for which, even if the owner is German or other Nationality, we still speak of the Italiener anyway. (Pichler, 2011).

example after the fall of the wall, and the disappearance of the network of supplies linked to the cooperative Socialist system in the eastern part of the city, the immigrant businesses (grocery stores, restaurants) acquired a certain importance.

The taking back of abandoned areas and the presence of various businesses also made some city streets safer. Through the investments of immigrants, the general atmosphere and the degree of identification of the residing population improved. Ethnic economy also contributed in diverse quarters of Berlin to the stabilisation and re-evaluation of neighbourhood. These enterprises are not only points of communication for the ethnic groups but also meeting points for the various inhabitants. They are simultaneously an important social contribution for the living together and the acceptance of diversity.

The presence of establishments and shops attracted a different public, and the various ethnic establishments were an attraction for Berlin's youth. Moreover with the renewal of some neighborhoods, also the inhabitants' socio-demographic structure changed. The so called new average set of the lifestyle-intellectual or not - began to establish itself in these neighborhoods, attracted by the urban character of the different *Kiezes* (Berlin term for neighborhood area, and is used also to describe a certain identification with it), however also calling for a distinction and a differentiation. (Pichler, 2011).

To summarize, part of the quarters of the City had won through the activity of ethnic entrepreneur's urban quality and in a certain measure safety and they got also *mediterranean-oriental* flair. Not only because with the first sunshine the pedestrian way and the small squares are occupied with tables and chairs, but also because the diverse fruits markets and the signs and advertising of *ethnic stores* give the *prussian* and *sober* Berlin a tone of vivacity and lightness.

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3.6

ESPACES PUBLICS PÉRIPHÉRIQUES ET PAYSAGES DE VOISINAGE DANS LE BRONX (NEW YORK) ET À L'ÎLE SAINT DENIS (SEINE-SAINT-DENIS - PARIS)

Emeline Bailly

La notion de paysage est de plus en plus valorisée dans les projets urbains actuels en France comme aux États-Unis. Avec la métropolisation et la prise de conscience de la nécessité de renouer avec l'environnement, cette « mise en paysage » semble s'intensifier avec en arrière-plan un idéal de « ville nature ». Plus encore, le déploiement d'espaces collectifs/publics de nature créerait de l'urbanité, en tant qu'il engagerait la citoyenneté (vie politique), la citadinité (vie urbaine) et la civilité (vie sociale). Paysages et espaces paysagers apparaissent dès lors porteurs d'une nouvelle marque de fabrique urbaine censée être plus durable.

Or, parler de paysage renvoie à des dimensions complexes. Au-delà de l'appréhension esthétisante du « beau paysage », d'une vision paysagère réduite aux seuls espaces naturels ou milieux environnementaux, nous considérons que « tout est paysage » (Lucien Kroll¹, 2001), ou du moins potentiellement. En effet, le paysage est étymologiquement lié au pays (espace géographique et politique), étant défini comme l'étendue terrestre appréhendable par l'homme (représentation *in visu* du milieu) et la représentation picturale/littéraire du monde (représentation poétique du monde). Pour Yves Luginbühl²,

Dimension matérielle du paysage	Dimension idéelle du paysage
Inerte : éléments physiques (sols, l'air, l'eau ...) et leur dynamique (tectonique, sédimentation, historique)	Affectif : (attachement personnel)
Biologique : végétaux, animaux, leurs mouvements	Sensoriel : vues, odeurs, sons, toucher, ...
Social : activités humaines, transformation du milieu politique, social, technique	Esthétiques : représentations sociales du paysage
	Symbolique : références culturelles ex jardin comme symbole du cosmos

Synthèse des dimensions constitutives du paysage (Yves Luginbühl, 2012).

¹ Kroll Lucien (2001), *Tout est paysage*, Sens et Tonka, Paris.

² Luginbühl Yves (2012), *La mise en scène du monde – Construction du paysage européen*, CNRS Edition, Paris.

cette double dimension matérielle et idéale du paysage se décline elle-même en multiples dimensions, elles-mêmes en dynamiques permanentes.

Le paysage est aussi lié à l'expérience humaine *in situ* et à celle de projet (qualité, aménagement, gestion, protection paysagère) comme le rappelle la Convention Européenne du Paysage (2000). Ainsi, il est autant réel qu'idéal, créé que vécu. Il résulte ainsi autant des politiques urbaines, avec ses compositions urbaines et paysagères que des interprétations culturelles ou subjectives, pratiques des usagers, qu'elles soient individuelles ou collectives. Il est à la fois le milieu composé par les hommes, une matérialisation d'un projet sociétal, le lieu de projection de notre être. Ce qui est considéré comme paysage résulte d'une composition de significations, elles mêmes variables selon les individus, groupes humains ou sociétés et en évolution constante. Il exprime autant l'écoumène³, la relation des hommes à l'étendue terrestre (Augustin Berque, 1994) que l'effort des hommes pour habiter le monde (Jean Marc Besse, 2000)⁴. Autrement dit, appréhender le paysage nécessite de penser les relations entre les strates politiques, habitées et vernaculaires des paysages (Jackson John Brinckerhoff, 1984)⁵, mais aussi idéelles et projectuelles.

Le paysage est ainsi multidimensionnel, lié à de multiples expériences (in visu, in situ, idéale, projet), et en évolution permanente. Il implique dès lors une pensée de la complexité et ce d'autant plus quand on considère le paysage urbain. Un site naturel, urbanisé, marqué par une sédimentation historique, une vie sociale, culturelle, politique et économique singulière est en permanence interprété selon une lecture d'éléments multiples attachés aux lieux qui prennent sens les uns par rapport aux autres. Parler de paysage urbain implique en effet de considérer les dimensions idéelles et les interprétations de l'espace urbain qui sont à la fois :

- Un acte de représentation⁶ renvoyant autant à la manière de signifier par des formes, figures, images, signes (tel le langage) qu'aux significations associées à l'espace urbain lui-même (repères,...).

³ Berque Augustin (sous la direction) (1994), *Cinq propositions pour une théorie du paysage*, Champ Vallon, Seyssel.

⁴ Besse J. M., 2000, *Le goût du monde, exercices de paysage*, Arles : Actes Sud ENSP/Centre du paysage.

⁵ Brinckerhoff Jackson John (1984), *A la découverte du paysage vernaculaire*, réed. Acte Sud, Paris.

⁶ Etym lat. *repraesentatio*, *-onis* « action de mettre sous les yeux » d'où « image » / v. représenter (replacer devant les yeux, re rendre présent). La notion de représentation, selon le Littré, comprend à la fois l'action de représenter un phénomène, une idée au moyen d'une figure, d'un symbole, d'une image artistique, de signes mais aussi les images, figures, symboles de cette pensée représentée. Elle renvoie autant à l'acte de signifier qu'aux significations.

- Un acte de perception⁷, renvoyant, selon les sciences cognitives, à la prise de connaissance du réel par les sens biologiques et physiques, les sensations et émotions suscitées par des images mentales correspondantes, des interprétations physiques, psychologiques et culturelles. Pour la philosophie, il traduit une intelligence globale⁸, un mode de représentation immédiat du réel changeant à chaque instant.
- Une expérience⁹ vécue, soit l'acte d'éprouver, de développer une connaissance des lieux par leur pratique et par une confrontation plus ou moins longue de soi avec un environnement.
- Un projet exprimant un dessein, ce vers quoi l'homme tend avec une part d'incertitude, mais aussi l'intention de faire, l'estimation des moyens nécessaires à sa réalisation, sa mise en action.

C'est cette multiple appréhension de l'espace urbain qui se joue dans la fabrication d'un paysage urbain. Nous faisons l'hypothèse que *l'appréciation du paysage, en tant que relation distanciée à un environnement, à une possibilité de s'y projeter est avant tout liée à la perception sensible, et ce en référence à Merleau Ponty¹⁰ qui y voit le premier socle de la constitution des analyses de la conscience, en tant qu'ouverture primordiale au monde vécu (au *Lebenswelt*). En ce sens, le paysage peut être support de commun, en tant que capacité de tout à chacun de percevoir le monde à un moment donné. Dès lors, peut-on envisager des politiques urbaines partagées avec les habitants à même de concevoir ce paysage commun? A travers l'analyse des représentations du paysage en France et aux États-Unis, puis des politiques urbaines menées dans deux quartiers périphériques de New York (Melrose – South Bronx) et Paris (Ile St Denis – Plaine Commune)¹¹, nous proposons de questionner les politiques paysagères à l'œuvre en les mettant en regard avec ce qui constitue le paysage urbain pour les habitants de ces quartiers. Or, parmi les éléments valorisés par les riverains, comme nous le montrerons, les *open spaces* ou*

⁷ Etym lat. *perceptio* « action de saisir par l'esprit, connaissance », de *percipere*, se saisir de, recueillir, littéralement, prendre à travers.

⁸ C'est-à-dire qui intègre la pensée, le niveau de connaissance, l'expérience empirique, les croyances, le raisonnement, la mémoire, la culture, les émotions,...

⁹ Etym lat. class. *experientia*: essai, épreuve, tentative.

¹⁰ Merleau-Ponty Maurice (1945), *Phénoménologie de la perception*, Paris: Rééd. Gallimard.

¹¹ Bailly E. (coord.), Rosemary Wakeman, Hervé Duret, Vincent Prié, *L'enjeu du paysage commun*, programme de recherche Paysage et Développement Durable – MEDDE CGDD (en cours).

espaces ouverts¹² semblent jouer un rôle particulier dans la fabrication du sens urbain et paysager. Autrement dit, ces questionnements nous amèneront à interroger l'adéquation entre les conceptions du paysage par les politiques publiques et celles des riverains, mais surtout d'évaluer le rôle des espaces ouverts dans la fabrication du sens paysager ?

Des pensées urbaines du paysage liées à leur contexte culturel

La mise en regard de deux contextes de politiques paysagères révèle le caractère éminemment culturel du paysage. Fondée sur la conquête des espaces, le défrichage d'une terre inhospitalière, la ville américaine veut inventer un Nouveau Monde, ouvert sur la campagne, sur l'immensité du territoire (Catherine Maumi, 2009)¹³. En référence au mythe de la Pastorale du jardin du monde, la volonté est de transformer le *land* en *landscape*, l'œuvre de Dieu en paysage humain. La petite ville permet par ailleurs de créer une nouvelle civilisation basée sur les vertus considérées originelles de l'humanité: la nature et le droit à la propriété. Le *common*, cet espace partagé par la communauté, devient le morceau de nature lié à la ville, où chacun peut vivre avec lui-même, autrui et Dieu. Cet idéal de fusion de la ville et de la campagne va fonder la pensée urbaine américaine. Les premières villes sont projetées sans limites, pouvant s'étendre dans la nature. New York a été conçu avec un plan en damier à même se développer à l'infini. Plus tard, le plan de développement de la ville *First Park Act* de 1876 ambitionne de transformer New York en grand parc urbain et prévoit la réalisation de grands espaces verts, en particulier Central Park. La ville nature, avec son idéal des *suburbs* et de la maison dans la nature se consolidera plus encore au XIX^{ème} siècle en opposition à la ville industrielle et tentaculaire européenne.

Comme le rappelle Catherine Maumi, les paysagistes seront en conséquence les professionnels privilégiés pour aménager les villes. Andrew Downing (1815-1852), paysagiste influent, considère ainsi la «nature citadine» non pas comme une terre agricole, ni comme la vraie nature, mais comme «l'art du paysage». Pour lui, l'art complète ce que la nature ne peut achever. L'architecte Frank Lloyd Wright dans son projet utopique de

¹² Le mot «*open space*», littéralement «espace ouvert», est de plus en plus utilisé dans les discours sur la ville. L'*open space* décrit les espaces collectifs des ensembles immobiliers privés, soit les cours (courts ou yard) ouvertes à l'usage des résidents mais aussi du voisinage. Il traduit un usage plus collectif que le *courtyard*. Après s'être substitué au terme de *courtyard* aux Etats Unis, son sens s'est généralisé. Par extension, il désigne aussi les parcs urbains publics et tous les espaces vides de la ville, favorisant une multiplicité d'interprétations.

¹³ Maumi Catherine (2009), *Usonia ou le mythe de la ville nature américaine*, édition de la Villette, collection Penser l'espace, Paris.

Broadacre City propose de développer une ville à l'infini intégrée à la nature. La dilution de la ville permet aux citoyens de retrouver leur indépendance et leur autonomie en harmonie avec le paysage naturel. Dans les années 1920 et 1930, les urbanistes américains ont privilégié les cités-jardins importées de Letchworth et de Ebenezer Howard et Raymond Unwin en Angleterre. Clarence Stein, Clarence Perry et Lewis Mumford ont ainsi adapté la notion de cité-jardin au contexte américain dans une vision régionale de petites cités dans la nature autour d'une métropole-jardin, New York. Le *common* est conforté comme espace public vert au centre de la cité, le lieu des fêtes, rencontres politiques et sociales, etc. Les cités-jardins construites dans la banlieue new yorkaise telles Sunnyside Gardens et Radburn de même que le développement original du Bronx autour de villages-jardins et de grands parcs sont les exemples significatifs de ces notions de paysage et d'espaces publics de nature. A la fin du XX^{ème} siècle, le mouvement du *New Urbanism* se développe à nouveau autour de cette idée de petite ville compacte dans la campagne, comme solution aux problèmes sociaux des métropoles. Le mythe pastoral perdure dans la pensée des paysagistes américains et par extension celle de l'environnement et du développement durable.

En France, le paysage est issu de plusieurs visions qui tendent à se superposer. A côté des représentations artistiques de la nature, les découvertes scientifiques favorisent l'essor de l'agronomie et de l'art des jardins à l'interface de l'art et de la science. Peintures, littératures et jardins à la française conduisent à l'édification de codes esthétiques du paysage, comme représentation du monde habité. Le paysage devient parallèlement projet politique selon des idéaux sociaux, spatiaux et culturels. Palais et monuments s'ornent de parcs, jardins, allées plantées. Ces derniers sont autant d'inventions humaines du paysage, un « aspect de la surface de la Terre » comme le définit Jean-Robert Pitte (1983)¹⁴. Cette mise en scène est empreinte de desseins artistique, scientifique et politique qui trouveront leurs traductions dans les propositions d'embellissement du paysage urbain et d'aménagement des espaces publics. A Paris, le premier plan d'embellissement de 1769 signé du Roi sera suivi en 1794 par le plan de rénovation de Paris, dit « plan des Artistes ». Le dernier propose de tracer de grands axes mettant en décor la ville du pouvoir telle la rue de Rivoli, le long des jardins des Tuileries. Au XIX^{ème} siècle, la nouvelle ambition marchande, rationnelle et industrielle se traduit à nouveau par une ambition de maîtrise et d'ordonnement des espaces urbains. Le baron Haussmann (1809-1891) entreprit la planification de Paris avec une volonté d'en traduire l'unité et la grandeur par de nouvelles perspectives urbaines, notamment les percées reliant monuments et grands es-

¹⁴ Pitte Jean Robert (1983), *Histoire du paysage français, de la préhistoire à nos jours*, réed. 2003, Tallandier, Paris.

paces publics tels la place des Champs Elysées ou le parc des Buttes-Chaumont. Le végétal s'insère comme évocation de la nature maîtrisée. Les avenues et boulevards ont des terre-pleins centraux ou latéraux plantés. Une multiplicité de squares est créée non seulement comme élément d'embellissement et d'harmonie, mais aussi comme lieu de promenade, de loisirs. Une série de dispositifs hygiénistes de maîtrise de l'eau, la lumière, etc., sont développés. La ville haussmannienne est un projet de paysage urbain esthétique, hygiéniste, social... contrôlé par la puissance publique. Contrairement aux Etats-Unis, le paysage urbain est conçu par les pouvoirs publics et non un environnement naturel, ouvert à la liberté d'édification privée. Ce seront d'ailleurs les architectes et urbanistes qui seront en charge de la construction des villes et de leur «mise en paysage» urbain dont la nature constitue principalement un élément esthétique et d'usage.

Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, les politiques de paysage émergent en France à travers des projets de conservation et la mise en place d'une législation de protection des sites naturels parallèlement à celle de préservation des monuments historiques. Elles concernent avant tout les territoires ruraux qu'il s'agit de «protéger» de l'urbanisation. Elles ont pris récemment une dimension nouvelle avec la loi de mise en valeur des paysages de 1993 (Pierre Donadieu, Michel Périgord, 2007)¹⁵ qui oblige à intégrer la dimension paysage aux constructeurs et de concevoir des chartes paysagères aux collectivités, y compris dans l'espace urbain. La convention européenne du paysage a enfin introduit l'idée d'une qualité paysagère de tous les lieux et non plus seulement une logique de préservation des espaces ruraux. Le paysage est alors défini comme le cadre de vie des populations, expressions des patrimoines et de l'identité locale. Le MEDDAT la décline comme un élément de la qualité de vie des populations, du bien-être individuel et social.

La question du paysage urbain est donc ancienne et toujours associée à la question de la nature en ville. A présent, le retour du discours sur le paysage urbain tant en France qu'aux Etats-Unis se manifeste en particulier par une attention à l'identité et la mise en scène des espaces extérieurs. Ainsi, en France le paysage est reconnu juridiquement en tant que «composante essentielle du cadre de vie des populations, expression de la diversité de leur patrimoine commun culturel et naturel, et fondement de leur identité» (MEDDE, site internet). Aux Etats-Unis, on observe également un regain d'intérêt des politiques de développement des quartiers périphériques pour les espaces publics comme *landscape* (paysage), notamment autour de la notion de *streetscape* (paysage de rue). Il y a donc ainsi un glissement de la considération des espaces publics ou collectifs vers la notion de paysage urbain, notamment depuis l'essor du développement durable.

¹⁵ Donadieu Pierre et Périgord Michel (2007), *Le paysage, entre nature et cultures*, Armand Colin.

Des paysages urbains périphériques dits sans qualité à New York et à Paris

La mise en perspective de deux quartiers périphériques en mutation de Paris et New York dans le cadre de la recherche *L'enjeu du paysage commun* pour le programme Paysage et Développement Durable 2 du MEDDE, a permis d'interroger l'évolution et la conception du paysage urbain dans des territoires souvent dépeints comme banaux, sans qualité.

A New York, le quartier de Melrose a la particularité d'être situé sur une colline. Il présente des configurations urbaines et bâties variant suivant la topographie du site. Il est aussi marqué par de multiples coupures urbaines (voies ferrées, voiries), mais aussi le délaissement de ce territoire (parcelles vacantes ou à l'abandon, grillagées, canaux abandonnés, etc.). Ce quartier populaire est stigmatisé socialement, et ce d'autant plus que Melrose fut au cœur de la dépression du Bronx. Il est par ailleurs considéré sans qualité urbaine, n'ayant pas de paysages ou d'espaces publics identifiables selon les modèles urbains de la ville compacte new yorkaise. Alors que ces espaces urbains populaires symbolisent la précarité et la marginalisation physique et sociale, ils traduisent surtout des logiques d'occupation et de dynamiques urbaines différentes. Melrose connaît actuellement des transformations majeures liées à des projets de développements résidentiels portés par la ville de New York, notamment dans le secteur de renouvellement urbain Melrose Commons (URA)¹⁶. Dans ce cadre, est prévu un ensemble d'espaces naturels composés de jardins communautaires, de chemins piétonniers, d'alignements d'arbres et de zones paysagères. Ces projets interrogent à nouveau la qualité du paysage et des lieux perçus de ce quartier, introduisant des modèles urbains de la ville centre au détriment de ses singularités.

A Paris, L'Île-Saint-Denis et ses deux rives bénéficient également d'une situation naturelle particulière (insularité, confluence Seine/Canal de Saint-Denis). Avec 7000 habitants, L'Île-Saint-Denis s'étend sur 8 km de long et sur 200 m de large, dans un méandre de la Seine à quelques kilomètres du périphérique nord. Son caractère insulaire lui confère une identité particulière distincte de St Denis. Celle-ci s'exprime autant dans la géographie que dans la configuration de séquences et univers urbains juxtaposés. L'île et ses rives symbolisent à la fois des paysages arborés des bords de Seine, des quartiers de maisons populaires, des cités des années 1960-70 dont certaines apparaissent

¹⁶ Initié en 1994, ce projet porte sur le développement de 34 îlots. Environ 582 logements et 7000 m² d'espaces commerciaux ont été créés et environ 726 logements et 7000 m² d'espaces commerciaux sont actuellement en construction. Le nombre total de logements devrait s'élever à 1789, ce qui correspond à la construction totale de la zone.

stigmatisées (cité du Bocage, cité Marcel Paul), mais aussi des espaces en reconversion (friches industrielles, entrepôts). Ainsi, à côté d'une image d'Épinal sciemment cultivée d'écrin de verdure (les berges de Seine avec ses péniches), ce territoire présente des caractéristiques moins bucoliques: un quartier sud isolé, voire relégué, un centre-ville organisé autour d'un axe de transit, une zone d'entrepôts en friches s'étendant de part et d'autre d'un pont autoroutier, véritable coupure urbaine. L'Île-Saint-Denis et ses rives sont aujourd'hui au centre d'un territoire dense en pleine mutation sociale et urbaine (Plaine Commune). Elles présentent une transformation urbaine de grande envergure avec deux projets d'écoquartiers, de transports en commun (gare de RER, tramway), de zones commerciales... Rien que l'écoquartier fluvial sur la zone d'entrepôts de L'Île-Saint-Denis représente 1000 logements sur environ 25 ha, soit 30% de ménages supplémentaires. Si les projets de requalification initiés doivent permettre la revalorisation d'une grande partie de l'île, ils suscitent cependant de fortes inquiétudes parmi les populations, car ils portent des risques de banalisation d'un paysage aujourd'hui considéré singulier, voire une relégation-exclusion de quartiers modestes par contraste avec la gentrification qu'ils pourraient générer. La mise en perspective des conceptions du paysage dans les discours des politiques publiques et les projets urbains à l'œuvre avec ce qui constitue le paysage pour ceux qui y vivent, vise à explorer les fondements du paysage urbain et plus particulièrement du paysage de voisinage, du paysage commun dans ces deux quartiers périphériques.

Nature, paysages et espaces collectifs comme enjeu de développement durable

L'analyse des discours et projets urbains initiés à Melrose et à l'Île St Denis montre une mobilisation de la nature comme traduction des enjeux de développement durable affiché dans les politiques publiques (Agenda 21, Haute Qualité Environnementale (HQE), *Leadership in Energy & Environmental Design* (Leed), etc.). La nature est alors associée aux évolutions paysagères et aux espaces publics qui apparaissent symbolisés, à leur tour, dans la ville dite durable ou *sustainable*.

La nature, comme ressource environnementale

La nature est d'abord mobilisée comme une ressource, pour ne pas dire une richesse environnementale, qu'il s'agit de ménager (paysages remarquables) ou de requalifier (qui serait lié à leur destruction par l'urbanisation ou par les pollutions). Ainsi, à L'Île St Denis, la valorisation des abords de la Seine, des trames vertes et bleues du fleuve et ses rives sont mises en avant. Elle vise la protection de l'environnement et de la biodiversité, mais aussi la création d'espaces de nature ouverte aux usages publics. Elle ambitionne

de faire pénétrer la nature en ville, de «renaturaliser» l'espace urbain, en s'opposant à l'urbanisation destructrice de la nature et de ses paysages dits remarquables.

A New York, la représentation est moins duale, la vision de la nature par les politiques publiques ou les promoteurs étant une nature habitée, à l'image de la maison dans la campagne qui a fondé l'idéal urbain américain. Par exemple, la *skyline* depuis les points hauts de Melrose (colline ou immeubles en hauteur) est mentionnée. À l'inverse, la ville pouvant être polluante (pollution atmosphérique, canal abandonné aux eaux usées, etc.), la question de sa gestion est posée. Plus encore, celle de la résorption des espaces abandonnés semble être source de préoccupations pour les politiques publiques. Suite aux émeutes et incendies des années 1970, de nombreux espaces sont restés vacants à Melrose et l'enjeu des politiques urbaines est la reconquête de ce foncier souvent propriété de la ville de New York. De fait, dans les deux contextes, cette nature est un enjeu de valorisation foncière et immobilière largement plébiscité dans les futurs quartiers construits (quartier Confluence, éco quartier fluvial à Plaine Commune, Via Verde dans le Bronx). La présence de nature serait attractive, permettant d'attirer des populations nouvelles et d'assurer les ventes de logements en préservant une gamme de prix intéressante pour les promoteurs.

La nature promue dans les projets urbains étudiés apparaît par ailleurs le plus souvent aménagée dans une perspective environnementale et maîtrisée dans sa conception par la puissance publique. La nature sauvage est même présentée comme une nuisance (saleté, espace délaissé, lieux des infrastructures).

Aménagée selon des principes environnementaux (noues, étanchéité, bassin d'infiltration des eaux de voirie, biodiversité, etc.), les espaces naturels deviendraient source de «bien-être» et à même de remplir le contrat intergénérationnel avec les générations futures que prône le développement durable. En ce sens, la moindre parcelle de nature est associée à une fonction environnementale. Par exemple, dans l'écoquartier fluvial, les caniveaux deviennent des noues végétalisées. Les berges de la Seine sont conçues en référence aux talus réaménagés quai de Loire à Nantes. Ces talus permettent un développement d'une végétation naturelle, dont la fauche régulière limite l'envahissement des ligneux pour «favoriser un paysage maîtrisé et relativement «homogène»¹⁷.

Cette maîtrise est également recherchée en matière de gestion. Avec la gestion différenciée, par exemple, c'est le savant mélange d'essences plantées et vivaces, l'alliance de laisser-faire et d'entretien jardinier qui est recherché. La nature malgré son apparence «naturelle», sauvage, reste largement maîtrisée.

¹⁷ Cf. *Schéma directeur d'aménagement des berges de l'éco quartier Fluvial – Plaine Commune - 2012*.

Plus ponctuellement, la nature est aussi vue comme un matériau de recyclage. Par exemple, la récupération des terres, mais aussi des matériaux de déconstructions d'entrepôts par le collectif Bellastock sur l'île St Denis vise notamment à recomposer et paysager un espace ouvert le temps du chantier de l'écoquartier. Cette approche nuance la critique de l'urbanisation passée en y voyant une ressource de «paysagement» transitoire, c'est-à-dire de mise en espace, avant l'édification du nouveau quartier. En s'inscrivant dans les temporalités intermédiaires du chantier, cette action propose une acception du développement durable plus évolutive, revendiquant le caractère non figé des constructions bâties, leur réemploi favorisant une dynamique d'évolution urbaine permanente. Dans tous les cas, cette vision de la nature aménagée entre en contradiction avec la perception des habitants interrogés sur ces deux quartiers, qui valorise une nature libre, en marge des sites urbanisés, à même de créer des expériences différenciées de la ville. Les résidents prônent une nature spontanée, sauvage, permettant des usages libres, des havres de paix où s'isoler, se retrouver, contempler leurs paysages de voisinage. Ils apparaissent comme une possibilité d'un rapport distancié au monde, comme une possibilité de s'y projeter et d'y participer, loin de la nature aménagée pour l'environnement ou pour des usages donnés.

La mise en paysage, emblème de la ville durable

L'ambition de «ville nature durable» portée par les politiques urbaines est très souvent associée au terme de paysage/*landscape* et à la pratique du paysagisme. Elle se traduit par un déploiement de la nature dans l'espace urbain qui s'immisce sur les constructions, les façades, les toits, les espaces publics et collectifs censés donner à voir cet idéal de ville respectueuse de l'environnement. Cette végétation apparaît plus largement investie dans l'espace public à l'île St Denis/St Denis qu'à Melrose, où elle est surtout mise en valeur dans les cœurs d'îlots ou dans les passages résidentiels de proximité.

Cette mise en scène entre espaces naturels et construits vise à aménager des paysages urbains porteurs d'images, d'«impressions» de nature et se pose en rupture avec l'idée d'une urbanisation destructrice des sites naturels et de leurs paysages... Le paysage apparaît ainsi comme une réponse à l'incapacité de l'aménagement urbain à gérer la complexité de l'environnement urbain élargi notamment ses dimensions sociétales ou idéelles.

A Melrose, comme dans les aménagements récents de New York, des *streetscape guidelines* (paysages de rue) sont définis en vue de changer l'image des lieux. Ces plans-guides tentent de lier dimensions physiques et sociales, statuts privés et publics, façades et espaces collectifs. Ils prennent en compte l'espace urbain dans une perspective plus globale, considérant même l'atmosphère des lieux, la «*streetlife*». Ces projets semblent ainsi s'ériger contre l'uniformisation urbaine et la standardisation de l'imaginaire dénoncée,

entre autres, par Serge Latouche (2000)¹⁸. Autrement dit, elle permettrait de revenir à une pluralité de mondes, d'univers, d'imaginaires urbains. Pour autant, souvent centrée sur une seule évolution spatiale, on s'interroge sur sa capacité à produire des représentations et expériences urbaines différenciées. Bien au contraire, cette reconquête urbaine par le paysage semble avant tout viser une transformation uniforme de l'image urbaine au nom du paysage.

En effet, la naturalisation comme la mise en paysage de l'espace urbain traduit une recherche d'attractivité. Par exemple, le développement commercial recherché, déjà très prégnant dans les politiques urbaines américaines, favorise la reproduction d'univers connus. Il conduit à façonner de nouvelles rues en référence aux *Main Streets* «traditionnelles» avec ses petites boutiques aux façades distinctes, ornementées d'enseignes à l'ancienne, bordées de larges trottoirs arborés. Il est censé se référer à un imaginaire partagé, lié au passé, favoriser la reconnaissance, l'adhésion, la fréquentation. Il se réfère aux modèles des petites villes américaines conçues dans la nature en opposition à la ville industrielle tentaculaire. Il conduit dès lors à reconstituer ces univers au nom de l'attractivité.

On pourrait dire de même de l'habillage vert des nouveaux quartiers d'habitations projetés, qui vise l'attrait d'une vie urbaine plus écologique, plus durable. Cette recherche d'attractivité ne suffit pas à masquer les enjeux de marketing urbain, le paysage étant réduit à la notion d'image. Elle favorise plus l'uniformité qu'une pluralité d'univers urbains, pourtant valorisés par les résidents.

Ainsi, la mobilisation de nature, mais aussi d'autres éléments porteurs d'imaginaires (les commerces, la *Main Street*, les politiques environnementales, etc., comme en France l'idéal de la place du village), vise à recomposer l'image de l'espace urbain. Ce sont moins des paysages que des décors, facilement reconnaissables, qui sont conçus. D'ailleurs, le vocabulaire professionnel est associé aux termes de «scène», «décor», «*scenery*» et d'«esthétique/*esthetic*». Le paysage est un site (*setting*) composé de volumes (*mass*) et d'espaces végétalisés. Il construit la partie visible et externe de l'aménagement projeté. Comme l'énonce Christine Boyer (1992)¹⁹, la ville devient fiction et simulation, un «tableau vivant», un monde du spectacle, qui fait le lien entre le passé et un présent / futur idéalisé.

Pour autant, la profession de paysagiste ou de *landscape designer* s'envisage comme une nouvelle conception abstraite et symbolique de l'espace urbain, associée à une re-

¹⁸ Latouche Serge (2000), *La Planète uniforme*, Climat, Paris.

¹⁹ Boyer Christine (1992), "Cities for sale", in Sorkin Mickael, *Variations on a theme park, the new american city and the end of public space*, Hill&Wang, New York.

présentation esthétique, une culture, mais aussi aux identités projetées d'un territoire, et par extension à des représentations sociales et politiques enjeux de marketing. Elle s'associe à une pratique d'aménagement susceptible d'artialiser le monde. Aux Etats-Unis, les urbanistes associent plus encore la composition paysagère en référence à la notion de *placemaking*²⁰. L'idée est que l'agencement spatial de l'environnement peut conduire à lui donner du sens (*sense of place*) et une identité (*community identity*). Cependant, comme le rappelle Rosemary Wakeman, la notion de «*placemaking*» n'est pas seulement spatiale ou esthétique. Pour Kevin Lynch²¹, elle repose sur les usages et des expériences urbaines variées et complexes (sociale, mémorielle, sensorielle, etc.). Elle se construit dans le temps selon l'histoire et les pratiques des lieux.

En outre, la pratique paysagère tend à se centrer sur des enjeux spatiaux et de marketing territoriaux selon des référents culturels dominant dans les représentations professionnelles. Par exemple, les codes de beauté classique liés à un espace maîtrisé par l'homme, telle la campagne riante, ont évolué vers des visions pittoresques d'une nature nostalgique ou encore vers du sublime magnifiant le rapport humain aux forces de la nature (Alain Corbin, 2001)²². Aujourd'hui, l'esthétique spatiale et paysagère liée à la recherche d'attractivité et à l'idée d'une ville respectueuse de l'environnement conduit à privilégier une conception urbaine fondée sur une mise en nature et des aménagements types formant autant d'archétypes urbains partagés sans pour autant s'interroger sur les expériences individuelles sensibles ou subjectives des lieux, à même de leur conférer leur identité, leur paysage de voisinage.

La recherche de paysage des projets semble traduire une conception de «liberté maîtrisée», où les hommes comme les espaces urbains seraient susceptibles d'évoluer dans ce nouveau décor paré d'attraits pour les concepteurs tout en restant sous le contrôle de la puissance publique et des représentations professionnelles d'un archétype de «ville nature durable». La mise en paysage se traduit dès lors par des enjeux hétérogènes, alliant ambitions d'attractivité, de renouvellement de l'image de ces quartiers et objectifs de qualité urbaine, pour ne pas dire de maîtrise urbaine censée produire du «bien-être». On est loin de ce qui fonde la notion de paysage dans sa complexité perçue, vécue, éprouvée, imaginée par chacun.

²⁰ Le terme de «*placemaking*» commence à être utilisé dans les années 1970 par des architectes et urbanistes pour décrire les processus de conception, de création et d'appropriation de places, parcs, rues, fronts de mer ou quais, qui attirent les gens parce que ces lieux sont agréables ou intéressants.

²¹ Lynch Kevin (1969), *L'image de la cité*, Rééd. Dunod, Vottem.

²² Corbin Alain (2001), *L'homme dans le paysage*, ed. Textuel, Paris.

Des espaces publics de nature comme renouveau des espaces publics

Dans les deux métropoles étudiées, les projets urbains posent l'articulation espaces-paysages comme l'armature de la ville durable. Les espaces de nature, emblème du paysage de cette ville durable, sont non seulement aménagés selon des principes environnementaux, mais aussi selon des fonctions déterminées (usages récréatifs, ludiques, promenades, etc.). Ces vocations leur conféreraient leur «qualité» d'espaces publics à même de susciter une sociabilité que les espaces publics hérités ne seraient plus à même de générer. En effet, en France, les discours sur la fin des espaces publics, plus encore dans les espaces périphériques, sont légion. Ils sont associés à l'idée d'une perte politique, d'un cadre spatial de la vie collective, de valeurs de civilités et d'urbanité, de bienveillance à autrui (Delbaere, 2011). De même, aux Etats Unis, les débats sur le «*placemaking*» réduit à sa dimension spatiale favorisent la dilution entre les termes de paysage et d'espace public. De fait, les termes d'espaces urbains (*urban spaces*) et parcs (*parks*) y sont indifféremment utilisés pour désigner les lieux publics, et non seulement les espaces verts. *Park*, emprunté du vieil anglais, qui désignait une réserve naturelle fermée, un espace de chasse, est même défini à présent comme un espace attaché à des usages : *parking*, camp militaire (*military park*), espace commercial (*commercial park*), etc. L'espace semble avoir perdu de sa substance et n'exister qu'en relation à une pratique sans pour autant poser la question de l'espace public qui est autrement plus complexe.

En effet, selon la définition du dictionnaire Émile Littré, les rues et places sont un vide bordé d'habitations et de bâtiments. Les espaces apparaissent publics dès lors qu'ils sont un vide interprétable et accessible à tous, qualifiés par des édifices et activités publics ou privés. Ceux-ci impliquent d'être autant façonnés par des actes urbains publics que qualifiés par des initiatives de ceux qui y vivent (décor des façades, fleurets, pratiques des lieux, etc.). C'est plutôt dans cette complexité de composition de l'espace qu'ils pourraient être support d'identité, d'appropriation individuelle et collective, qu'ils pourraient générer du public, de l'urbanité.

Plus encore, l'approche du paysage des projets urbains de l'Île St Denis et de Melrose tend à se réduire à des espaces de nature, qui seraient à même de susciter des sociabilités urbaines plus harmonieuses. Ceux-ci symboliseraient une nécessité de nouvelles formes d'espaces collectifs/publics protégés, mais aussi appropriables, habitables, dans un contexte de métropolisation, de problématiques environnementales, mais aussi de tensions sociales. Nous sommes, dans le Bronx et à St Denis, dans des territoires marqués par des émeutes, conflits et problèmes d'insécurité.

Cette vision idéal-type de la nature pacifiant les rapports sociaux est en partie héritée. Le jardin par exemple, dans son étymologie indo-européenne (*ghorto*) ou anglaise

(*gardinus*) signifie enclos, clôturé. Il exprime l'espace protégé, la domestication de la nature sauvage, dangereuse et inhospitalière. Encore aujourd'hui, les parcs naturels ou écologiques organisent une nature sauvage pour protéger des formes de vie collectives dans la nature. Cette vision est aussi une interprétation «rousseauiste», où l'homme s'épanouirait dans la nature, et par extension celle-ci favoriserait, des formes de vie collective «harmonieuse», si ce n'est pas «naturelle».

Or, cette vision d'une nature pacificatrice est loin d'être simple. La capacité à faire espace public et générer du paysage des parcs, jardins et autres trames vertes projetés, ne va pas de soi. Souvent surdimensionnés (grands parcs, esplanades minérales ponctuellement végétalisées, trames vertes, etc.) ou limités à des espaces d'agrément, ils semblent avant tout conçus comme des stratégies de verdissement ou de biodiversité, sans s'interroger sur la manière dont ils vont être appropriés, support de sens et d'aménités pour ceux qui les fréquentent. Les espaces privés ouverts sont même parfois l'enjeu de fermeture spatiale, notamment avec la résidentialisation. La critique d'une vie de voisinage envahissante, du contrôle social d'autrui, des problèmes de sécurité, de gestion, etc., conforte cette tendance à la fermeture spatiale. Ces logiques tendent à engendrer, une multiplication d'espaces privés d'agrément. Il y a donc lieu de s'interroger sur la qualité des espaces produits et en quoi ils constituent un enjeu d'urbanité et par extension de paysage commun.

Il faut noter toutefois que parallèlement à ces projets, sans parler de ceux qui occupent des espaces vides pour des habitations d'urgence (squats, campements), à L'Île-St-Denis/St Denis comme à Melrose, les espaces vacants (naturels ou construits) sont réappropriés par des habitants, artistes ou associations pour créer de nouveaux espaces d'usages (6 B, la Briche, promenades, etc.). Ces réappropriations expriment le besoin d'espaces collectifs autres que ceux hérités ou récemment aménagés.

Ces porteurs d'initiatives s'érigent d'ailleurs souvent contre les visions professionnelles de leur environnement, au motif qu'ils nieraient leur connaissance vécue des lieux et leurs représentations des paysages. Ils utilisent d'ailleurs une autre terminologie que les professionnels. Ils préfèrent les termes de rue, trottoir, parc, *open space*... à ceux de paysage, d'espace public, de *placemaking*, de «place». Les projets sont même perçus comme une menace, en particulier en phase de densification résidentielle, pour ne pas dire de gentrification. En ce sens, ces conceptions entrent en tension et deviennent un sujet éminemment politique.

Par ailleurs, l'analyse des enquêtes auprès des habitants conduite à L'Île-Saint-Denis et à Melrose, révèle un souci particulier pour les espaces intermédiaires, les espaces d'entre-deux qui apparaissent comme autant d'espaces d'altérité qui permette de créer un horizon, d'habitation, à l'infini du monde. C'est ce que synthétise avec acuité Peter

Handke²³, dans *Mon année dans la baie de Personne*: «Les maisons produisent ensemble des espaces intermédiaires si variés que les choses qu'elles contiennent, les buissons, les cordes à linge, les bancs, et tout au fond la forêt, ou simplement l'interstice vide en lui-même, m'accompagnent dans mon passage, marchent, roulent, chevauchent, défilent avec moi. Les intervalles offerts au regard, ou ces signes d'approcher encore et encore, dans la gaité de leur rythme, forment, même si ce n'est souvent qu'une fente, des cours entre les maisons (...) Grâce à ces espaces intermédiaires, l'image devient à chaque pas plus nette, comme un rideau qui s'ouvre, (...) jusqu'au dernier arrière-plan, tandis que s'éclairent l'un après l'autre des éléments de toutes les autres maisons, enchevêtrés dans la profondeur, une fenêtre ici, un fronton, un jardin un peu plus loin, une véranda là au coin de la rue, un escalier extérieur abrupt qui monte jusqu'à une mansarde – chacun de ces éléments particuliers faisant manifestement partie d'une habitation humaine, et l'ensemble constituant un habitat élémentaire, et ce n'est pas un plan, mais à l'échelle 1/1, non pas un rêve pour plus tard, mais bien réel». Or, ces espaces intermédiaires tendent aujourd'hui à disparaître, étant fermés spatialement, voire bâtis pour répondre aux enjeux de densification du développement durable.

Espaces ouverts et fabrication du sens paysager

Si pour les habitants, les lieux en marges, peu aménagés d'une part et les espaces intermédiaires jouent un rôle pour interpréter le paysage et vivre des expériences différentes de la ville et de sa relation à autrui, il y a lieu de s'interroger sur leur rôle dans la fabrication du paysage, et leur prise en compte dans les politiques publiques. Ils semblent en effet à même de favoriser la composition de paysage, par une relation sensible à distance de la vie quotidienne, mais aussi les multiples détails que chacun dépose dans l'espace urbain. Ceux-ci deviennent autant de significations pour ceux qui fréquentent ces lieux. Ils forment, pour reprendre la formule de Peter Handke, une conscience de l'«habitation humaine». Le réinvestissement des espaces ouverts par des pratiques plus libres, individuelles comme collectives, échappant aux représentations sociales de l'espace urbain constitué, participe à l'évolution des paysages urbains aux-mêmes. Ces formes d'espaces ouverts en marges ou intermédiaires, semblent ainsi porteuses de significations et constituent autant d'éléments d'articulation utiles à la composition paysagère que chacun peut établir dans sa relation à son environnement, à son sentiment de paysage.

Dès lors, il nous semble que les espaces ouverts devraient être l'enjeu d'une attention

²³ Handke Peter (reéd. 2000), *Mon année dans la baie de Personne*, Gallimard, Paris.

particulière dans la conception des paysages urbains et des espaces publics. L'une des spécificités de New York est d'avoir envisagé l'aménagement de lieux collectifs privés que les pouvoirs publics ne planifient pas, les *open spaces*. Ils tirent parti des promoteurs pour offrir des nouveaux lieux collectifs. Ces lieux ouverts entremêlent statuts et usages publics / privés. Ils ont une vocation collective, étant censés être accessibles et utilisables par toutes les personnes propriétaires ou vivant dans le voisinage d'un ensemble résidentiel ou de bureaux privés. Ils sont différents des servitudes de passage françaises, qui obligent un propriétaire à rendre accessible un passage de sa parcelle. Dans la réglementation américaine des *open spaces*, il n'y a en effet aucune sur fonction prédéterminée.

Toutefois, ces *open spaces* ne sont pas pensés comme des lieux d'expériences urbaines différentes, d'engagements individuels ou collectifs plus libres, à même de charger les lieux de sens, de permettre une profondeur de champ, des perspectives sur l'horizon. Malgré l'intérêt qu'il pourrait présenter, ils sont d'ailleurs l'objet de vives critiques. Ils se sont développés au moment des opérations résidentielles modernistes sur plusieurs îlots, dits *superblocks*, comme Stuyvesant Town à Manhattan, puis durant le mandat de l'ancien maire new yorkais, Rudolph Giuliani (1994-2001), qui a créé des bonus de constructibilité (emprise au sol, hauteur des bâtiments, etc.), en contrepartie de la création d'espaces privés ouverts²⁴.

Ceux-ci sont désapprouvés, car ils ont mis en cause le plan en damier caractérisant New York et surtout la rue, largement défendue par Jane Jacobs en réaction du mouvement moderne. Ils ont en outre été fermés progressivement ou limités dans leur accessibilité. Le slogan de contestation de l'opération Atlantic Yard à Brooklyn est démonstratif de cette tendance à la privatisation : «*open spaces are not public!*». Enfin, ces *open spaces* sont souvent qualifiés de sales et insécures. Ayant été parfois conçus en retrait, dans des recoins pour en réduire l'usage, ils peuvent être difficiles d'entretien ou même le lieu de pratiques délictueuses... Ils ne constituent donc pas ces espaces en marges ou intermédiaires, sources de sens, qu'évoquent les résidents de L'Île St Denis ou de Melrose.

Inversement, les nouveaux espaces que nous qualifions de vernaculaires, comme les community gardens ou jardins partagés, ou autres espaces d'usages artistiques, citoyens ou militants, se développant localement dans les deux agglomérations, en particulier dans les espaces d'entre-deux ou vacants, constituent d'autres représentations de l'espace commun. Ils s'apparentent à des *commons*. Ils apparaissent comme une réponse des

²⁴ Ces open spaces sont à présent encadrés par une règle, l'«*open space ratio*» (OSR) qui détermine un pourcentage d'espaces à créer selon la densité bâtie.

communautés locales à l'uniformisation urbaine et à leur enfermement dans des catégorisations qui ne leur correspondent pas. Les habitants témoignent non seulement leur besoin d'intégration urbaine, d'une qualité d'espaces de vie, et surtout d'expériences individuelles et collectives différenciées au quotidien. Ils aspirent à être en société, autant qu'à être en relation aux autres (liens affectifs, émotionnels), en relation au monde. Pour autant, la requalification du paysage semble moins investie spontanément. Mais ne peut-on considérer le déploiement de ces espaces vernaculaires comme une forme de recomposition de ce maillage d'espaces intermédiaires, d'entre-deux, qui tendent à disparaître? et par là même, à rouvrir une porosité urbaine, qui laisse entrevoir une autre possibilité de vie urbaine, un paysage de voisinage, voire un paysage commun?

Dès lors, l'idéal de ville nature durable réduit le paysage à une mise en décor selon les référents culturels des professionnels sans s'interroger sur sa réception par les habitants ou usagers. Il conduit à laisser libre des marges, la création d'espaces de nature et/ou intermédiaires appropriables qui seraient autant de lieux d'investissement, de sens, de significations à même de favoriser de nouvelles relations des hommes à leur environnement. C'est dans cette complexité de significations associées à des mises en perspectives des repères, horizons signifiants que chacun pourrait composer ses paysages de voisinage, un paysage commun. Elle implique de reconsidérer la composition des paysages et de réconcilier l'espace aménagé avec ceux perçus, vécus, imaginés. Elle impose des politiques urbaines plus participatives, voire de coproduction, à même de prendre en compte ces initiatives locales qui cherchent à recomposer des espaces communs, des paysages urbains communs?

4

LANDSCAPE AS A PROJECT

4.1

AÉROPORT NOTRE DAME DES LANDES, NANTES. PROBLÉMATIQUE DE L'AMÉNAGEMENT PAYSAGER LIÉ AU BOCAGE

Bernard Lassus

L'histoire horticole et agricole de la région Pays de Loire et son développement

La présence de l'aéroport dans ce symbolique site bocager (Fig. 1) peut apparaître comme une contradiction mais aussi comme l'image reconnue de cette partie de France, des Pays de Loire et de la Bretagne... un Pôle Horticole toujours en développement:

- la ville de Nantes qui, par son port, a accueilli pendant plusieurs siècles les plantes d'Amérique et d'Asie, aujourd'hui acclimatées ou non, que l'on peut découvrir dans son prestigieux Jardin Botanique créé par Louis XIV en 1688 ;
- la ville d'Angers, avec son Institut d'Horticulture et son Ecole du Paysage, qui abrite un Centre du Végétal d'importance nationale ;
- la ville de Rennes et son pôle universitaire agronomique et environnemental.



Fig. 1 - Les formes de bocage dans la région Pays de Loire.

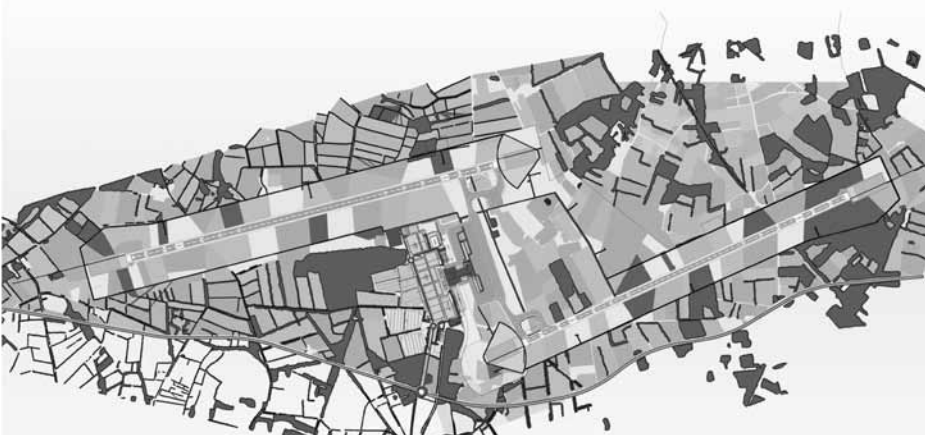


Fig. 2 - L'aéroport et l'aménagement paysager li eau bocage. Atelier Bernard Lassus, 2013.

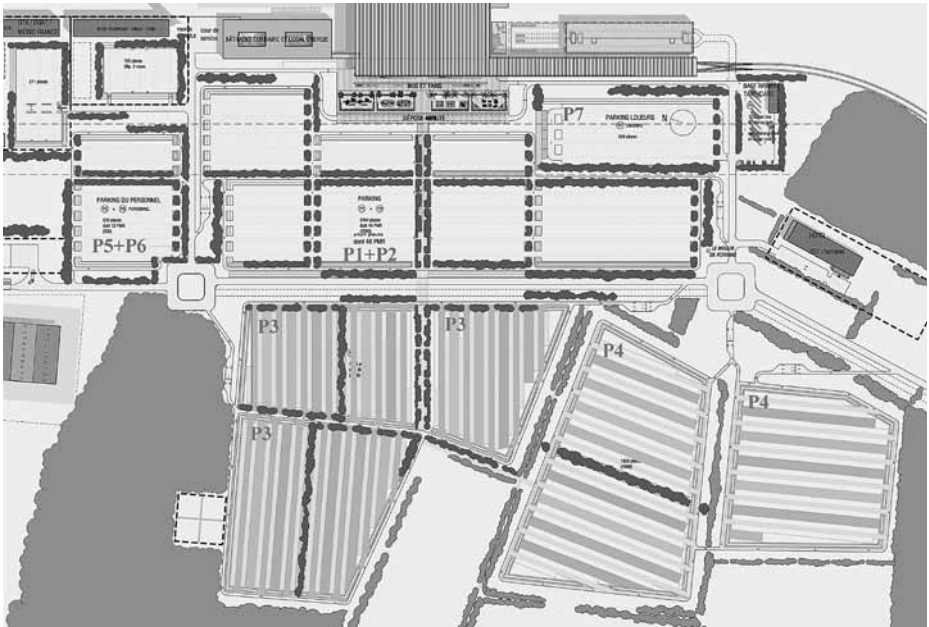


Fig. 3 - Plan des nouvelles haies. Atelier Bernard Lassus (en collaboration avec JFA), 2013.

Il nous faut donc *inscrire* cet aéroport dans le bocage mais aussi développer le végétal à partir de lui, en plusieurs dimensions:

- son histoire,
- le devenir horticole et agricole de cette région.

Pour cet aménagement, nous distinguons plusieurs échelles d'intervention:

- le Grand Paysage dans lequel s'inscrit le site de l'aéroport,
- le site de l'aéroport,
- l'aérogare,
- les surfaces bocagères proches des pistes.

Le Grand Paysage

Nous prévoyons que les voyageurs se rendant à l'aéroport soient accompagnés de plantations annonçant sa présence tout en *révélant les différentes formes de bocage*.

Ces études seront à mener avec les divers services, locaux et nationaux, en particulier les responsables des infrastructures où des fractions linéaires de haies se substituent aux alignements d'arbres plus classiques (Fig. 4).

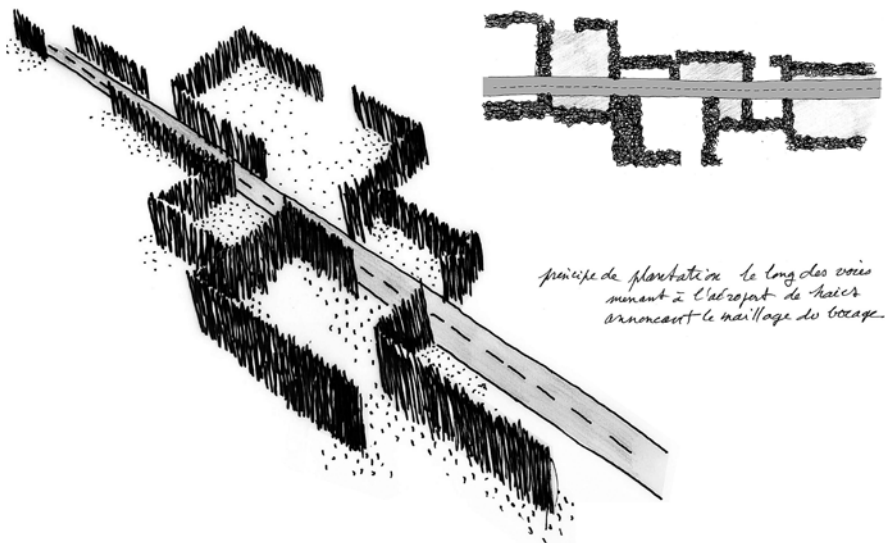


Fig. 4 - Principe de plantation, le long des voies menant à l'aéroport, de haies annonçant le maillage de bocage. Atelier Bernard Lassus, 2013.

Le site de l'aéroport

Les voyageurs découvrent le bocage par ces aménagements spécifiques latéraux jusqu'à l'entrée de l'aéroport (Fig. 2).

Certains, après avoir franchi un rond-point devenu rectangulaire pour rester dans la géométrie bocagère, garent leurs voitures en divers parkings traités différemment mais tous fractionnés en des surfaces rectangulaires encadrées de haies, écartant tout arbre, arbuste, plante, favorable aux oiseaux (Fig. 3).

Suivant les parkings, proches ou lointains des pistes, sont plantés plusieurs types de haies. Par exemple, dans les parkings les plus lointains, des bandes d'herbacées d'espèces différentes séparent les rangées de stationnement. Dans cette démarche de biodiversité, nous porterons une attention particulière aux plantes mellifères. A proximité des pistes, pour éviter le risque aviaire, les haies deviendront, par exemple, treillages avec plantes grimpances (Fig. 5).

Puis, les voyageurs arrivent à l'aérogare et sont invités à y pénétrer par des plantes exotiques: palmiers, camélias, magnolias, etc.

Nous avons étudié ces aménagements à partir des points de vue préférentiels, découverts à partir de deux mouvements inverses:

- les départs,
- les arrivées.

Au départ ou à l'arrivée, le voyageur découvre dans la partie centrale; le long des installations aéroportuaires, un certain nombre de jardins thématiques «*d'hier à demain*».

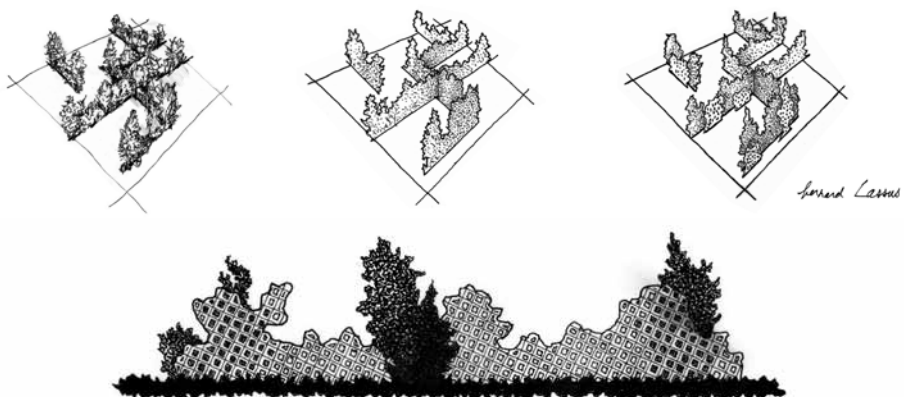


Fig. 5 - Haies pour le site de l'aéroport. Atelier Bernard Lassus, 2013.

L'aérogare

Hier: à partir des plantes exotiques de l'entrée, ponctuellement au long de son parcours de départ, le voyageur découvre quelques représentations de milieu naturel d'Asie et d'Amérique: quelques arbres et végétaux en des serres froides (Fig. 6).

Le Jardin d'Acclimatation présentera quelques exemples de végétaux ayant été acclimatés en des jardins botaniques locaux; par exemple: deux palmiers dont un *Chamaerops humilis* et un magnolia, arbre symbole de la ville de Nantes, ainsi que camélia que l'on pourra observer un peu plus loin.

Puis, plus proche des vitres de l'aérogare, dans le champ visuel des voyageurs, quelques massifs d'arbustes choisis avec les responsables du jardin botanique de la Ville de Nantes avec qui nous sommes en liaison.

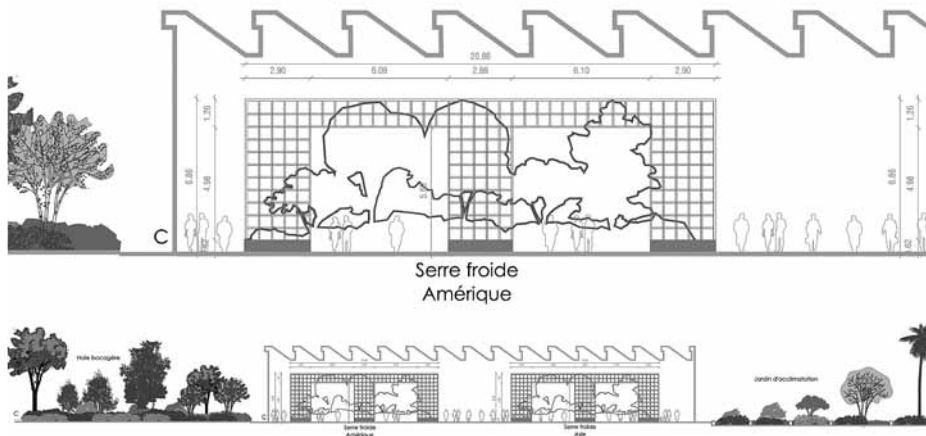


Fig. 6 - Serres froides Amerique et Asie: coupes et principes. Atelier Bernard Lassus, 2013.

Demain : quelques pas en avant ...

D'autres fleurs et arbustes acclimatés figureront enserrés en des jardinières linéaires en pente pour rester dans le champ visuel des mêmes voyageurs. Elles seront peintes de couleurs basées sur la théorie des couleurs de M.E. Chevreul, selon la loi du contraste simultané et de ses applications à l'horticulture et des recherches plus récentes de Bruno Munari sur l'égalisation. Ainsi, la juxtaposition des couleurs complémentaires à celle des fleurs les mettra en valeur et illustrera une des démarches actuelles de l'art des jardins, liant science des couleurs et horticulture.

Au massif des jardinières linéaires succéderont des jardinières, pour partie cylindriques, emplies de rosaces d'arbustes à fleurs également inscrites sur des surfaces en pente, peintes en leurs couleurs complémentaires.

Une cascade dans une pente semblable, en bois de teck, donnant sur un petit bassin rectangulaire terminera cette fraction du parcours dans l'aérogare.

Au passage, dans la zone commerciale, figurent également quelques maquettes et démonstrations montrant le rôle qu'a joué le bois dans l'aventure aéronautique, par exemple les hélices: une fabrication locale traditionnelle.

Le Parcours

Au départ: Plantes exotiques > Serre Asie > Serre Amérique > Jardin d'Acclimatation > Jardin des Plantes Acclimatées > Jardin de la Cascade

A l'arrivée: Bocage 1 Agriculture expérimentale > Bocage 2 Agriculture expérimentale > Bocage

Les surfaces proches des pistes

A l'inverse, dans le sens des arrivées, le voyageur longe deux bocages de faibles surfaces en lesquelles figurent des expérimentations végétales, liées à ce support d'exploitations, de surface limitée et haie haute qu'est le bocage traditionnel.

Préalablement, de l'avion et à sa descente, il a pu apercevoir ce bocage dans la plénitude de ces surfaces fractionnées et de leurs jeux de couleurs.

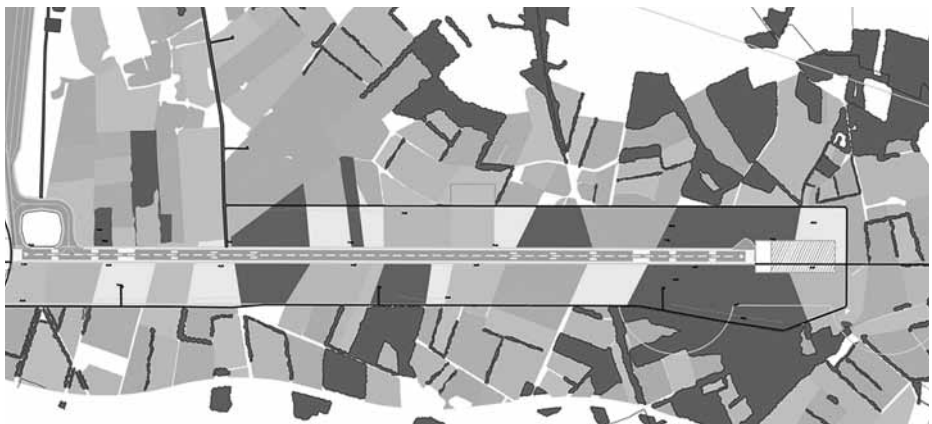


Fig. 7 - Initiation visuelle au bocage par des tapys symboliques. Piste Est. Atelier Bernard Lassus, 2013.

Pour bien marquer leur importance, même les surfaces les plus proches des pistes d'atterrissage sont couvertes d'herbacées rases de différentes teintes, ce qui rappelle la géométrie des surfaces encadrées de haies mais sans celles-ci, toujours à cause du risque aviaire. Ces divers types d'herbacées ont été choisis pour permettre d'une part ces différenciations visuelles en contraste et d'autre part une gestion commune. L'ensemble des coloris des cultures du bocage va varier au fil des saisons (Fig. 7).

Dans le dossier qui nous avait été remis pour le concours, nous avons relevé l'impérative nécessité d'éviter les risques aviaires, ce qui est à un premier niveau contradictoire puisque le bocage abrite et favorise 61 espèces d'oiseaux. Le bocage doit aussi être réaménagé dans la perspective d'une limitation des présences aviaires. Nous avons abordé cette question: le choix du végétal peut-il ne pas favoriser leur présence?

Quant au choix des cultures internes au bocage, il s'agit dès à présent d'éliminer, par exemple le blé, c'est-à-dire leur nourriture favorite.

Ceci implique de passer des accords avec les cultivateurs voisins, afin de coordonner les productions agricoles. Cette coordination permet aussi de limiter la présence visuelle de l'aéroport. Ainsi, bocage externe et bocage interne présenteraient des similitudes. L'association des bocages permettrait d'envisager une limitation visuelle de l'impact de l'aéroport puisqu'une partie de son site appartiendrait à l'activité agricole locale et non à une activité conservatrice liée au territoire portuaire.

Cette affirmation visuelle m'amène au niveau de l'aménagement paysager du site aéroportuaire à bien dissocier son activité propre de celle du bocage. Il convient donc d'en affirmer le contraste, sinon nous prendrions le risque que le "bocage aéroport" lui soit assimilé, ce qui en augmenterait l'impact.

Cette intervention entraîne que tout ce qui ne peut paraître qu'artificiel soit clairement montré sans monumentalisation et limité par la naturalisation de ce qui pourrait l'être de l'artificiel.

Cette démarche permet d'éviter que l'ensemble de la surface soit visuellement identifié comme étant l'aéroport, donc en limite l'impact visuel.

4.2 LANDSCAPE, HANDLE WITH CARE

Franco Zagari

Nothing could be more dynamic and unstable than outdoor spaces. They are mostly built with few resources and exposed to a huge consumption, but that's not the point, the ideas and the behaviours that give them life change so fast, and their psychological obsolescence is even stronger than the economic one.

The theme of public space, once exhausted the epic stage that since the sixties of the twentieth century rewrites the rules of a new centrality of countless urban areas, would seem to have more vitality if you know how to preserve it from the obsessive repetitions of genres, and from increasingly bizarre solutions.

Looking at the evolution of this issue it turns out that between the crisis and the state of the landscape runs a tight causal relationship, but this order of cause and effect is not clear.

We may well ask ourselves whether the poor quality of the landscape is one of the main causes of the crisis, and not secondary, as the programs of the political parties seem to believe.

What is the cultural value, but further more social and economic, and thence political, of a landscape design?

And which is the role of the public space in among various design themes, which trends? Which is the sense we want to give to the term 'sustainability'?

Any habitual awareness seems to lack, about knowing how is and how could be the landscape, how the ability to create landscapes could occur today, here and now, with spontaneity, through actions for the protection, management and planning and raising awareness of the value of a living landscape.

The crisis is in part an economic and financial situation, in part a sudden, abrupt, complicated transition to a different stage of our civilization, with some consequences: it is not so easy, I say, to understand whether the crisis is more cause or effect of the poor quality of many landscapes, and by now we know that the reasons for the crisis have mainly remote origins, some are really little known, others are more deducible because more local and domestic. In any case, all of them affect our behaviour and our imagination with profound repercussions, forcing a relocation, about landscape, of our private and public sphere of action, which creates a lot of surprises that we are trying to decrypt, often with an effect – it's just should say – of 'disorientation'.

But what are the countertrend's news? Can beauty, like Dostoevsky says, 'save the world'? I think so, it is absolutely necessary to bring back the mastery of the project to its high civil mission.

This means the understanding of the strategic value in the implementation of public works' planning, assume without hypocrisy the responsibility to declare, in the name of a public mandate, open and clear: beauty is the first direct and explicit objective to be pursued for a higher quality of the landscape. I do not know any other way.

A very popular song says, in its wisdom, that what we really need is a 'permanent center of gravity', giving an acceptable stability to our actions.

When we admire a beautiful landscape, in such ecstatic state, we feel the joy of an exquisite break of balance and harmony between us and a world otherwise gone mad.

At any scale the goal of a landscape project should not be more than this: know how to staging with art tangible and intangible elements as sequences with a meaning, expressing a representative character of values essential to us but ... the issue is more complex, our eternal Aristotelian condemnation to search for beauty, goodness and justice forces us to want more.

Here we will focus on open spaces. There is one point that I want to stress: the public-private relationship has changed dramatically in recent years, particularly since the start of the crisis, from 2008-2009 to the present.

The public's domain in the transformations of the territory has lost ground, I believe that it is necessary to replace habits and watchwords (keywords) to define the quality of open spaces, even because private's domain has not taken over, but it merely seeks economic satisfaction through objectives poorly permeable to a vision of the new advanced city of the third millennium.

This relationship is not so clear because all the usual themes of public space are played with a reduced value, which is more quantitative than qualitative, a trivialization of an element that virtually has and could have a much more decisive role in our habitat.

But from my traveling observatory in Italy, facing the enormous disaster that accompanies an unprecedented urbanization phenomenon, important news seem to be captured, expressed in a revolution of behaviour, especially in young people.

The people, for better or for worse, explore and experience the city not only as a working environment, but also with a growing demand for *loisir*, and a greater need for quality.

There is a considerable extension of attendance even at night, spaces of conviviality to correspond to an economic and social demand driven by the consumer culture that becomes a mass phenomenon.

They invent and repeat endlessly canonical spaces, gardens, squares, parks, but in a few cases with leading projects, such as the great city parks with new dimensions, such

as those of Paris and São Paulo, where innovative intuitions surprise and anticipate, I hope, a spirit of re-foundation.

Having said this, don't you think it would sound better to say: "The role of urban landscape in the transformation of open spaces"?

It seems a play on words when we reverse the terms of the title, but it offers undeniable advantages, that include the treating of landscape as a disciplinary method - approach, method, tools - and not only as a theme. I believe that this approach opens up interesting prospects. Now it's the time for this theme of the public space to be shifted from its usual hinges into a viable and productive way.

Returning to the point where the story of the public space was the starting point with the characteristics of a real revolution in the way we see and think of the city - in the Western world I'd put in the criticism of Ciam to several tenets of the Modern Movement and in particular the choice of the theme of city heart as a key to setting the new urban settlements - we can realize that the founding fathers such as Aldo Van Eyck, Giancarlo De Carlo, Ralph Erskine, Alison and Peter Smithson had a prescient vision of a new road to be taken. The issue at a distance of about fifty years remains completely open, and in a long-term perspective there's a clear need for greater openness of the horizon, and for a review of the concept of the public also, that, using Nanni Moretti's expression, would perhaps be redefined as 'something left wing'. If the conflict between public and private is certainly high, when you touch the interest, the mutual interaction is potentially more and more inevitable, but in new ways. There is indeed a great fluidity between their respective fields of influence, and it turns out that the whole affair should be seen about the actual impact that every public and private action can have, not so much on direct targets, which are discounted, as on the outcome, which is prevalent but accessible only at intuitive level, thus basically unknown. The analysis of costs and benefits that through the planning seem often to deny the evidence of facts. I mean that the tasks of the two domains of activity, the public and the private, should find new ways to express themselves, and to collaborate each other.

The public, moreover, should perhaps be less extensive and at the same time more effective. It should have role as leader and as catalyst of situations where a political will's stamp is useful, indeed necessary, and it should involve communities in its various components as the protagonist, participant and responsible of the development's directions of a place.

The public has lost ground. What is curious and not adequately studied is that this phenomenon is due only partly to the dehydration of public financial sources, but rather to a sort of mentality of abdication, a shortage of ideas and instruments.

Local authorities and other usual public corporations that had so far driven - well

or badly – a planning, have gradually oriented to back out of too ambitious businesses' transformation, and often even fail the standard prevention and maintenance of the territory.

As a result, they are subjected or demand as substitute an increasingly significant intervention from the outside, which would be fine if there was the ability to express a clear development plan. The public demand for more and more often is in fact a blank proxy.

So there's no wonder that everything moves in a celebration of consumption, which from means becomes an end, and this cycle looks weary too.

But if our new centres of social attraction are mostly just hypermarkets, the lessons come from other countries, where we've found great integrated high-quality centres, administrative services, entertainment, exhibition, sports, restaurants, cafes, bookshops.

Just think of all the series of open centres in São Paulo starting with one of Pompeia by Lina Bo Bardi, at the end of the seventies, with the grace of her feminine genius, another revolution that has remained almost invisible. The issue arises in an entirely new way, because our habitats are now completely different than where we were born, and in many parts is no longer definable urban, rural and natural, it is a 'city is not the city', which grows with an unknown speed, the city of the new millennium.

But the project, of which the landscape should be the natural complement, instead appears as the stone guest of Don Giovanni: feared as the threat of immanent justice, a shadow of our bad conscience, eventually lived as a hazard that can suffocate a desperate yearning for freedom. The challenge is to act, without wasting time, act in direct drive, know how to question, to overcome the inactivity of a rhetorical public space. One of the nodes of the matter is that people are systematically on the margins or completely excluded from the choices, partly because of representations or-better- of relentless reductions by an old culture, firmly anchored to its positions of power. As well, I want to believe that hope persists in many acts that mostly spontaneously occur in our country... Its fortune is indispensable for us, because I think it's the common sense of our democracy.

4.3 “MOVING” URBAN LANDSCAPES*

Lorenzo Vallerini

Identity, Quality, Urban Space

“... Collective themes, streets and squares ..., once brought under discussion by a long process of social thematization, retain their significance in Europe even when their original theme has been forgotten, a full-round significance rooted in the symbolic sphere – and for this reason incorporated, from a tender age, into citizens’ perceptions of the world in which they live, perennial constitutive terms of its beauty ... And just as persistent, subtracted from the wear and tear of time ... is the aesthetic sphere ... and the wholly European awareness that the city is a work of art accompanies us down its streets ... into its houses and into its themed collective spaces...”. (Romano, 2008)

The interweave of identity, the sense of belonging to the city, to one’s own city, and the urban quality of open/public space and of architecture is beautifully summed up by Marco Romano¹, who sees the urban public space as an essential factor determining the image of the city, an irreplaceable place for gathering and socialization, with which the entire community identifies and from which each citizen draws his or her sense of identity. The city is not a sum of buildings with streets and roads leading from one to another. It is something more. By asking ourselves whether it is the architecture that makes the city or whether, instead, it is the open spaces which weave the urban fabric on which the architecture is “embroidered,” we increase our level of attention to the pattern of these spaces, whether they be streets, squares, pedestrian-bicycle paths, historic streets, parks, gardens, private green areas, “fringe” spaces, etc..

If the city is not a simple sum of buildings, then the open spaces must constitute the “mapping system” that makes the city visible. A building, however beautiful it may be, does not make a city. The spaces *between* the buildings, the squares, the streets, the parks, the watercourses, the vegetation, the abandoned or rundown areas, etc., are the connective tissue of the city, the spaces in which we move (slowly, or by rail or

* Parts of this work have been published in the magazine on line *NIP-Network in Progress* number 14 May-June 2013, Casa Editrice ETS, Pisa (ISSN 2281-1176) Website <http://www.nipmagazine.it/>

¹ Marco Romano has taught “Aesthetics” at various Italian universities and has published numerous works on the aesthetics of the European city.

on water, etc.) and meet (open public spaces) are where the city's social life is lived.

Therefore, developing the system of open public spaces acquires a relevance both in terms of enhancing and recomposing the existing and the new parts of the city.

The urban development we have seen in recent decades seems, however, to have lost sight of the relationship between architecture and the city, between the city and open spaces. Quite often, what is most evident is the *lack* of an overall urban form, of spaces that reflect any type of impetus toward collective identification. And the flaunted credibility and/or opulence of the single new buildings, even those designed by international "archistars", is often poor compensation for the formal and material paucity of the streets, the squares, the open spaces – in other words, the spaces of collective life.

When upgrading rundown and abandoned areas, disused spaces, whether industrial or otherwise, all that counts are the cubic meters to be constructed while the little bit of greenery is left to the mercy of the standards set by law – old laws – without seizing these opportunities as occasions for improving the city as a whole. The cubic meters are clearly necessary, – otherwise, who would pay? But they seem all too often to be the only subject for discussion and discourse, sometimes for protests – but without calling into play the relationships among the urban context, the traffic system, and open spaces.

The same can be said of the mobility infrastructures, which, both inside the city and in the peri-urban areas have almost never become integral parts of the territory but rather intrusions motivated by their specific primary function, transportation. Synergies capable of fostering symbiotic interactions between infrastructures and surrounding context have not been created. "Specialized" transportation cuts through the territory and the city as a closed system and, often, the infrastructure simply runs through places, remaining to all effects extraneous to the features of the terrain, to the urban sites it travels, exorcising them with technologically themed constructions such as bridges, viaducts, embankments, tunnels, etc., and along the way offending the sensibilities of the "common people" – sparking neighbourhood meetings and protest movements.

In point of fact – as instead so often happens – it is not enough to state (even if backed up by a good urban planning study or approved project) one's intention to create a "system of open spaces" (squares, streets/roads, parks, neighbourhood green areas, etc.) to automatically conjure up a "good" city. Much more is required; the city must possess what has been termed the "will to forge a collective identity."

Attaining a balance between built-up space and free/open space, of whatever type, requires much more than simply adding up the parts; it requires, and it is the product of, a collective will that at times transcends the will of our political representatives. It would be appropriate to say that everyone deserves the city they choose, for better or worse.

Urban Transformation and Mobility

In many cases, introduction of “transportation infrastructures in the urban environment” produces a “breakup” of urban equilibriums; but it can also, and above all (and, obviously, not always), offer an “occasion” for upgrading the urban areas and open spaces linked to these infrastructures, for generating new urban traffic/mobility patterns. We can think of the “urban expressways” that weave through the peri-urban districts, of the subways and tramlines that link the centre and the outlying districts, of the stations/station-junctions as new urban structures and identities. And, we can view pedestrianization of squares, streets, the river embankment roads in the historic centres, that are often linked to new mass transportation systems as “new infrastructures” for urban movement.

In several European (Barcelona, Paris, Bordeaux, Strasbourg, etc.) and Italian (Turin, Milan, Mestre, Florence, etc.) cities, much urban transformation has followed the creation of infrastructures impacting large segments of the population and their sense of the identity of the “transited” areas – often with positive results. Naturally, these changes involved difficulties and protests – but then, when has any “major” urban transformation ever failed to arouse heated arguments?

The *European Landscape Convention* addresses the basic issues that orbit the central issue of “transformation” and provides indications for correct conservation, planning, and transformation of the territory. The convention framework provides *recognizable quality objectives*, including definition of criteria for *directing transformations*, whether broad-scale, at the urban or peri-urban scale, or at the single-project level, but above all for directing planning of new works, whether in historic areas or in urban expansion areas. The keywords of the message transmitted by the Convention, *integration-transformation-participation*, apply equally to work at all scales and dictate careful consideration of quality, not only when assessing rural or natural spaces, undeveloped areas, urban open spaces, and greening, but indeed to all transformation policies – from planning tools to major projects and infrastructures, from energy systems to urban policies, from new developments to the historic centres, etc..

Putting words into action is never easy, and this is especially true in the case new infrastructures, which by their very nature are always intrusive, and strongly impact established landscape and territorial balances. It is transformation taken to its extreme consequences, because in the case of transportation infrastructures the transformation is linear, passing straight through places, images, and systems that are often very different and diversified, with strong natural and artificial identities, each often with its own firmly established social organization.

The infrastructure invades/occupies space – and can “kill” it, but an infrastructure landscaping project (that is, a project which integrates “engineering” production and “architecture-landscape” production) frees other spaces, improves them, and above all liberates the flows of movement, contacts, and life.

To borrow the words of Guido Ferrara, “transformation also constitutes an opportunity to improve the specific qualities of different landscapes ... This ... involves inverting perspectives: after having thought about how to make the transformation inoffensive ..., if one is capable of correctly assessing these single structures (in terms of their eco-systemic, spatial, perception-related, aesthetic function), such an innovation will make it possible to conceive of landscape planning as a whole in which the new element undergoes a metamorphosis, changing from something incongruous, to be hidden and minimized, to an active subject for the construction/reconstruction of the complex environmental organization of which it is part.” (Ferrara, 2007)

One of the principal characteristics of “mobility systems,” or of the relationship between mobility and urban space, is the occupation of space by the various infrastructures. As strong driving forces of urban transformation, infrastructures guide the ways in which urban development takes place, influence people’s ability to move, accelerating their flow (high speed) or returning them to the human dimension (low speed), and causing a greater or lesser occupation of public spaces, with a consequent strong impact on the quality of life of the inhabitants.

All of our European cities, at the start, developed in a “pedestrian” dimension; that is, the distances within the urban structure were dictated by man’s stride, or at most that of his horse, until the early 1800s. Then, starting from the second half of the nineteenth century, cities began to expand first along the public transport arteries and then in step with the development of private transportation – the automobile.

The steady increase in private vehicular traffic radically modified the cities, increasing distances, adapting urban geometries to an increasingly efficient system of fast movement. And finally, the cities sacrificed urban quality to fast vehicular traffic.

An automobile with one person takes up 60 square meters on the ground as opposed to the 1 m² occupied by a pedestrian, or the 3 m² by a bicycle; while a fully-loaded city bus eats up 3.1 m² per passenger, and a subway or tram with a full load requires 1.5 m² per person.

These simple figures alone are sufficient to suggest how the urban image of public space can change radically in response to different infrastructural choices and how a choice can influence the citizens’ quality of life. But each of these systems maintains an intrinsic validity and advantage, and does not necessarily represent a step backward as regards the quality of public space.

In fact, if any strategic mobility option is not accompanied by specific open-space projects that remodel the transformation introduced by the new mobility infrastructure, the latter can become a “foreign body” in the context it serves and which, in any case, it changes by its very presence. This is true not only for “high speed” infrastructures (roads and motorways, high-speed underground transportation) but also for the “low speed” options (pedestrian areas, cycling paths, tramlines, bus lines, etc.).

In many cases, ordinary territorial planning addresses the question of infrastructures inside and outside of the city without considering proposals for reducing the real inconveniences that may follow the introduction of mobility infrastructures, without accompanying infrastructural proposals with assessment of the context in which they will be inserted, and without giving the urban improvement and landscape enhancement projects priority; instead, quite often all this is limited to *a posteriori* actions for “reorganization” and greening – in short, damage control.

Certainly, a lot of water has run under the bridges of infrastructure planning, and “landscape design” of/in infrastructures is by now an integral part of “infrastructural projects” – but at least in Italy, it is still the poor relation that receives only limited and leftover funds. They are meagre budgets, especially if compared to the often extremely high cost of the infrastructural work itself.

Examples of good practice in European and other countries nevertheless abound in the specialized periodicals and books: many have been put into practice while many still exist only on paper.

The specific case of the Florentine area considered below is, for the moment, mostly in the latter category. But the premises for loosening the grip of the vehicular traffic that suffocates the city, for changing the city and for bettering it, not only by reducing traffic and creating an efficient transportation network but also through that redesign of urban and peri-urban open spaces that must accompany the transformation, are all there.

The Case of the Florentine Area: High Speed and Low Speed

The new mobility system for the Florentine metropolitan area rests essentially on four pillars.

- 1 Construction of the *Third lane of the A1 motorway* that curves around the city from south to north, doubling as an urban ring road and linking the Firenze-Mare motorway to the northern coast and Genoa, the Firenze-Pisa-Livorno superhighway running west, and the inland Firenze-Siena-Grosseto superhighway that runs to southern Tuscany.



Fig. 1 - Infrastructural system of the Metropolitan Area of Florence. Design by Lorenzo Vallerini 2013.

- 2 Construction of the TAV (*Treni Alta Velocità*) - *High-speed train* system, running under Florence and served by a big, new station designed by Norman Foster, will free up a portion of the existing surface tracks, which will then be available for metropolitan transportation (a link with the tramlines).
- 3 Completion of the *Tramway system* to connect the suburban residential-industrial areas to the Florence city centre and cross it (except for the oldest historic nucleus) like a large "X", with four lines, one of which will extend to the nearby city of Prato and thus serve numerous cities and towns that dot the Florentine plain.
- 4 Pedestrianization of the historic centre of Florence. This program, which has been completed, demanded rerouting and rethinking the public transportation system and, above all, limiting private vehicular traffic. The pedestrian area is the centre of

a large circle that comprises and integrates all the mobility systems of the Florentine area including the suburbs.

The most significant feature of this system is the interconnection among the four levels of mobility via new aggregation sites, park-and-ride facilities, interchange stations, road and railway connections, etc.. The entire network is “embedded” in the Florentine conurbation, which embraces densely-populated areas, urban fringe areas, and rural areas with scattered settlements.

Once completed, the system will permit moving between “high-speed” routes and “low-speed” areas and routes, both of which are indispensable for guaranteeing ease of movement within the metropolitan area and, it is hoped, a better quality of life in a city more in tune with human needs.

“High speed” as an occasion for urban upgrading concerns the A1 motorway with the third lane, while “low speed” work, in terms of interconnection between infrastructural systems and urban open spaces, regards the Tramway while in the sense of reappropriation of public spaces through urban re-planning for new functions, it involves the new town centre of Scandicci and pedestrianization of the historic centre of Florence.

Third Lane of the A1

The built-up area of Casellina is the continuation, and an integral part, of the urban centre of Scandicci, which, in turn, is welded to the vaster Florentine area metropolitan system.

One of the elements characterizing the centre of Casellina is the A1 motorway, which cuts through the urban system and which links up with the Firenze-Pisa-Livorno super-highway via the urban fabric.

Work for the third lane of the A1 has provided a release in a situation which for a long time has been “compromised,” both by heavy traffic flow and by a series of incongruous structures. It triggered sparked projects for rethinking and redesigning the motorway itself as well as other related infrastructures, which are in turn connected with yet other infrastructure projects, such as the new Tramway Line 1 (Firenze S.M.N. Station – Scandicci, with a planned extension as far as Casellina) or the new local roads linking Scandicci and Florence, and new development plans, such as a new shopping mall.

The Urban Plan for the Casellina area calls not only for retrofit and greening actions to complement the new road and motorway system, but also – and above all – for “stitching together” the existing system of open spaces, the new ones included in the planning instruments, and those that will become available through the “retirement” of certain portions of the current motorway right-of-way and the new layout of the motorway.



Fig. 2 - Interconnections: the urban area of Casellina and the new green system. Design by Lorenzo Vallerini 2013.

The system of open spaces ties together the road-transportation structures with planted areas (extensively-planted earthen noise barriers, wooded areas, tree-lined boulevards and hedgerows, lawns and fields, roof gardens, green areas along the motorway and traditional roads) capable of attenuating the induced negative effects (noise, air pollution, dust, etc.). The system includes many different elements; among the most significant, a large, almost one hectare, elongated traffic circle, as the new Scandicci “city gate,” the vast network of pedestrian-cycle routes, the artificial tunnel covered by an approximately 1.5 hectare of roof garden, the well-equipped public green area (2 hectares ca.), and the park-and-ride facility serving the motorway and the Line 1 tramway junction. Despite having had to “adapt” to the decisions taken when the road network was designed, each of the projects for the single system elements presents its own, singular formal characteristics and attempts to strike a balance between functional needs and citations of the rural, hill-country landscape of the areas surrounding the inhabited centre, reinterpreting them in a vision of contemporary landscapes forced into the mould of a densely urbanized context.

Work began in 2005 and currently, although road construction is almost complete, the landscaping worksites are proceeding with difficulty.

The New Centre of Scandicci and the Tramway – T1 Line

The idea of building a new centre for the city of Scandicci (15,000 m² ca.) originated with the Master Plan drawn up for the city by London architect Richard Rogers in 2003. This far-reaching urban planning study identifies the weaknesses in the city's fabric and the opportunities that the territory can offer to the city and its inhabitants. Among these, the Tramway, the first leg of which (T1) has been completed, takes on great value: the vast, as yet non-urbanized area facing Palazzo Comunale in Piazzale della Resistenza, near the main Tramway stop, was identified as the ideal location for the New Civic Centre, that could offer a mix of cultural, commercial, and food service activities, community facilities, housing, and office spaces.

Rogers' project for the New Civic Centre defines a detailed urban development plan for the area: a master plan that qualifies the area as a reference-point urban complex, capable of setting the tone for the city's future, in terms both of architectural recognisability and of environmental quality.

A new main square will perform the fundamental role of site of aggregation. This public space will be surrounded by buildings of great architectural value, with the Tramway station as the distinctive element characterizing the entire complex. The large square

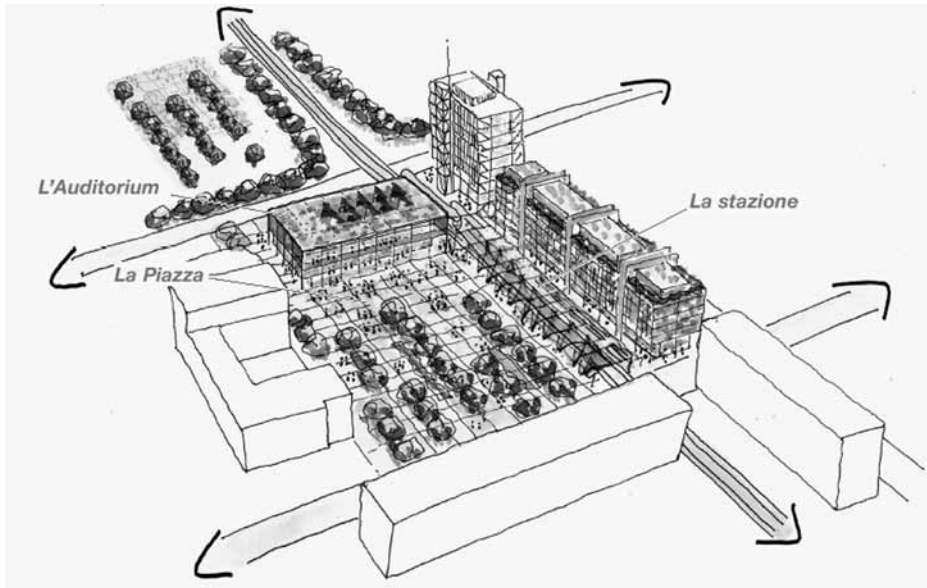


Fig. 3 - The New Centre of Scandicci and the tramway.
Design by Richard Rogers, <http://www.scandiccicentro.it/site/home.asp>



Fig. 4 - The Tramway in Florence by Jean-Michel Folon.
Source: <http://www.ataf.net/it/azienda/tramvia.aspx?idC=145&LN=it-IT>

(4,000 m²) will interact with the polyfunctional Auditorium complex, the Tramway stop, and Palazzo Comunale [Town Hall]. It will be a site suitable for concerts, fairs, markets, theatrical performances, and public events in general, fully pedestrianized and embellished with the green of the new tree plantings – and immediately accessible from the tram stop and therefore directly linked to Florence.

Work began in September of 2010 and is now well advanced and proceeding smoothly.

The Tramway System

The Tramway is a truly “big” project that is destined to make a major contribution to solving the problems of mobility and air pollution in the Florentine area, which currently is being literally suffocated by an extremely high volume of vehicular traffic in a relatively small area.

On the one hand, a gradual return to rail transport can ensure rapid transit that can offer users a high degree of reliability as regards schedules, and on the other it responds to the growing need for better quality of urban life and reorganizing public spaces to promote a pedestrian-bicycle-tram-bus mobility system that is more in harmony with



Fig. 5 - Bird's-eye view of the area of Giuseppe Poggi's 19th-century Viali, the Boulevards Circling the Historic Centre. The new urban green system with the line 3 of the tramway. Design by Lorenzo Vallerini 2012.

the urban panorama than the current plague of private vehicle traffic.

The Florence Tramway System currently comprises 3 lines:

Line 1. Firenze S.M.N. Station – Scandicci (in operation since 2010)

Line 2. Peretola – Piazza dell'Unità d'Italia (work begun in 2011)

Line 3.1. Careggi – Firenze S.M.N. Station (construction work package approved in 2011; work scheduled to begin in 2013).

Additionally, plans for extending the Tramway network through the south-eastern district of the city to two outlying centres near Florence, with the two-branched Line 3.2, are now under study. Finally, the Structural Plan also considers further expansion with a Line 2-b running underground through the historic centre and two other lines: Line 4, which will make use of some of the existing railway tracks to link to the outlying Le Piagge district, and Line 5, running in the direction of the Florentine plain.

The overall project is an expression of a strategic decision by the Florence city government, which, in line with the approaches that have prevailed for many years now in many Italian cities and major European capitals, has called for a substantial reduction of private transportation and offered a high-quality, integrated public transit system as an alternative.

The “public” acclaim for the first tram line (T1) to enter into operation (the number of passengers has increased by more than 50%, from less than 25,000 passengers per day in 2010 to upwards of 38,000 in 2012, with a stable monthly average of 1,100,000 passengers), confirms the correctness of this strategic decision. However, construction of the rights of way and tram stops was not accompanied by any arrangements-refurbishment of the adjacent areas, and the line conveys an overall sensation of something unpleasantly “unfinished.”

For Lines 2 and 3, instead, engineering work has been more closely coordinated with planning of the adjacent open spaces, selection of materials and urban furnishings. This is necessary because the lines will travel through portions of the city that are, historically, more consolidated and more "inhabited" than those crossed by Line 1 – and they are certainly more prestigious and "sensitive."

In particular, quality plans have been drawn up for the open spaces in the area of Giuseppe Poggi's 19th-century *Viali*, the boulevards circling the historic centre. Some of these spaces, such as the extensive area near the historic Fortezza da Basso which is the venue for international fashion events have been "liberated" by the passage of the Tramway.

The system of boulevards and gardens at the Fortezza was part of Poggi's original plans, and the new landscaping design has been superimposed on this system, respecting and enhancing it. The plans for Line 3 and construction of the Viale Milton and Viale Strozzi automobile underpasses emphasize the landscaping effects of the majestic rows of trees and will free large areas from vehicular traffic. The plans call for just few modifications to the existing arrangement of trees and will make it possible to maintain and consolidate the system of plantings and link it to the greenery of the Fortezza parks, today hemmed in by traffic. The tramway and the stop are integral parts of the plans which offer greater opportunities for pedestrian and bicycle traffic and linkups.

The landscaping plans call, on the one hand, for almost full preservation of the existing tree plantings and for integrations in various areas; and on the other, for new work in the extensive area that will be freed by construction of the underpasses (4,000 m²) consisting of a series of shrubbery hedges along the boulevard, lawns, and paved areas with seating – which become, in essence, a "roof garden" covering the three vehicle underpasses and stitching together the old and the new functions of the area.

Pedestrianization of the Historic Centre of Florence

The historic centre of Florence, within the circle of boulevards that follow the path of the Medieval walls and recognized as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO since 1982, now one of the world's largest pedestrian areas, has recently been enlarged to include Piazza Duomo, Via Tornabuoni, and Piazza Pitti.

The last photographs showing Piazza Duomo and the adjacent Piazza San Giovanni, home of the Baptistery, in use as parking areas date from almost 30 years ago when the gradual – and huge – task of pedestrianizing the centre of Florence was begun. It was completed in 2011, with 13 hectares of new pedestrian areas crowning the so-called "Limited Traffic Area" which corresponds to the ancient Roman *castrum*, a rectangle with its corners at Piazza Santa Maria Novella and Piazza del Duomo and extending to



Fig. 6 - Pedestrianization of the historic centre of Florence, Piazza del Duomo. Photo Maurizio Barabesi, 2011.

the Arno River. Transit of this area is permitted only for residents, and then only outside of strictly pedestrian zones.

Not only has pedestrianization of the historic centre restored spaces of great value to sociality – and it would be the case to say to the Florentine community – and arrested urban decay, but it has also sparked numerous urban requalification projects which have given new dignity and value to areas in which beauty and art are common coin.

As Maurizio Barabesi² reminds us, “... The many actions proposed and implemented by the City of Florence have been undertaken under a sweeping program targeting reorganization of public space and concentrating requalification policy to bring back to light, and to renew, the fabric of signs and identities that characterize Florence and, in our collective memory, distinguish it from other world cities ... Pedestrianization of

² Architect Maurizio Barabesi is head of the *Riqualificazione spazi pubblici* office of the Municipality of Florence.

Piazza Duomo, when it was implemented ... abolished vehicular traffic, including the 2,200 buses that passed through every day, and achieved two results:

- it removed the elements that produced visual, atmospheric, and acoustic pollution and subtracted space from the urban scene and its fruition by walkers, and removed elements that did not belong in the urban space ...
- it confirmed and accelerated the urban planning decision to transform the city from a monocentric to a polycentric entity, transforming the public transportation system from a radial to an integrated network..." (Barabesi, 2013).

Pedestrianization of Piazza Duomo, Via Martelli, Via Tornabuoni, Piazza Pitti, and the surrounding areas has made it possible to restore the existing stone paving and to lay stone paving in areas in which it had been replaced by asphalt to accommodate the since abolished vehicle traffic and to enhance the new pedestrian areas with quality urban furnishings.

"... In these actions, the material is the identifying element which permits us to continue the Florentine tradition of stone paving, in which the design of the pavements and the way the stones are dressed components that interact with the urban scenario to highlight its principal historical and contemporary features ..." (Barabesi, 2013).

The impetus impressed on the entire city by the new and extensive pedestrian area transcends, in terms of dimensions, the centre itself with its beneficial chain-reaction effects, which have in turn led to accelerating construction of the new tram lines and modifying city-dwellers' "lazy" habits. But above all, these actions have brought Florentines closer to their great city of art, which for too long has been left to tourists alone: the squares and the streets are now filled with events, with social exchanges, with new life.

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4.4

THE CONCEPT OF URBAN *LISIÈRE* AND ITS APPLICATION ON REUNION ISLAND

Sophie Bonin

The injunction to fix urban fronts according to a dense city model rather than accompanying urban sprawl has today gained a high level of consensus among the main actors of urban planning. According to documents on urbanism, both agricultural and natural spaces are to be preserved within a common paradigm under the designation “open spaces.” Experience has however shown that the force for planning such fronts, inscribed in the urbanism master plans since the 1960s, finds it difficult to resist economic forces (land and real estate markets, vitality of agriculture), political forces (local and regional governance) and social forces (housing requirements, progressively larger surfaces per inhabitant). A proposed solution – which is also a consequence – for addressing this issue is to gain recognition of such open spaces from local populations as a common good, a landscape to preserve for the living environment of peri-urban inhabitants. This solution corresponds to an evolution in the way to make a city which aims at renewing, even recreating, a means of drawing inhabitants into urban management.

Within this context, a research programme¹ into qualifying urban fringe landscapes has brought to light the emergence of a new landscaping concept, a new conception of space: the urban *lisière*. According to Bertrand Folléa (DPLG landscape architect of the Folléa-Gautier Agency), it aims at creating an “... urban *lisière* which participates in the organisation of the territory. It materialises limits to urbanisation, forms a buffer, an interface or glaze between agricultural or natural spaces and constructed spaces”²; “... transitions are to be emplaced, urban and agricultural *lisières* constituted to address this issue (banalisation of urban landscapes): groves of trees, orchards and horticul-

¹ The *Landscape and Sustainable Development* Programme research project on qualifying peri-urban fringe landscapes. This project, co-piloted by the LADYSS Mixed Research Unit (Richard Raymond), the Versailles School of Landscape Architecture (Sophie Bonin) and the ESPACE Institute of Research for Development in Montpellier (Pierre Dérioz), aims at finding keys for reading peri-urban spaces by studying political discourse and that of landscape experts along with the perceptions of inhabitants of three different regions: the Ile de France (Parisian region), the Languedoc-Roussillon and Reunion Island in the Indian Ocean. The Reunion Island territory was explored with the valuable collaboration of Monique Toublanc.

² Agence Folléa-Gautier, Zone UP, Atelier de l’Isthme, 2009, *Schéma intercommunal d’aménagement des lisières urbaines, Territoire Côte Ouest*, TCO, Réunion- Direction de l’aménagement.

tural zones all deserve to be implemented during the on-going development”³. Such transitional zones can also be seen as a change in the way of looking at and reappropriating spaces “... which have no a priori value within a future of urbanism dedicated to land sale profits ...” but “... which have an inherent availability, one of the basic constituents of urban public space”⁴. Urban *lisière* is a term very pregnantly employed in contemporary urban reflections, for example in those of the Greater Paris International Workshop or the Ile-de-France urbanism agency. It is also found in the writings of reputable landscape architects: Bertrand Folléa has been using this term in his landscaping projects since the end of the 1990s, as has Michel Desvignes, evoked below.

Seizing and focussing on this concept thus appears to be an interesting entry point within the hypothesis that it will witness to a breaking with the habitually negative – even pejorative – discourse concerning peri-urban landscapes. The idea of urban *lisière* is part of the project of requalifying the peri-urban, changing its image and its modes of installation. We will first see how it is constructed with reference to another concept and an older term more often used in master plans: the urban front. We will then look at several examples of its implementation, with Reunion Island serving as our laboratory.

A Recently Added Term in the Field of Urbanism, and One with Interesting Semantics

Recent appearance in the field of urbanism

In urban planning and in documents on urbanism, mastering urban sprawl is a fundamental question and among the main motivations of injunctions, especially concerning controlling the consumption of farmland and natural spaces. It requires apprehending the limits of the city. In the Parisian region, where the oldest urban master plans of France are found, the terms initially used were quite neutral: limits, perimeters. The first plan extending reflection beyond intramural Paris, the 1934 regional urbanism plan (approved by legal decree in 1939), gives a rather constraining definition of a “perimeter of agglomeration” in reaction to the rapid and uncontrolled expansion in private homes and sub-divisions following WWII. It defined it as the perimeter beyond which the urbanised zone could not be extended. The term perimeter of agglomeration was used again in the PADOG – Plan d’Aménagement

³ Agence Bertrand Folléa – Claire Gautier (paysagistes), Marc Marcesse (CETE Méditerranée), 1997, *Etude préalable au Plan de Paysage de l’Ouest*, Ministère de l’Équipement, DDE de la Réunion, DIREN de la Réunion.

⁴ Mahey P., 1999, «La lisière, potentiel d’accueil des nouveaux espaces publics de débat», *Les annales de la recherche urbaine*, n° 82, mars 1999.

et d'Organisation Générale (Plan for the Installation and General Organisation) for the Parisian region – approved by decree in 1960. It was conceived as a border, an enclosure, conforming to the general constructed region including interstices, but forbidding oil stain expansion. The concept also appears in the 1965 SDAURP – Schéma d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme (Installation and Urbanism Scheme) for the Parisian region – where the term 'agglomeration fringe' is used rather than 'front' in association with preservation of a rural landscape to "... avoid the countryside's losing its natural charm ..." (p. 237).

From the 1970s or 1980s, the terms *green belt* and especially *urban front* appear prominently. The second concept is most common. It expresses the desire to fix the limits of the city and can be found in most of the master plans at the scale of agglomerations in the 1980s. Its general philosophy was expressed in the 1976 *Schéma d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme* of the Ile-de-France region (SDAURIF), undoubtedly as a new and original concept as the precedent document in 1965 had not mentioned it. One finds an outline of the urban *lisière* concept as it is now used by landscape architects, and the 1976 SDAURIF was even more concrete in its installation proposals than was the project of *Schéma Directeur Régional d'Ile-de-France* (Ile-de-France Regional Directorial Scheme) of 2008 with comparable formulations.

The following two extracts give clear portrayals of the propos of each epoch on this common goal of installing limits :

- 1976 Schéma d'Aménagement et d'urbanisme de la région Ile de France (p. 112): "... at the limits of the agglomeration, where the countryside begins, "external fronts" form the new facades of the city. They should be designed so as to express this character of an organised limit, and the operations carried out must rely on a composition of architectural and urban arrangements contributing to this effect. Moreover, their overlap of contiguous peripheral rural zones should be treated in "glazes," that is to say, as vast non-constructed zones based on natural complexes. At the edge of large forest complexes, which are now part of the agglomeration and especially in the new towns where such contacts are numerous, constructed fronts should be kept back from the forest edge so as to conserve a buffer zone necessary for good ecological management of the latter. A landscaped and functional transition should be assured through the use of gardens, planted walks and parks. Concerning local and regional discontinuities, the same principle of sharing between constructed and empty spaces leads to treating the "internal fronts" by using terraced or planted constructed elements ending at clear topographical positions to unambiguously affirm the separation they represent.
- 2008 Schéma Directeur Régional d'Ile de France, adopted by the region but never approved:

Concerning "... [existing] urbanised spaces to optimise, ... the limits of the existing urbanisation must be so installed as to constitute a coherent front, a transitional space valorising both the city and nature."

Concerning urban extensions, "... the urbanisation must continue existing constructions, but without harming an ecological continuity, urban ruptures, an agricultural continuity, a green link, the edges of a wooded space, or an urban front of regional interest represented on a map.

"Urban fronts of spaces opened to urbanisation, lines of contact with natural, agricultural and forest spaces, must be controlled and treated so as to preserve the agricultural, natural and forest entities, the continuities and the links between these entities and the urban ruptures"⁵.

These texts reflect a certain sense of the limit conceived in a linear and clear fashion between constructed and open spaces. The latter are called free spaces in the documents of the 1960s and 1970s for the Parisian region which also used such words as "façade", limit, lines of contact. The 1976 SDAURIF, however, in which landscape architects participated, outlines an idea of these limits having thickness and even constituting space in the fullest sense, "glazes," "buffer zones" (words used in defining the contemporary urban *lisière*), "vast unconstructed zone." The 1976 text also proposes the idea of a particularly multi-functional vocation for such space by mentioning concern for ecological management as well as gardens, thus eventually including food production, leisure, aesthetic and symbolic functions. Neither of the two large regional master plans cited used the term urban *lisière* as such, and the term is also absent from most dictionaries on urbanism and town planning⁶. It is found only in the dictionaries most dedicated to landscape, especially in the field of garden and landscape, and reflect upon plot limits, "... particularly when they separate a wood from a field or pasture"⁷. It is characterised

⁵ *Schéma Directeur Régional d'Ile de France*, project adopted by deliberation of the Regional Council, 28 September, 2008, p. 174-175. http://www.iau-idf.fr/fileadmin/user_upload/Enjeux/Sdrif/sdrif_adopte.pdf.

⁶ Exhaustive search was carried out in the dictionaries on urbanism and the landscape (urban and installation registry, garden and landscape registry) in the ENSP library, the most recent of which dates to 2008. In the Gallica bibliographical base listing mainly classical texts, seeking "urban *lisière*" and "urban front" gave no results. "Urban fringe" appears from 2000 in urbanist and organism reports of the Ponts et Chaussées/CETE type, edited by the *Documentation Française*. This lexical field is thus recent at the scale of the history of urbanism.

⁷ Godron Michel, Joly Hubert, *Dictionnaire du paysage*, Conseil international de la langue française, 2008, p. 109.

as being a "... habitat rich in species ..." evoking the "*lisière* effect" where the number and diversity of species are often higher than in either of the contiguous biocenoses⁸.

A change of view in landscape discourse

Since the end of the 1990s, this proposal to substantiate limits between constructed and open spaces has appeared with force in the discourses and projects at the scale of urban planning, particularly with contributions from landscape architects. The Greater Paris International Workshop⁹ showed that this vocabulary is now widely used by designers of urban space in the large sense: landscape architects, urbanists, architects. During the international consultations which took place in 2008-2009, several teams place the *lisière* concept at the heart of their proposals (LIN, Descartes Group, Jean Nouvel, Jean-Marie Duthilleul, Michel Cantal-Dupart, Antoine Grumbach and Associates)¹⁰. "Intensifying *lisières*" thus became one of the thirteen Greater Paris paths laid out for "constructing the city on the city". Two landscape architects, Bertrand Folléa and Michel Desvignes, have been especially instrumental in constructing and diffusing the *lisière* notion as a project concept since the 1990s, with publications in specialized installation reviews.

Here is how Michel Desvigne expresses the contemporary singularity of this installation figure: "Substantiating the *lisière* would create open links, establish a porosity rather than a belt which, even if green, corresponds to a dilated grid. This singular medium would call upon practices and techniques borrowed from the world of agriculture and address the deficits of the urban periphery. [...] It would be the key to landscape interventions at once continuous and very divers, a hem offering new horizons. On the city side, this landscape would represent an opening and the end of a border. A public space, it would make it possible to escape the bootcamp logic. Its simple existence would have deep-lying effects. Present-day sub-division dead ends would lead to shared spac-

⁸ *Dictionnaire des jardins et des paysages*, Dicovert, Anne Camus and Philippe Thebaud, Arcature, 1993.

⁹ Archives of the International Consultation held in 2008-2009 presenting, in particular, the concept of *lisière*, a large bibliography and works underway can be found at www.ateliergrandparis.fr under the theme "Inhabiting Greater Paris."

¹⁰ "It [the natural city] negotiates its limits by composing divers urban *lisières* intermediate spaces between the city and farmland, public spaces granting access to the countryside while respecting farming activities." (Antoine Grumbach and Associates, *Le Grand Pari de l'Agglomération Parisienne*, Deuxième rendu intermédiaire des 3 chantiers, Cahier 2, livret, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, EMOC Etablissement Public de Maîtrise d'Ouvrage des Travaux Culturels, p. 26. <http://www.ateliergrandparis.com/aigp/conseil/grumbach/GRUMBACH1c01.pdf>, consulted 27 January, 2013).

es. Their significance would change as they lost their status of public roads for private use. As for the countryside, the same dilating applied to the limit between two properties would create a network of roads, of ditches (previously present, today gone, which made it possible to control the flow of water), to which other rudimentary plots could be joined (meadows, orchards, etc.) and constitute, a little at a time, truly common spaces.

The tools are thus simple and few. They can be rapidly set up with large scale effects if one thinks to lay out the *lisières*. The created interface would reconcile the two worlds by allowing them forms in which to develop and economic exchanges of proximity. Natural resources would be not only preserved, but rather animated and amplified¹¹.

From this extract one sees that the concept of *lisière* is well part of imagined creation, as shown by the use of the conditional. It is also a particular heritage within the specificity of the landscape designers who have long specialized in treating interfaces, creating landscapes by valorising limits, fringes, and by seeking the multi-functionality of spaces. This effort to build a relationship between spaces of different natures, this work on interfaces, is practically consubstantial with landscaping: the creation of free spaces, spaces aimed at creating a harmonious relationship, hybridization, between the city and nature/environment is found in numerous works by the pioneering landscape architects of the 1960-1970s. Within the conception of these *lisières* one also finds the model of the garden, from which it "... borrows an idyllic and euphorizing vision of the world and tends to transpose it to the real world"¹².

Renewal of connotations

In the Littré dictionary and according to the *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* edited by Alain Rey, in the first attestations of the word (1244) *lisière* designated the edge of a sheet, a piece of cloth¹³, "... that which forms the lengthwise edge of a fabric." The second meaning given is that of "... chords attached to a child's robe to hold him as he walks, thus called because they are usually made with the edges of sheets. [insert

¹¹ Desvigne, M., 2011, "Le paysage en préalable," in Masoungi, A., Barbet-Massin, O., *Le paysage en préalable*, Michel Desvigne, Grand prix de l'urbanisme 2011. Joan Busquets, Special Prize, ed. Parenthèses and DGALN, Marseilles, p. 60-61.

¹² Donadieu, P., 2009. *Les paysagistes*, Actes Sud, p. 135.

¹³ This initial meaning is found in other 19th century French dictionaries, such as the *Nouveau Larousse illustré* edited by Claude Augé (1897-1904), and up to recently in the Quillet-Flammarion *Dictionnaire usuel illustré*, 1981, or *Le petit Robert*, 1990. The meaning of edge of a field or forest is thus a second or third meaning and figurative.

Fig.] That which is used to guide, to support, as a guiding *lisière*, a support¹⁴. This sense has since dropped into disuse, but it remains interesting as a connotation. In the 1980s and 1990s French dictionaries commonly placed this edge of a fabric meaning first. But since 2000 it is the edge or extremity of a space which comes first, then that of vegetation, a curtain of trees, on the edge of a forest or parcel, and finally the edge of a piece of cloth¹⁵. Over the past 20 years there has thus been a shift in favour of the spatial and ecological sense in the vocabulary presented by the dictionaries.

The original meaning is interesting because it breaks with the other terms of the paradigm designating the limit between the city and the countryside, structure and nature, constructed and productive spaces: front, border, fringe, belt. If front – in the sense of forehead from the French – is, properly speaking, a limit of the head, the capital organ, *lisière* refers to the edge of a piece of cloth, a sheet. The city metaphor here at play is thus the urban tissue, more than a reference to the head. Hence, the place of the city, of urbanity, is relativized within the notion of *lisière* with reference to that of a front, along with that of affronting, of disputed terrain to be conquered or retaken. The linear character of the front is substantiated by the term *lisière*: the front is a line on a map; the *lisière* is a zone, a type of space corresponding moreover to that which ecologists call the ecotone. It is an additional element confirming that the vocabulary of military strategy is being dropped for that of sewing and weaving ... This vocabulary undoubtedly is part of the landscape architect's culture, as it is also found behind terms such as frame, hem, weaving of links and urban tissue, all often used by landscape architects during the 20th century. There is therefore nothing surprising in finding that landscape architects were pioneers in using this word in the field of urbanism.

A meeting Amongst Actors Remaining to Be Constructed: On-site Confrontation on Reunion Island

The concept of urban lisière on Reunion Island

According to Bertand Folléa (interview in November, 2012 and article in *Les Carnets du paysage*¹⁶), it was the landscape studies on Reunion Island which led him to better formalise the concept of *lisière*. Reunion Island is certainly a mobilising context: the

¹⁴ Littre, E. 1874. Dictionnaire de la langue française. Paris, Hachette, vol. 3, p.321.

¹⁵ For example, in the electronic version of the Larousse dictionary : <http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/lisi%C3%A8re/47395?q=lisi%C3%A8re#47325>

¹⁶ Folléa, B., "Le paysage comme relation," *Les Carnets du paysage*, n° 21, Actes Sud/ENSP, p. 191-213.

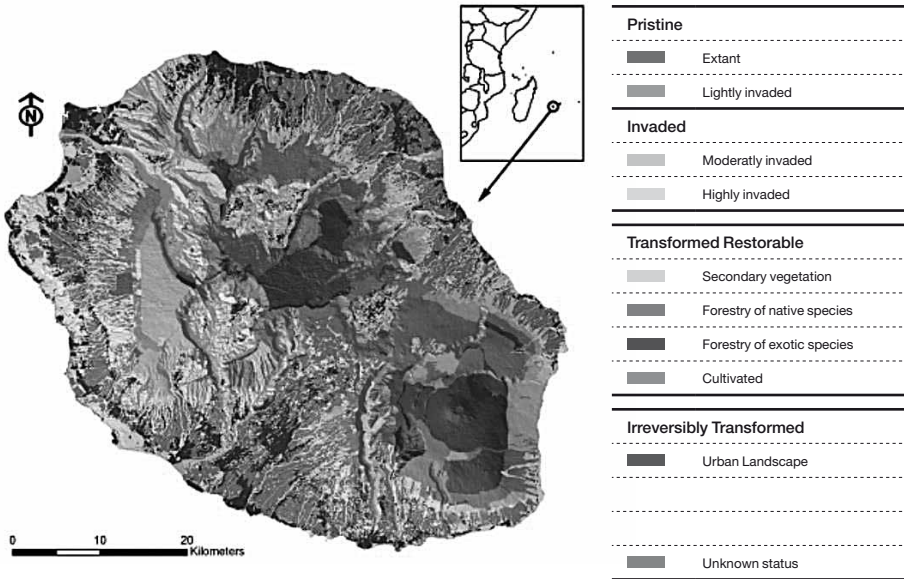


Fig. 1 - Map of the artificializing of Reunion Island. Source: Erwan Lagabrielle, 2007.

stakeholders are facing an expanding population and extremely rapid housing construction¹⁷ within a geographical milieu both highly constrained by the relief and very rich from the point of view of landscape diversity and quality (Fig. 1). Urbanisation is quite recent compared to European cities, and very diffused: the concept of urban front is practically impossible. Habitations are grouped in islets or hamlets, or along the roads, or even in the form of a sprawl amplified by the highly accentuated nature of the relief making concentric spreading of the city centres impossible. One can add climate constraints, with cyclonic periods which render littoral urbanisation or urbanisation along waterways difficult. Lifestyles, linked to the geographical context and climate, are very different from the French metropolitan areas, as is agriculture, with preservation of small holdings, a lot of small multi-cropping (including non-farmers), and the

¹⁷ Saint-Paul city (municipality) had a growth rate of 2.3% from 1990 to 1999 and of 1.5% per year from 1999 to 2010. The number of housings increased even more rapidly, having practically doubled in twenty years (1990-2010).

sugar cane industry. But the urbanisation dynamic poses the same problems and questions as metropolitan peri-urbanisation, albeit in a more amplified manner. In such a context it is interesting to examine the studies carried out on the West Coast Territory since the end of the 1990s and which took a marked landscaping orientation through the work of the Bertrand Folléa and Claire Gautier Agency, landscape architects. The cooperation between the agglomeration community of this territory occupying about a fourth of the island (212,000 inhabitants in 2013) and the landscape architect agency is quite singular and has influenced the actual drafting of urbanism documents, at least at the scale of this inter-communal territory. It began with the *Plan de paysage* (Landscape Plan) of 1997¹⁸, sponsored by state services (DDE and DIREN), continued with a Landscape Charter in 2007¹⁹ and an inter-communal layout of *lisières* in 2009²⁰, the ideas of which were recuperated in the recent Territorial Coherence Scheme – SCOT²¹ – of this West Coast Territory (2011, approved and enforceable since June, 2013)²². Among the proposals formulated in the 1997 Landscape Plan aimed at structuring especially slopes and creating a “... framework of landscapes to best accompany on-going changes,” figure different principles: alternating (at a given level of relief, alternating different types of open space and more or less dense forms of urbanisation), a “chain of

¹⁸ Agence Bertrand Folléa – Claire Gautier (landscape architects), Marc Marcesse (CETE Mediterranean), 1997, Etude préalable au Plan de Paysage de l'Ouest, Ministry of the Equipment, Reunion Island DDE, Reunion Island DIREN.

¹⁹ Agence Folléa-Gautier (paysagistes), PW2 C (Patrick Wolf Communication), Vue d'Ici (SIG), 2006-2007, Charte intercommunale paysagère, patrimoniale et architecturale. Une charte pour la qualité du cadre de vie dans l'Ouest (3 volumes), Territoire Côte Ouest-Direction de l'aménagement et du développement.

²⁰ Agence Folléa-Gautier, Zone UP, Atelier de l'Isthme, 2009, Schéma intercommunal d'aménagement des lisières urbaines, Territoire Côte Ouest, TCO, Réunion- Direction de l'aménagement.

²¹ A SCOT is a sort of Master Plan, urbanism document proposing major principals of installation: habitations, transport, energy and economic development. It is opposable to local urbanism plans. The territory must be inter-communal. Of varying sizes, it can be quite large, formed by from 3-4 municipalities to several dozen. It is generally linked to an urban pole and its territory of influence. For Reunion Island, the administrative organisation is well structured and with little overlap: 4 agglomeration communities cover all the municipalities of the island, corresponding to about a fourth of the surface area and a fourth of the population, and corresponding to the perimeters of the SCOT.

²² TCO SCOT, Volume 3, *Document d'orientations générales*, December, 2011, p. 42: O14 – “Urban lisières – Urban projects located in the priority urbanisation spaces and preferential urbanisation zones contributing to the renewal and extension of urban spaces make it possible to valorise the limits of the contiguous agricultural or natural spaces, spaces which concretise the interpretation between city, agriculture and nature. They aim particularly at guarantying and developing three important functions: landscape by definition, ecology (biodiversity and the fight against pollution, rainwater works), urban structuring (public space of proximity, collective family gardens).”

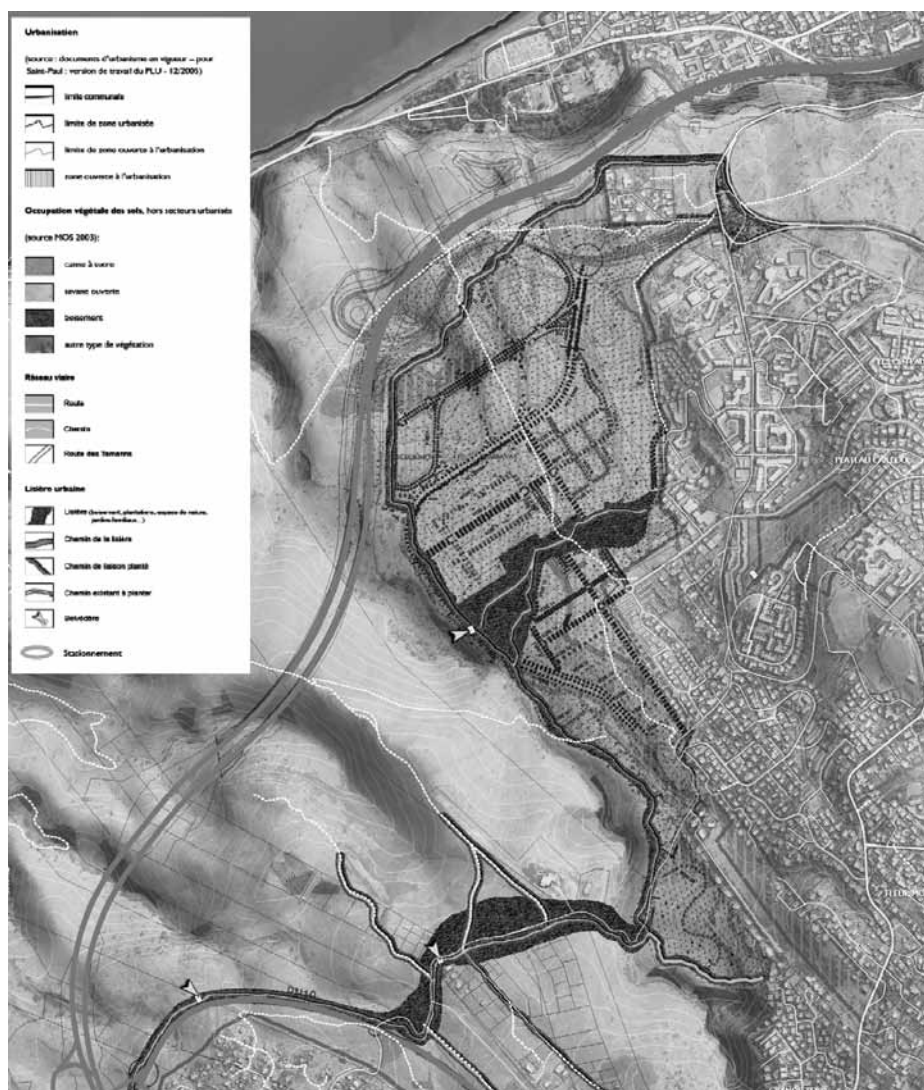


Fig. 2 - Suggested version of the project, Extract from the Schéma intercommunal des lisières [Inter-communal lisières scheme], TCO, 2009, p.119.

landscapes-parks” (agricultural park, savannah natural park, humid zone natural park, forest park) with an archipelago of constructed isles, but also for urbanism, urban *lisières*. The final concept aims at organizing relationships between constructed space and open spaces, at “... instituting vegetal transitions between constructed space and cultivated space: tree groves, orchards, vegetable gardens, etc.” as well as between constructed and natural spaces. The main idea is to create transversal transitions between the ravines: often deep, structuring districts of habitation, they are indeed mostly oriented East-West creating natural *lisières* which follow the slopes. Urban *lisières* are thus mostly to be created in the global direction of the isohyets, perpendicular to the slopes. Without referring to it, this conception joins the research seeking to constitute both social and ecological continuities in networks, also close to the idea of a “system of parks” which appeared from the end of the 19th century²³.

The Folléa – Gautier Agency took up the urban *lisière* formulation quite quickly for an Ile-de-France project: *Guidelines for Valorising Farming and the Landscape on the Plaine de France* (*Plan Guide pour la valorisation agricole et paysagère de la Plaine de France*, 1998, Agency of green spaces, Ile-de-France region). Drawn from agricultural space, the *lisière* is conceived as giving it added value through a “fruit promenade” and smaller, more diversified plots (orchards, prairies, wooded meadows, family gardens). But here we are interested solely in the echo of the before mentioned principles found on Reunion Island: the concept of *lisière* popped up quite often in the master plans, at agglomeration scale, the SCOT.

But what is the case at a scale closer to the concrete projects? For example, does one observe realisations in the on-site ZAC projects (Zones d’Aménagement Concerté, Concerted Installation Zones)? Missions carried out in May 2012 and July 2013 with Monique Toublanc within the framework of the research programme cited in the introduction made it possible to give a few elements of response.

Unequal diffusion of the concept down to urban planning projects

As we have seen, the principal of installing and preserving *lisières* was retained in the SCOT, and the other local urbanism documents are forced to conform. In the Local Urbanism Plan of Saint-Paul, the main municipality of the territory, the Presentation Report uses the urban *lisière* terminology by referring to the landscape charter of the inter-communal territory. It valorises their hydrological functions (evacuation of rain-

²³ Toublanc, M. Bonin, S., 2012, “Planifier les trames vertes dans les aires urbaines: une alliance à trouver entre paysagisme et écologie,” *Développement durable et Territoires*, vol. 3 n°2, July, 2012 (<http://developpementdurable.revues.org/9347>).

water), social functions (leisure, relaxation, breathing space), spatial functions (urban rupture) and ecological functions (ecological corridor). In another volume of this local urbanism and sustainable development plan²⁴, however, no mention is made of urban *lisière*. Not even the relationship between constructions and agricultural or natural spaces (gullies, savannas) is evoked. The issues linked to these spaces are valorising mainly natural heritage and maintaining “urban ruptures.” An examination of the Installation Orientations component, which concretises the planning of future urban projects, also reveals a difficult or at least incomplete emergence of the original proposal.

Still, in comparing the Installation Orientations of a provisory version of the local urbanism plan decreed 29 September, 2011 (non-approved) with the approved version of September, 2012, one sees principles which evolve. In the provisory version of 2011, the landscape charter and the notion of *lisière* seem to have no effect on the projects to come. One finds only, for certain precincts, the desire to have “... preserved and installed natural spaces with pedestrian paths ...” often placed at the edges of the open spaces, the idea of a “... precinct open to the gullies ...” when the urbanisation advances towards the gullies, or the idea of “... greenways ...” along the edges or in the centre.

The September, 2012 approved version, on the other hand, shows a notable evolution in some project plans. The most important in terms of consumed natural surface on the mid-slopes of the island and in terms of number of planned housings is the Renaissance III ZAC on Caillou Plateau (89 ha, 600 housings in the short term, 2500 planned in the long term). This urban extension is interesting as it was taken into account in the Guidelines of the landscape charter of the inter-municipality territory in 2007. There was a double outline around the new precinct, substantiating the limit of urbanisation for the “... urban *lisières* : creation of vegetal bands accompanying the urban limits, composition of an urban front in dialog with the savannah.” These recommendations can be found in the inter-municipal scheme of *lisières* of 2009 (Fig. 2). Still, in the orientations of the 2011 urbanism plan for the precinct, the term *lisière* no longer appears, and the only thing drawn is a green band bearing no legend and corresponding to the presence of a gully. In the 2012 approved version, however, if the term *lisière* is still not mentioned, the drawing clearly indicates a green transition. But it is discontinuous and bears the legend “greenway (gullies, rocky buttresses)”. The idea of maintaining a *lisière* is thus above all envisaged from the angle of ecology, with the loss of its aesthetic dimensions, of its potential usage, its co-visibility and even its role of inter-relations

²⁴ Both the version decreed in September, 2011 and that approved in September 2012 were consulted and they had modifications, but not on this point.



Fig. 3.1 and 3.2 - Coconut grove, football field and initial habitations of the “ZAC Poudrière” (photo S. Bonin, 2013, 2012).

between human and natural worlds. This transfer is more than a problem of words: it illustrates the pregnancy of the ecological discourse and witnesses to its domination over that of the landscape, which thereafter appears more social but disappears in the face of environmental injunctions.

On-site difficulties and success

On the urban fringes recently finished or underway²⁵, we neither observed nor heard about any concrete realisations of *lisières* between agricultural spaces and constructions, which are generally made on agricultural fields. The dominant logic is that of fencing, with the periphery serving first of all as the axis for automobile traffic, hardly adapted to gentle circulations nor to ecological functions other than those necessary for such installation. The instauration of a dialog between agriculture and the city has not – at least not yet – been made readable or been thought out for the future inhabitants.

The desire for multi-functional spaces in proximity to the habitations thus runs up against the logics of complex and varied actors. For the actors of the farming world, for example, the *lisière* simply adds to lost farmland. It is suggested that it be installed within the perimeter to be urbanised, but there is then a problem of cost and an absence of actors to support this cost. To install public spaces of leisure and relaxation, promoters and constructors prefer the centre of precincts for reasons of optimal distances from housings of such highly requested spaces. The other obstacle to be evoked is linked to the Reunion Island lifestyle and habitations. Small animal farms, food, spices or medicinal plantations, are all still frequent practices which can be found in the diffuse urban spaces. They are associated with private property, to “*kours*” (yards) of homes closed upon themselves to avoid theft. Such practices can also be found “wild,” or at least spontaneous, on public spaces (roadsides, floodable spaces, wasteland, etc.). Hence, the institutionalisation of productive space on public space which the *lisière* concept proposes, is not yet accepted by the actors who are the closest to the field.

On the other hand, one can observe considerable success in the installation of *lisières* between constructed and “natural” spaces (natural reserves, humid zones, forest, coastline) over the past ten years. Spaces seldom frequented traditionally for Reunion Island leisure are thus being truly “invented” from the social and landscape points of

²⁵ Different habitation precincts, either recent or in works, were visited in the studied inter-municipal territory (La Saline les Hauts, Renaissance I and II ZAC on Caillou Plateau, Portail ZAC in Saint-Leu) as well as in other regions of the island. Notably visited was the Beauséjour ZAC, which is a new town in the gentle slopes above Sainte-Marie of which a part was realised in 2012-2013 and another part is on-going.

view. Such is remarkably the case for the seaside. The traditional breathing space for Reunion Islanders of all social categories is mainly at higher altitudes. This practice of “changing the air” has been well described in its cultural specificities by René Robert²⁶. The seaside does not hold such a place in the imagination and cultural practices on Reunion Island (limited fishing, learning to swim in freshwater “pools” rather than in the sea)²⁷. But over the last few years, coastal paths have been installed to allow gentle circulations, jogging and pick-nicking. These developments have increased considerably, both for the interest of users and for the coherence of a project requiring continuity and thus cooperation or emulation among local actors. A variety of installations have accompanied this “invention,” from the gentlest and simplest path through a forest in the domain to the more gardenized and maintained of the new “green spaces.” But the strength of the urban *lisière* concept in its multi-functional goal between food production and ecological leisure services is no longer present: it is an urbanising of nature, not a “ruralising” of the city.

Still, a final example can perhaps witness to the implementation of efforts to reach the goal, or at least to approach it. It concerns the perimeter of a ZAC (corresponding to a newly developed precinct) of which the limit with a pond classified as a natural reserve was installed as a transition zone for leisure while preserving a coconut grove (Fig. 3.1, 3.2). Indeed, the precinct, initially called the “ZAC Poudrière” was re-baptised as the “ZAC de la Cocoteraie” (Coconut Grove). It is a tree-lined production space of limited profitability and which makes it possible to conciliate several uses. It is not, however, included in the co-property of the precinct. It belongs in part to the ONF (national forestry service) and in part to the municipality. Its maintenance is thus the responsibility of the collectivity (national for the ONF and the municipality for the communal grounds), which does not correspond to the urban *lisière* “ideal” as conceived in the landscape charter.

²⁶ Robert, R., 1999, “La Gestion et la valorisation du domaine public dans les Hauts de l’île de la Réunion. [Managing and Valorising the Public Domain in the Reunion Island Hauts]”, *Annales de Géographie*, n° 603, 1999, p. 279-284.

²⁷ For an “ethnology of Reunion Island landscapes” giving a remarkable description of these representations and cultural practices on different parts of the island, see the report by Jean-Luc Bonniol, Jean Benoist, 1994, *Un rapport étagé mis à bas. Contribution à une ethnologie des paysages à la Réunion*, Report for the ethnological heritage Mission, notably p. 65, 87 for a representation hostile to the sea, and p. 103 for the traditional social practices of pick-nicking in “les Hauts” (the Highlands) and along the rivers. This report was recently put online: www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/.../Ethno_Benoist_1994_084.pdf

The presentation of these situations, specific and isolated, is not aimed at “testing utopia on-site;” the complex ties knitting discourse to reality are fully acknowledged and it is not a question of testing. Still, this exploration of recent or on-going projects shows the manifest evolution in the relationship between urbanites and nature, with the development of practices of proximity which are the subject of strong social demand. This evolution coincides with the recognition of natural spaces of proximity, often given a low qualification by the inhabitants (neglected, left as wasteland, serving as backyards) but which have become the subject of ecological recognition, of an emerging “ordinary biodiversity,” as such spaces are politically won back.

This exploration also shows that the changes in the relationships between urbanites and food production cannot be considered an analogue to that with nature : with agricultural spaces, there are actors “on both sides” of the *lisière* with different systems of logic and few institutions for dialog or working together. The future seems tightly linked to that of “sustainable agriculture.” The concept of *lisière* is integrated into a larger policy aiming at changing the scale and relocating agro-food circuits, at least for producers closest to the cities.

Approaching peri-urban spaces through the *lisière* landscape concept makes it possible to perceive of an evolution in the classical urban-rural or city-nature dichotomy, which in the planning discourse tends to sacralise agricultural or natural space. This dichotomy, which was rightly presented as a face-off and an act of domination of the city over the countryside, is today being upset²⁸. Ever more elaborate discourses witness to the will to rediscover the solidarities and functional links between the city and its environment. Urban fringes, whenever they develop a political desire for making installations, valorising or becoming attentive to the living environment become innovative grounds for research into imbrication, inter-dependency: one must only hope that the ecological, food, aesthetic, hedonic or ludic dimensions remain tightly knitted to – to weave the register of the *lisière* – and non-dissociated from the orientations of installation.

²⁸ Ehrman, S., “Pensées dé-moralisantes pour une union libre de l’agriculture et de la métropole”, *Cahiers thématiques de l’école supérieure d’architecture et de paysage de Lille*, n° 11, p. 47-61.

4.5 NEW LANDSCAPE OPPORTUNITIES IN URBAN DESIGN

Giovanni Sala, Andreas Kipar

Post Modern City: Voids and Sprawl

When we examine urban development through the centuries we can recognize the steps that the city has gone through, developing from a compact aggregation of functions and of social relationships to a larger system of activities and a more specialized system of connections. This urban system became physically less defined in shape and its boundaries progressively faded between the city outskirts and the cultivated fields, thus leading to the dissolution of the enclosed city – corresponding to Cedric Price’s famous image of the “hard-boiled egg”.

In the era of industrialization, industry has played a particularly prominent role in the physical body of the city: productive activities first occupied spaces in the core of urban developments, then the factories took over the periphery and determined an almost uncontrolled expansion of the outskirts. World War II bombings dramatically generated great voids, while the urban sprawl caused by industry in the first half of the century went into reverse with the industrial decay in the last decades.

The city walls, as the feature separating urban space from landscape, disappear at this point. What formerly was the whole town came to be the city center, while beyond the old city walls further urban enlargements developed: residential settlements, factories, manufactures, infrastructures, parking areas, airports etc. The result was then a mixture of city and rural landscape.

Sieverts describes the ‘*Zwischenstadt*’ (In-between City) as a zone that can be seen neither as city nor as countryside, and only developed in the last few decades. This space is neglected because neither part feels responsible. In these sub-urban areas, which have still to be planned, people can potentially live and work very comfortably once a close linkage between new developments and the open-space is achieved. Space is the real potential and today the availability of space may be the ultimate luxury.

But it often happens that the *Zwischenstadt* is left unplanned, and its growth does not spontaneously find a relation of continuity with the consolidated city. If not addressed, the potential of the periphery is wasted and the final result is the sprawl of different episodes, which are left unable to interact. But the *Zwischenstadt* has very good opportunities that have to be seized instead.

In this moment, we live in a time of post-de-industrialization, with industry with-

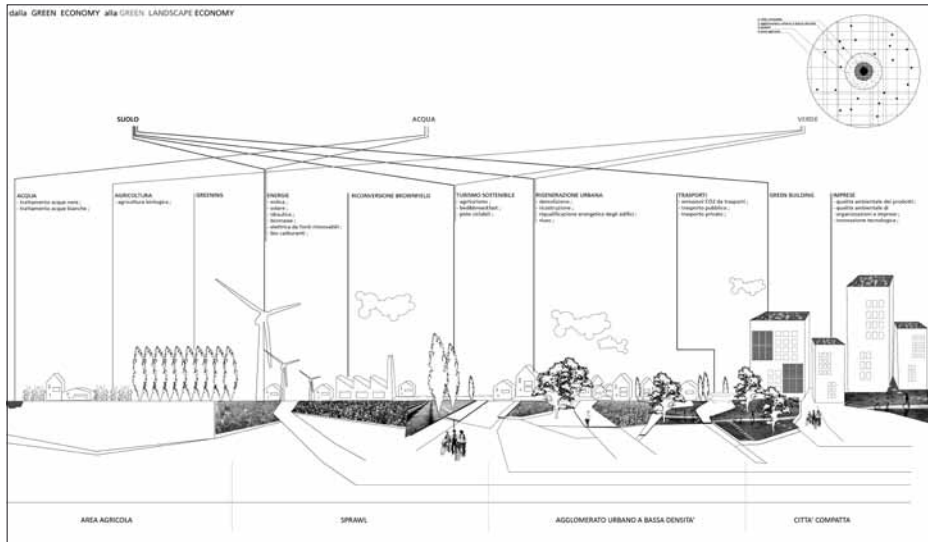


Fig. 1 - GLE / Green Landscape Economy principles: soil, water and green <http://www.greenlandscapeconomy.org/>

drawing from the city and a new consciousness of the earth as a limited good that should not be spoiled by uncontrolled consumption. However the physical traces of the sprawl and uncontrolled expansion of the city can't be erased; as a result, some of the spaces that were once the engine of urban growth are left empty and abandoned. At the same time, the residential sprawl driven by the potential of private mobility and by the search for quiet, calm and green environments that had such a relevance in the dimensional growth of the cities couldn't resist the apparently opposite phenomenon of contraction, which strikes at the very core of the city. In spite of city expansion, the voids in the centers of towns grow in size and number.

As a matter of fact, in terms of urban development on the one hand we have megacities - outstanding examples of densification and ongoing vitality - and on the other hand we have the shrinking cities, urban bodies with deep divides in them. In both cases, inner-city open spaces are increasing because of urban sprawl and fragmentation. This is a big potential, and we have the chance to take advantage of it: we have to start designing urban development from its voids.

The central theme of city-development of the future is diminution, the strategy is the growth of the city within the city, and the tool to accomplish this goal is *Landscape Urbanism*.

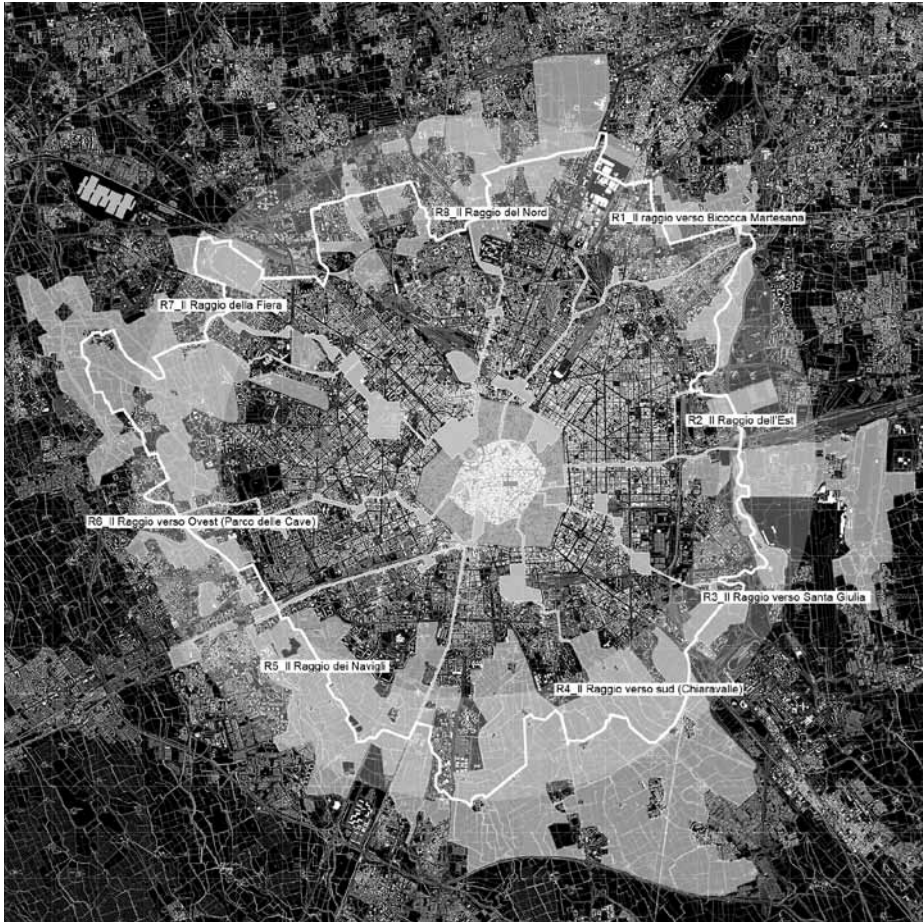


Fig. 2 - Milan Green Rays strategy combines density, permeability, sustainability and a multidisciplinary approach. LAND Design.

By recognizing that *urban places are shaped by the interactions of economic, ecological and social systems*, Landscape Urbanism emphasizes dynamic planning processes, within evolving urban landscapes in which opportunities for change over time are given priority over the overarching vision of a master plan.

The Case of Milan. Stop the Sprawl: More Density, More Permeability

It is well known that Milano is a compact city, a “small Metropolis” which grows towards a conurbation, but is still way smaller if compared to other cities such as Berlin and whose density (inhabitants/sqKm) is still high. Though, looking at its map one can notice that the city has a number of open spaces, from the center to the sprawl of the city. Because of frenetic daily life and lack of connections, its citizens can hardly perceive these voids, these open spaces.

In order to re-conquer those spaces and enhance the daily quality of life in town, all of the fragmented areas and green resources need to be organized in a system, so as to bring them back to prominence and make them part of the everyday experience of the city.

In fact post-modern cities are asking to be re-discovered by new forms of perception rather than new forms of design, as claimed for quite some time by psychologist and philosopher James Hillman¹, a major interpreter of the reconsideration of urban landscape in the everyday life of the city users.

This attitude can be also found in the *Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities*² signed on 25th May 2007, which contains very consistent statements and commitments on the theme of innovation in urban policies: the quality of public space, of the urban landscape, of architecture and of urban development will be increasingly weighing on the citizens' quality of life.

Today growth by pure addition is definitively over. It's now time to think of subtraction, *for the re-conquered voids can play an ecological and environmental role as well as a hygienic-sanitary function*, in the pursuit of a renewed sustainability of the dense section of the city.

Green Rays: the Main Strategy for the Urban Green Plan of Milan

The project “A Green Ray for Milan”, conceived in partnership with AIM (Associazione Interessi Metropolitan), starts from the analytical study of the open spaces in Milan, which are then organized in a hierarchy of spaces that unfold along the eight main radial routes of the city from the center to the Metropolitan area. Eight ‘rays’, the backbone for a system of cycling and walking paths that join all the places where it is possible to have a walk, a rest, or a run, incorporating all different kind of green spaces scattered in town.

As environmental corridors, they funnel the quality of the wide green spaces of the

¹ James Hillman, “L'anima dei luoghi”, a conversation with C. Truppi. Milano, Rizzoli 2004.

² <http://www.bmvbs.de/SharedDocs/EN/Artikel/SW/territorial-agenda-of-the-eu.html>.

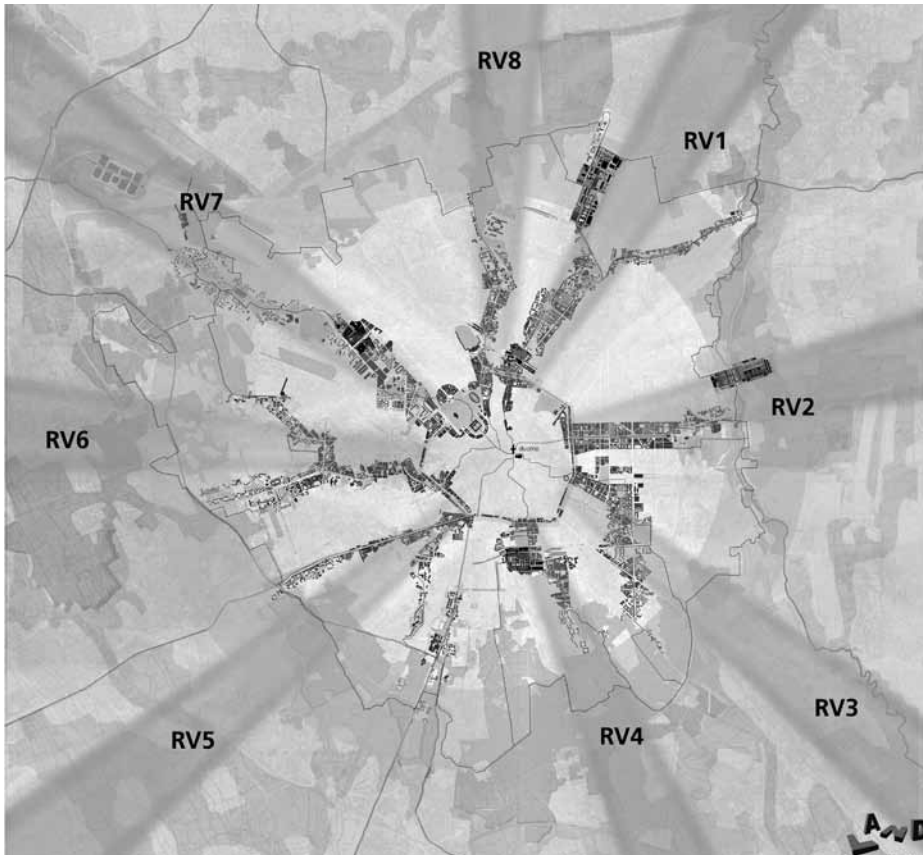


Fig. 3 - Milan Green Rays, part of the Green plan of Milan. LAND Design.

metropolitan area, taking at the same time a new sense of nature to the very city center and a new urbanity outwards, so that spaces can be used everyday to provide a higher quality of life. The park system, both existing and expected, as well as open spaces, must suggest a new “environmental net” – a public essential dorsal – connected to the various hierarchies of transport and service systems. It stimulates lively circulation between parts of the city that have been considered as opposites for a long time and can now find new unity; the rays therefore define a consistent strategy for the future of the city also in terms of social enhancement.

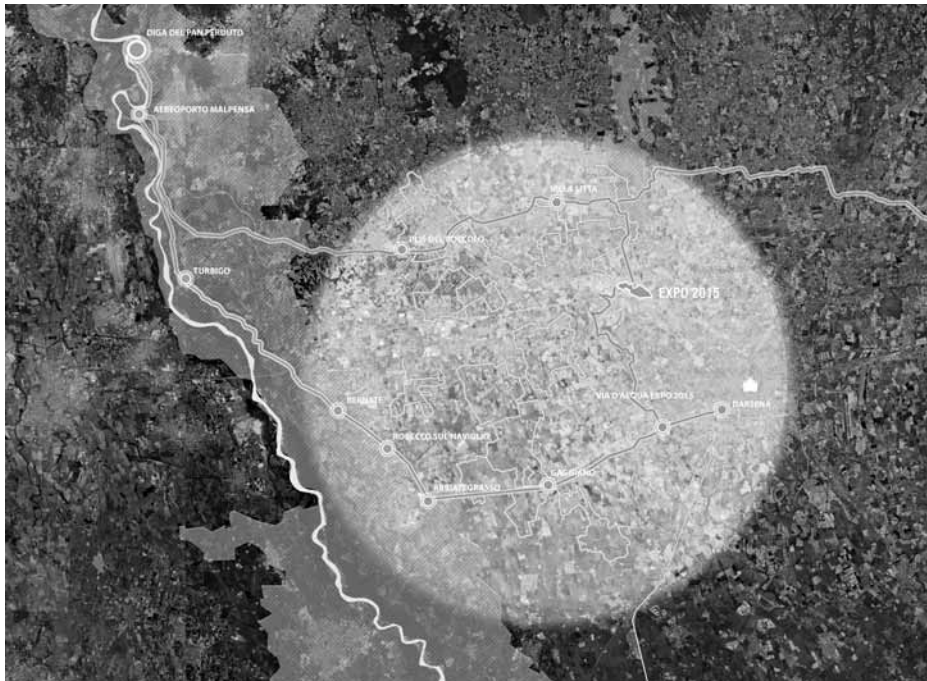


Fig. 4 - LET. Landscape Expo Tour, a project for the valorization of excellences on the territory through slow mobility. LAND Design.

The Green Rays constitute a green system able to connect all the green areas, existing and new, the areas of nature external to the city, through linear elements (boulevards with trees, walking and cycling paths, channel banks, green parterres...); a system which aims to maximize the effects of the green areas on the environmental quality of the city (micro- climate, air quality, natural water cycle) and enhance the level of biodiversity, considered as a critical indicator for the quality of urban environment.

As also underlined by the World Health Organization³, a proper strategy for urban planning is crucial for keeping our cities healthy environments where to live. In fact, the presence of green in the cities will become a priority for the important function of retaining the polluting dusts, absorbing CO₂, producing oxygen and cooling the en-

³ http://www.who.int/kobe_centre/interventions/urban_planning/en/



Fig. 5 - A view of Portello Park, Milan. By Charles Jencks, LAND Milan.

vironment, being therefore fundamental to providing a healthier and more vital city.

This green presence will have the intrinsic value of raising the levels of biodiversity in order to create a system of urban spaces that will collect all the natural benefits of the parks set in the metropolitan green belt, incorporating them in the center of the well-established historical city.

Improving, enhancing and qualifying the existing potential also means to involve the individual citizen in order to make him/her more conscious of what often gets lost: the public space and its social value.

The Green Plan of Milan is Part of the Plan for the Governance of the Territory

Milan is ready for the cultural challenge of increasingly high-density settlement. The city is changing, and develops without expanding. This in fact, introduces a great recipe for urban renewal: the strategy of densification is intended as an innovative and distinctive approach. This is the answer to both the need of “saving” our land and the urgency to return unused spaces to the city.

The Green Plan is a strategic project for the management and the planning of the first metropolitan belt areas creating a filter between the country and the city. It is the opportunity to build a better, healthier and livelier city.

The PGT (Plan for the Governance of the Territory) of Milan is actually based on the re-design of the voids and on the articulation of the built-up spaces in order to make the management of the permeability and the complete activation of urban voids possible. Within this frame, densification is thus an innovative approach to the concept of urban quality. The net-like city model is the antithesis of the city built as juxtaposed

“enclaves”. The main idea is in fact to re-think the city and move on from the idea of the inner city-peripheral dichotomy, thereby breaking a strong hierarchical distribution of land value as well as of social quality. The PGT includes eight radial Green Rays plus two: the circuit of the ancient bastions of the city, and the “*fil rouge*” connecting with a circular path all the peri-urban parks along a 72 Km cycling route.

The new city designed by the Plan is a city able to interconnect its landscape resources - parks, squares, boulevard and gardens - with the most important environmental resources of the metropolitan territory: a vision of the city which aims at the realization of urban scenery hinged on the design of the ‘public city’ and, therefore, on the design of the urban vacuums to be safeguarded, valorized and returned to the city.

Such a Plan for the Governance of the Territory is meant to activate all the potentially interesting areas not only in the tight boundaries of the city of Milan but also in the larger Milan area, rich of environmental qualities that can be valorized through a proper interpretation of the environmental system.

The L.E.T. - Landscape Expo Tour Project is Part Of Expo2015: an Opportunity for the Territory

At the edge of Milan, at the encounter of the Green Rays with the outer boundary of the city, a number of relevant key spots are functioning as “territorial mechanisms”: each one of these is able to attract people, becomes a public node and is able to multiply the effect of the activation of the territory. The area of the Milano Fair and the Expo2015 site represent one of these key nodes, west of Milan city center along Green Ray 7.

The opportunity given by Expo2015 is that of bringing a considerable number of visitors to a sector of the city that has not yet been sufficiently explored. Being present a relevant number and variety of historical, environmental and cultural excellences on this territory, the LET-Land Expo Tour project defines some routes, or rather circuits, that link these excellences and prepare the territory using the occasion of such an event on the one hand to welcome all the visitors of Expo2015 and on the other hand to raise the value of these areas by giving more access and visibility to these cultural goods.

Through direct involvement of citizens, municipalities, local administrations, authorities for the environmental and territorial management and safeguard, LET project promotes an organized system of green-tours through a strategy with a double goal: to protect and to valorize the open areas in West Milan, in the Expo2015 area of influence.

Expo2015 is a fundamental chance for these territories to prepare for a greater development and foresee a new identity, reaching a much greater importance and integration to the city of Milan for the future.

4.6

INTERMEDIATE SCALE FOR ITALIAN LANDSCAPE. PROJECTS IN THE PO VALLEY

Annalisa Metta

What about? Landscape Architecture

The word *landscape* is one of the most inclusive of our vocabularies. It opens up a multitude of different meanings, as the richness of positions spreading from the papers collected in this book can easily display. This variety is a treasure we must not give up, although it calls us to declare the extent of our position about, albeit unstable and open. Therefore, before going into my arguments, I must say that my point of view is that of design and I will deal with landscape in terms of project. I will refer to *landscape architecture*, meaning the conscious settlement of open spaces: one or more authors, well known as well as anonymous, recognize and seize the vocations of places and communities, listen to their declared or silent questions, and then give them expression in terms of technical, ethical and aesthetic items.

Where Did We Remain? The After World War II Italian Tradition

Landscape architecture in Italy only recently is gaining its autonomy of method and subject. For a long time, open spaces design has been absorbed within urban planning and buildings architecture. This condition often produced virtuous convergence, as shown by most of the theoretical and design research about the relationship among city, buildings and open space produced in Italy, between World War II and the Seventies. We could consider the work of architects such as Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola, Marcello D'Olivio, Giancarlo De Carlo, Giò Ponti, among others. Of course they were not landscape architects in the way we are used to define this profession nowadays, but certainly they had an inclusive attitude to habitat design, gathering in a whole buildings and open spaces, from small to huge dimensions¹. We could also mention urban planners who made

¹ For a wider investigation about relations about architecture, planning and landscape in Italian tradition, see: L. Benevolo, *L'Italia da costruire. Un programma per il territorio*, Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1996; L. Caravaggi, *Paesaggi di paesaggi*, Meltemi, Roma, 2002; G. Durbiano and M. Robiglio, *Paesaggio e architettura nell'Italia contemporanea*, Donzelli, Roma, 2003; B. Zevi, *Controstoria dell'architettura in Italia. Paesaggi e città*, Newton Compton, Roma, 1995; M. Zoppi, "La via italiana all'architettura del paesaggio: dal Convegno di Bagni di Lucca alla Convenzione Europea del Paesaggio", in G. Ferrara, G. Rizzo, M. Zoppi, *Paesaggio: didattica, ricerche e progetti: 1997-2007*, Firenze University Press, 2007.

landscape their elective field, as Giovanni Astengo and Luigi Piccinato. Among others, I refer especially to Vittoria Calzolari, with her studies and projects for Brescia and Siena, intersecting the work of Bernardo Secchi, another key figure. Finally, we have to recall the work of proper landscape architects, whose works mark an Italian way to modern landscape architecture close related to urban condition, a matter perhaps not yet plenty documented and told². Among them, Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, Raffaele De Vico and, more over, Pietro Porcinai, authors of uncountable masterpieces, who applied their talent to a huge range of open spaces and wrote outstanding papers about urban landscape³.

These and other examples point out that landscape project in sixties-seventies Italian tradition has been the bond between architecture and planning: buildings, open spaces and cities have long been inseparable, while remaining independent. This Italian peculiarity inspired and influenced research carried out elsewhere, to which afterwards we looked as models, not without regret. For example, Michel Corajoud, one of the pioneers of the French “structuralist approach”, acknowledged his intellectual debt to Italian architectural research, referring in particular to Vittorio Gregotti, recognizing the influence of his idea of landscape as “voluntary geography”⁴.

Two Opposite Directions

On the contrary, in the last twenty-five years, following the cultural and professional gap between planning and architecture matters, in Italy open spaces design gradually addressed towards two opposite directions. The first is that of *landscape planning*, which belongs to the world of knowledge, procedures and activities of a planner particularly sensitive to environment values and is expressed through wide area plans, regional and territorial plans, Mountain Communities plans, Basin Plans etc. The second approach is that of *public space design*, defined here as more properly dealing with the architectural definition of public open spaces, such as squares and pedestrian areas, parks, banks, permanent or ephemeral gardens. These two practices are often completely separated,

² A. Conforti Calcagni, *Una grande casa, cui sia di tetto il cielo*, Il Saggiatore, Milano, 2011; L. Latini and M. Cunico, editors, *Pietro Porcinai. Il progetto del paesaggio nel XX secolo*, Marsilio Editori, Venezia, 2013; M. de Vico Fallani, *Raffaele de Vico e i giardini di Roma*, Sansoni Editore, Firenze, 1985.

³ We have to mention, in particular, the survey “La campagna di Domus per il verde” (The Domus campaign for green) edited by M. T. Paragliolo and P. Porcinai for the architecture magazine *Domus* starting in 1937, with Giò Ponti as editor in chief.

⁴ M. Corajoud, “Le paysage: une expérience pour construire la ville”, in A. Masbouni (editor), *Michel Corajoud et cinq grandes figures de l’urbanisme*, DGUHC, Paris, 2003.

producing destructive effects on the social, economic, practical and, not last, esthetic content and aim of interventions. So Franco Zagari writes: “And this is the mystery, when we speak about landscape we focus on ethics to ignore it, while esthetics fatally fall dawn: at architecture scale, landscape beauty often becomes cosmetics and choreography, while instead in planning, once a certain dimension has been overcome, the so called “big scale”, beauty seems to evaporate, everything is reduced in quantity and numbers and drawings always are just two-dimensions zoning”⁵.

The Reticular Pattern of Intermediate Scale

We failed attention and expertise applied to what we might call the *intermediate scale*⁶, that of those projects which, regardless of size, have the ambition to set up open spaces starting from deep ties with territorial matrix, in terms of physical and cultural geography. This happened because we trapped our vision and desire about future in landscape in the rubble of deterministic sequence from big to small, from whole to detail, from region to sidewalk. It’s probably a reminiscence of a positivistic position who desperately continues to read and describe our world in linear and consecutive steps, while really we should accept the intricate reticular nature of relations in our life contests. In a reticular pattern we are not able to recognize an obliged starting point as well not a unique goal: we have to move in an adaptive way, giving each node a role connected with what is happening around, time after time. In a reticular pattern every idea about gerarchy, about bigness or smallness, before and after, overall or detail vision is unsettled, changeable, variable. Landscape architecture in a reticular pattern is based on relations among spatial, temporal, environmental and social coordinates, linking places, facts and actions often only apparently separated. In this sense, the term *intermediate scale* refers not so much to the dimension of the project, but to quality produced by interactions of meanings and values.

⁵ F. Zagari, *Paesaggio. Lettera aperta*, Libria, Melfi 2013.

⁶ “La scala intermedia per il progetto del paesaggio italiano” (*The intermediate scale for Italian landscape design*) is the title of a work in progress research at Università Roma Tre, Dipartimento di Architettura. Research group: Francesco Riccardo Ghio (team leader), Maria Grazia Cianci, Annalisa Metta, Luca Montuori.

As Good As it Gets

Anyway, even if the gap we wrote about signs the prevalent situation, a certain concern for the *intermediate scale*, as we defined it, never fully disappeared, spreading out again starting from Nineties, coinciding with the emergence of a more general, shared and passionate interest in landscape design. In a very short list of events connected with this recovering in the last decades, we can include: 1990, Genoa, “School in Garden, Landscape Architecture and Planning” foundation; 1997, Modena, Symposium “Paesaggistica e linguaggio grado zero dell’architettura”; 1999, Naples, Charter of Naples (AIAPP-Fedap); 1999, Rome, National Landscape Conference; 2000, Florence, European Landscape Convention. We have also to note the increase of publications about landscape architecture: magazines, perhaps more than books⁷, played a central role. We can recall two French magazines, the most widespread in Italy: *Urbanisme* and *Architecture d’Aujourd’hui*, that introduced the work, among others, of Michel Corajoud, Alexandre Chemetoff, Jacques Coulon, Jacques Simon, Gilles Descombes, Gilles Clément, Michel Desvigne. In the same years, also Italian magazines investigated about urban open spaces design, in particular *Abitare*, *Parametro* and *AU Arredo Urbano*, beyond *Casabella*, edited by Gregotti, and *Lotus International*.

These and other facts are the background on which several projects have been directed, rethinking the Italian landscape in the light of the reticular paradigm of *intermediate scale*. Several works, competition projects, urban plans led by design team with multidisciplinary approach display the richness of Italian scenario over the last fifteen years or so: just like a sort of resistance.

The Po Valley

As an example of this promising recovering, we can look at experiences in the geographical area of the Po valley. Po is the longest (650 km) and with the largest basin (about 70.000 sqkm) river entirely within the Italian territory. It originated in Piedmont and flows into the Adriatic Sea in a large delta. Because of its geographical position, length, history, social and economic factors dealing with it, Po is recognized as the most important Italian watercourse. For most of its course, it flows in a flat area, from which it takes its name: just the Po Valley, comprised among Emilia Romagna, Veneto, Lombardy and Piedmont Regions. All of them have long led advanced policies

⁷ The book F. Zagari, *L’Architettura del Giardino Contemporaneo*, Mondadori, Roma, 1988 is the first organic review of contemporary landscape architecture for Italian readers.

on landscape through projects, programs and laws⁸. In Veneto we can mention, among others, the program called “Landscape Experimentations”⁹, which affirms the centrality of landscape in all policies that may have a direct impact on territories, whether big or small they could be. Lombardy has advanced programs about land use¹⁰, with a balanced approach between the reasons of soil consumption containment and those of quality and liveability of places. In Piedmont we can think about the *Green Crown* of Turin¹¹, a strategic project under regional direction that affects the metropolitan area, dealing with the territory of ninetythree municipalities.

As it is impossible in the short space we have to describe the complex scenario of all the four regions, I will focus on one of them, Emilia Romagna¹². After the approval of the Regional Landscape Plan in 1993, rules about landscape transformation deeply changed¹³; several regional projects, as well as membership in international networks, describe a context of great interest and excitement about landscape, using project as an instrument to overcome the inertia of a management carried out mainly by means of legislation. Since 1993, the region has promoted sixtyfive integrated projects, intended as “action plans”, that don’t envisage single works, but territorial structures; cross disciplines and institutions and work on system of relations to integrate specific

⁸ For an overall vision of Po Valley policies: Autorità di bacino del fiume Po, *Il Po fiume d’Europa: riflessioni e proposte sulle strategie di pianificazione*. The document was worked out by a team led by Roberto Passino and composed by G. Dematteis and R. Gambino (Politecnico di Torino), B. Dolcetta (Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia), P. Ghetti (Università di Venezia), R. Palomba (Istituto di Ricerche sulla Popolazione), G. Roma (Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali del CENSIS, Roma).

⁹ Edited by “Direzione urbanistica e paesaggio, Servizio Paesaggio e Osservatorio” of Veneto Regions, it’s developed in “Piani Paesaggistici di dettaglio” (Detailed landscape plans) and “Progetti di riqualificazione paesaggistica” (Landscape recovery projects).

¹⁰ See Regional Law 31, 5 december 2008.

¹¹ “Progetto Corona Verde: pianificazione strategica e governance”, developed by Regione Piemonte and Dipartimento Interateneo Territorio - Politecnico and Università di Torino, 2005-2007. Research coordinator: Roberto Gambino.

¹² Regione Emilia-Romagna, Assessorato Programmazione e Sviluppo territoriale, Cooperazione col Sistema delle Autonomie, Organizzazione – Servizio Valorizzazione e Tutela del paesaggio e degli Insediamenti Storici, *Progetti di paesaggio. Idee ed esperienze nella programmazione regionale*, Servizio Stampa e Informazione della Giunta regionale dell’Emilia-Romagna, 2007. P. Gabellini with A. Di Giovanni, C. Gfeller, M. Mareggi, *Immagini del cambiamento in Emilia-Romagna*, Editrice Compositori, Bologna 2012.

¹³ C. Lanzoni, “Emilia Romagna. Dal piano ai progetti, la necessità di una visione d’insieme”, in *Ri-Vista ricerche per la progettazione del paesaggio*, Dottorato di Ricerca in Progettazione Paesistica, Facoltà di Architettura, Università degli Studi di Firenze, gennaio-giugno 2010.

interventions¹⁴. Several projects promoted by different municipalities were added to the regional ones, connected with a general renewal of planning and management tools about landscape transformations.

Three Cities

To better understand what we are talking about, it helps to deal with experiences rather than still on the settings of principles. We will visit three cities situated along the Via Emilia, the historical Roman route between Rimini and Piacenza and one of the main backbone infrastructure of the entire Italian peninsula. It was built in 189-187 b.C. to conquer the biggest fertile plain of the whole peninsula – the Po Valley indeed – right on the edge between the foot of Apennines and the Valley.

Cesena (about 100,000 inhabitants) is located almost in the center of Romagna, half-way between the hills and the sea, which is only 15 km far, at the point where the ancient Via Emilia and Via Flaminia cross each other. The Savio River and its valley are the main markers of this territory.

The municipal area (250 sqkm) is morphologically varied: flat in the north-east (that is the last part of the Po Valley, just south the Po Delta Region), where traces of Roman settlements of “centuriazione” are still very visible; hilly in the south-west, close to Apennines. In addition, the modern mobility infrastructures system (the XX century Bologna-Taranto motorway, the E45 road and the secant) superimposed on the structure of Roman settlements. This led to very different uses and forms of the inhabited areas. The star-shaped and not so compact urban imprint allows a widespread availability and quality of habitat, natural or semi-natural, for recreational, educational and improvement of urban health.

The project “Landscape Planning of Cesena, spatial concepts and design of open

¹⁴ Among the several projects developed in Emilia Romagna in the last fifteen years we can mention: the Ideas Competition “Paesaggi Liquidi” by Provincia di Reggio Emilia, 2008 (winner Barreca e Navarra, Yellowoffice, Nature Mood); the project for “Guide lines to transform landscape dealing with the productive hub close to Terre di Canossa – Campegine tollbooth, defined for Provincia di Reggio Emilia by Renato Bocchi, Paolo Ceccon and Laura Zampieri (2010); the Marecchia River Landscape Masterplan at Poggio Berni and Torriana, Rimini, by P'ARC (2008); the project “From Cento to Poggio Renatico. The Reno River as matrix for a coherent development of Alto Ferrarese Landscape”, defined by Provincia di Ferrara and Alto Ferrarese Municipalities Association, supported by Dipartimento di Architettura e Pianificazione Territoriale of Bologna University - Alma Mater Studiorum (2010).

spaces”, drawn in 2000 by P’arc design office, considers the whole municipal territory, working on the concept of systemic network of open spaces at geographical scale; at the same time, the project is verified at the scale of urban public space, that of streets, parks and residual areas close to infrastructures.

The idea of gradient among urban realm, rural settlements and natural infrastructures is the main outcome of the design concept, working on: how to develop a gradient through “city and not city” and how to devise interventions not as objects but as geographic systems, as networks of green areas, urban forestation, public spaces, etc.. Models of urban-suburban gradient between city and not-city were identified to provide support to design, without pre-defining specific architectural choices. They derive from combining three patterns - the urban area (existing), the peri-urban area (processing) and the not urban territory -, according to adjacency with: the sources of habitat (hills and river Savio), where it is easy and reasonable to predict environmental connective interventions; the not centurial countryside at northwest, where the limes between the city and not-city is very clear; the centurial countryside at northeast, where the historical and aesthetic value of the land division is still readable and the limes between the city and not-city is a more porous space. These models are different “spatial concepts” that guide more detailed designs. They are tesserae of the landscape mosaic, built piece by piece, place by place, and not pre determined in its wholeness. These simple rules assure the coherence of designed landscape as an ongoing process, remaining flexible and welcoming the inevitable accidents of living landscape. It’s a combinatory game, where rules are the bases for always open set of players, actions and results.

This experience shows how to work on the intermediate scale to circumvent the impasse of deterministic concatenation from the general to the particular. Project can advantageously proceed with discontinuous trajectories, going, even for jumps, to the systemic roots that bind a intervention, even the smallest, with its surroundings.

Bologna is the capital of the region and the heart of a metropolitan area of about 1,000,000 inhabitants.

It’s close to the Apennines hills, between the rivers Reno and Savena valleys: “Bologna is an old lady with a little soft hips, with her breasts on the Po and bottom on the hills”, as Francesco Guccini sings¹⁵.

“Bologna city of cities” is the image at the base of the Municipal Structural Plan of the city, a very advanced document, worked out under the coordination of Patrizia Gabel-

¹⁵ Francesco Guccini, “Bologna”, in *Metropolis*, Emi, 1981.

lini¹⁶. The Seven Cities – called Train Station, Ring Road, Hill, Reno, Savena, Via Emilia Ponente, Via Emilia Levante – are hinged into each other, but different for characteristics and vocations.

The hill of Bologna, preserved from development since the Sixties through planning instruments of protection, in time became a private residential Eden. Defense had of course a strategic and symbolic importance for the city and the society of the early Sixties; but in the name of a general indisputable value, such as environmental protection, an extraordinary landscape was frozen from the point of view of urban dynamics and visions for future. Moreover, constraints were not able to deal with natural transformation process: they weren't enough to prevent the hydrogeological disruption as well the return of the forest. At the same time, the important endowment of public parks, from a quantity point of view, is not enough to make the hill really lived and valued.

The research design – developed with the guide of the Municipal Structural Plan by the local office Tasca and the Barcelona based office Jornet, Llop, Pastor Arquitectes – aims to rediscover this unique asset of the metropolitan area, making it again accessible, usable and productive. It marks the duality and reciprocity of two different landscapes: the foothills and the deepest hill. It's impossible transforming the one, of strongly urban identity, and the other, more natural, with the same rules. Yet, the processing of one cannot take place without the modification of the other.

Going across these two approaches, the proposal for the hill can be summarized in two main sections: to implement a system of use and accessibility of the hill (*connections*), not only from the urbanized band at north, but from all over the vast territory surrounding the hill; to define a network of specific projects for specific places, which involve areas already prone to be transformed into services and facilities for the park or the urban low hill areas (*transformation sites*). In turn, these two sections are divided into twelve themes, among them: *foothills gardens* (a potential alveolar public “system park” is already there, just by transforming into a network the whole of foothills, urban and hilly countryside gardens); *equipped continuity* (territorial systems are continuous facilities connecting many different landscapes and situations, in terms of fruition and perception); *doors* (the points of contact and access between the city and the hill); *deep Hill* (a system of paths starting from the southern edge, joined to doors and routes); *services* (by the reuse of existing public buildings, now abandoned, which together constitute the main means of economic development, also because already disseminated all

¹⁶ Municipality of Bologna, “Piano Strutturale Comunale” (Municipal Structural Plan), 2007. Scientific general consultant: Patrizia Gabellini, Politecnico di Milano.

over the hill); *joys* (topos, recognizable for their preciousness in terms of anthropological, monumental, environment and landscape content).

We can look at this experience as a good model in terms of *intermediate scale*, because it has a transcalar approach: it makes readable the size and significance of a territorial system, provides strategic and structural interpretations of that system, suggests solutions to give shape to those interpretations; because it's clearly design oriented: supports and verifies strategic vision with design simulations at the architectural scale; because it's factual and farseeing at the same time, able to define a strong but not stiff framework of actions for hill management, maintenance and promotion.

Reggio Emilia (170,000 inhabitants) is located in the heart of Emilia and is crossed by Crostolo, its main stream, and other rivers and canals, as Rodano and Madolena.

In 2011 Reggio adopted the Municipal Structural Plan (PSC). It gives a central role to landscape as a key element for the quality of life and takes the issue of qualification of the existing city as a strategic priority, limiting the use of agricultural land¹⁷ for urban expansion.

In addition to interventions for localized areas, the PSC identifies actions for wide-ranging and structural urban frames. Among them, the three mentioned streams – Crostolo, Rodano and Modolena – need proposals to be upgraded both in environment terms, as ecological corridors, both as public spaces for the city. These include actions distributed over time and varied over space and this is why they are involved in a project working as a framework, called *Green Belt*, that will be implemented gradually. It's a joint project for the rivers areas, to improve the environment settlement and establish a new model of multifunctional agriculture as well a new identity of the peri-urban areas.

The *Green Belt* is configured as an infrastructure landscape, derived by the combinations of two kinds of spaces: the ones more related to water (*rivers parks*), the others mostly rural (*green wedges*), with the role of connections between urban and agriculture areas. The program involves an area of 5,000 ha, of which about 2,000 ha of *green wedges* and 3,000 ha of *rivers parks*. Of the latter, the Rodano (600 ha) has a natural environment vocation, the Crostolo (400 ha) has a historical-cultural vocation, whereas the largest among them, the Modolena (about 2,000 ha) has an agricultural vocation.

The Rodano Park is, on the whole, a system of meaningful natural, agricultural and historical values. Its improvement opens to fruition some of the most significant places

¹⁷ Municipality of Reggio Emilia, "Piano Strutturale Comunale" (Municipal Structural Plan), 2009-2011. Scientific general consultant: Giuseppe Campos Venuti, Politecnico di Milano.

of the city, where many people affection focuses on. If, at the urban scale, the Park is part of the *Green Belt* wide warping and contributes to the achievement of the linear rivers parks system, at the scale of neighborhoods it will serve the local citizens, as a place where to find an answer to a “demand for landscape”, more and more significant and urgent. The intention to form the Rodano Park as a connecting, coherent and unified framework requires to work out not punctual but systemic design. The Masterplan (design by Ufficio Progetti Architetti Associati, 2009) defines a framework for the entire area. The main work fields are: extending natural areas; enhancing water quality; retraining semi-natural habitats, even within the agricultural lands; turning into a network the existing connections (in terms of movement and in terms of ecology); combining a range of specific interventions dotting the park.

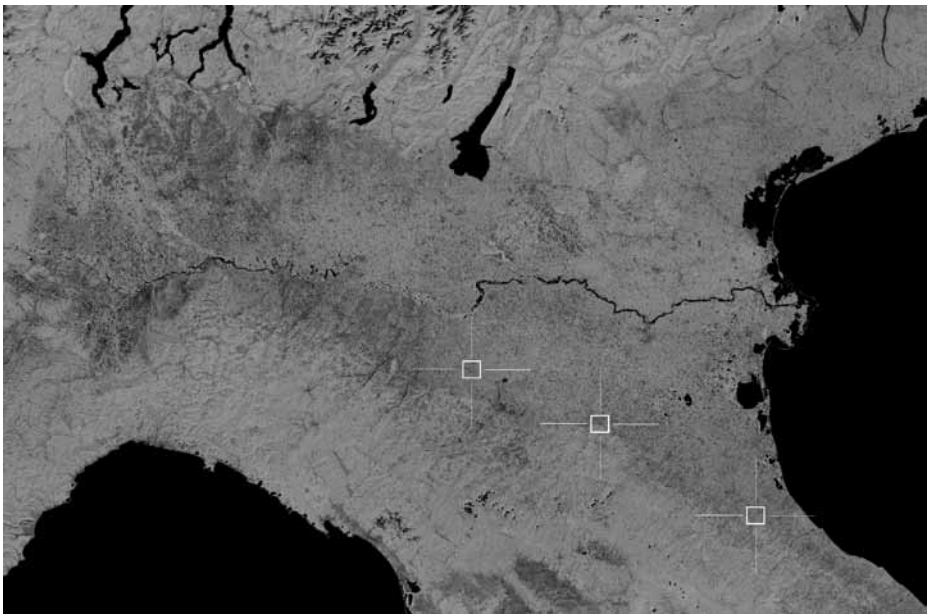


Fig. 1 - The valley, crossed by the Po river. From West to East, the cursors sign the cities of Reggio Emilia, Bologna and Cesena. Map by Annalisa Metta.

And So?

These three experiences deal with periurban landscape and adopt the *intermediate scale* as the main topic. They share attitude and ability to think landscape architecture simultaneously as strategic and progressive framework as well as configured open spaces. They are samples of how open space design can contribute to a deep renewal of the methods and practices of urban project in its different scales. This attitude enhances the ability to deal with a variety of scales and themes and, above all, with extremely fast and sometimes unpredictable changes, which require solutions that are less rigid and prescriptive in favor of others, more open to process and uncertainty.

City paradigms are changing faster and faster: we just got able to deal with sprawl, that city started to shrink. So, we can't ignore some questions: which open spaces for which cities? What idea of city we're fighting against or we're dreaming about? Is it wether the sprawling or the shrinking city? The consolidated or the processive one? The gray or the green? The future or the nostalgic?

In this condition, the transcalar and performing landscape approach is essential to successfully govern the continuous changes of the contemporary city, on condition that we no more take only defense and remedy oriented positions, but finally propose ones fit for the multiplicity of transformations that take place everywhere in the cities as in the countryside, in the beautiful countries as in derelict lands.

Compared to the arguments with which we began, that is the gap of landscape in two drifts due to the gap between urban design and architecture, landscape practice is an unmissable opportunity for approaching two disciplinary traditions with an urgent need to re-tune their strategies. Landscape makes close again city and architecture, by providing a way of operation, which not only takes care of objects and spaces, but also of the dynamic relationships that move through them (in terms of culture, economics, society, technologies, esthetics).

Finally, we need a structure: a meaning and space structure that should be clear and simple, as well adaptive and open to process, able to deal with overcoming changes and contradictions, with coherence and conflicts, with granitic permanence and sudden overturning. We need a pentagram where notes freely accorde themselves, not necessarily in terms of armony. This pentagram, this structure could be called landscape, I suppose.

LOGOUT

THE URBAN LANDSCAPE IN THE DIGITAL ERA

Rita Colantonio Venturelli

The Fragmented Town

The landscape is the physical expression of human culture and of how man has organised and managed it according to the models prevailing in the various epochs. The contemporary urban landscape bears the marks of a multiplicity of interests, passions and tendencies that have often failed to be judiciously coordinated. It reflects the lack of a conscious space organisation that blends respect and innovation to achieve a coherent result. Urban transformations have often been separate from the cultural, architectural, social or economic context where they were taking place. The result of such political inconsistency is an urban and territorial fragmentation that to a greater or a lesser extent is clearly apparent in the environment that many of us experience. The phenomenon has generated a model where the town is too sprawled to have identifiable boundaries and is no longer distinct from surrounding rural areas; a town dominated by private transport; that is the venue of growing numbers of protest movements; and whose historical centre is often disfigured while its suburbs are squalid. This is the town of social unease and of the dominion of finance, where urban planning has been in the hands of private interests that have spread, overlapped, and clashed without significant opposition: in sum, this is the town without urban culture.

The Town in the Digital Era

Town culture cannot and ought not to be uniform, indeed it should inherently be open and eager to accommodate the multiple and ever new requirements of its inhabitants. Its strength rests on the fact that no single person guides cultural changes, but all can freely participate in them. In this connection open urban spaces, the public ones but to some extent also the private ones, play a key role as spaces of free expression, whether individual or collective. This is something that the officials in charge of urban administration and planning are finally being compelled to take into account. The advent of the digital era has highlighted some strengths and weaknesses of this phase of urban development. On the one hand instant communication tools enhance the access to information in all areas and enable the mobilisation of groups of various sizes – even whole networks – in real time for a variety of purposes: to express support or dissent, to

meet up for sports or cultural events, to exchange views. Sociology relates these behaviours to the construction of the “we”, which would be paralleled by a false construction of the “I”. Undeniably, the digital era has the potential to blur reality, generating the illusion that space and time can be overcome and that people may own, as opposed to use, public goods; this risks turning proper participation into incessant exasperated fighting, litigiousness or even social confrontation.

The instinctive reaction is to place open spaces under control through continuous video recording and surveillance circuits, which according to some jeopardise individual liberties.

The New Disciplinary Debate

It is widely agreed that “grass-root urbanism” is becoming a major principle inspiring urban development that cannot be ignored, as also demonstrated by the most recent urban history. However further, different but equally important principles have also become established over this time: they should be acknowledged as key elements in the ongoing transformations and ones that will mark the functional and spatial organisation of towns. Such principles are related to the ecological state of towns and to its ability to renew the town’s resources continuously, keeping up the offer of ecosystem services; these services support life, provide for supply procurement, regulate climate and are cultural aesthetic, educational and recreational values.

The ecological principles are closely related to the economic ones, as demonstrated by the 2007 EU Commission document¹. The study mentioned in the document found an annual loss of € 50 billions, accounting for 7% of GDP, due to the persistent critical state of biodiversity. The Commission’s recommendations involve the adoption of damage reduction measures and the development of financial tools to protect ecosystem services.

In Italy, ISPRA is intensively publicising the problem and describing some actions that could steer urban development in directions that can also benefit towns’ economy². The reorganisation of public transport routes and the consumption of food produced locally provide a critical contribution and have implications for two areas of action – the economy of transport and the economy of peri-urban rural spaces – both of which are indispensable for decisions that regard urban planning and the behaviour of the population entitled to the “right to the town”.

¹ European Commission, *The Economics of Ecosystem and Biodiversity (TEEB)*, Potsdam, 2007.

² Istituto Superiore per la Protezione e la Ricerca Ambientale (ISPRA), *Annuario dei dati ambientali*, Varese, 2008.

The reasoning comes back full circle to social issues, all of which provide a contribution to urban transformation. It is therefore clear that all the disciplines involved in the management of urban spaces should learn to talk and listen to one another, to ensure that all the active principles are respected and give rise to a single system. This has not come about often, at least not always in the right way, but where it has its results have been startling. In fact “culture in practice” and joint field experimentation have generated some examples of correct and balanced management of the various interests and the consequent organisation on the territory of structures and functions³.

To start and support both this dialogue and the multidisciplinary debate it should however be noted that although the circulation of scientific information is clearly essential, the notions and concepts advocated by the various disciplines despite being viewed from different perspectives are often quite similar. Yet, it is far from true that this entails their in-depth examination; on the contrary notions and concepts are often wielded until they are threadbare and subsequently abandoned without even testing them for their possible practical value.

This meeting has laid a sound scientific basis to overcome the gap between general information, scientific data, multidisciplinary work, and real landscape transformation. It has also witnessed the coming of age of the notion that open urban, peri-urban and rural spaces should be viewed as the keystone of the organisation of the entire urban space and should thus contribute to confer on it the shape that is most suitable to each circumstance.

Open Spaces in the Changing Town

The above-mentioned inspiring principles related to the town in the digital era – a system that is both complex and clear in its components – suggest the need for turning around the view that has prevailed until recently, and to state that the town no longer equals built space. The new urban landscape should be organised as one system, where the network of open spaces has the task to support both the urban and the rural peri-urban tissue, because such spaces are the ecological expression of an organism and are all closely connected with its economic, social, cultural and scientific facets. The shape of the town plan in the digital era thus stems directly from its inspiring principles in a seamless relationship between current culture and its physical expression.

³ An explicit stance in this sense comes both from the final document of the 6th World Urban Forum (Napoli, Italy, 2012) and from *Charter of public space*, stemming from the 2nd Biennale dello spazio pubblico (Roma, Italy, 2013), which developed some of its key points.

Although this does not require pre-established formal models, it is essential to acknowledge that open spaces have different functional meanings (ecological, social, economic) in different urban contexts. Here it should be noted that multidisciplinary knowledge – albeit indispensable – is unable to shape urban spaces except through the decision-making and the needs of the population, whose involvement in town construction and management is increasing and is increasingly felt.

This means that it is essential to start consolidation projects where expert knowledge has a key role and planners bear the responsibility of translating the process into spatial organisation, and do not withdraw after the design phase, but follow it throughout its development. In fact a town is not a “consensus machine”, but an organism that is made stronger by cohesion whereas superficial embellishment and hurried harmonisation fail to achieve lasting effects⁴.

Final Reflections and Recommendations Stemming from the Conference of Berlin

The meeting’s sessions of the Conference of Berlin have adopted the view of the urban landscape as a “system of systems”, one encompassing relationships that are both internal to it (relations among its constituent systems: economic, ecological and social) and external (between the urban-rural system and the rest of the landscape). The recommendations that have stemmed from this opportunity for collective reflection thus involve economic, ecological and social aspects according to the systemic view, where open spaces are considered as the focus of future urban development. A clear and articulated synthesis of the most salient principles that have emerged from each contribution are found in the Login of this book. The general reflections that follow stress the structural connections among sessions.

Ecological viewpoint: The importance of ecosystem services is multidimensional and is directly connected with the concept of biodiversity – i.e. the whole formed by all genetically different life forms and their ecosystems – whereas the notion of ecosystem services is anthropocentric. The two concepts are not overlapping but complementary; in both, human wellbeing plays a key role and must therefore be considered as the main goal of landscape, particularly urban, management. This is the key challenge if both non-monetary and monetary values of open urban spaces are to be protected. In this connection environmental education should provide a critical contribution to heighten-

⁴ Cfr. Rautenberg, H., *Wir sind die Stadt*, Surkamp, Berlin, Germany, 2013, p.148.

ing the population's awareness of the new "right to the urban landscape".

Economic viewpoint: "The town moves, transforms, and changes constantly. Nothing resembles more a living being than this stone body"⁵. But the stone body has a paper core⁶. The town's physical body is in fact conditioned by financial interests, a variety of interests ranging from those involving the use of open spaces for small neighbourhood initiatives with a small turnover to those of private subjects who speculate in the real estate market. The "paper town" is in fact the one that rules the shape, spaces, and urban planning interventions of the "stone town". The dichotomy has generated a sort of two-speed of urban economy: on the one hand the rich real estate business managed by a small number of private subjects, on the other a labour market penalised by the economic crisis of the past few years that is unable to generate and regenerate sound opportunities and invent new types of jobs.

Overcoming this dichotomy should be one of the main goals of urban development. The task is mainly one for the local administrators, who should try to achieve a new urban prosperity by acknowledging the importance of the different cultures and ensuring equal rights also to the more disadvantaged strata. Public spaces should thus be considered as common goods and as targets for priority action⁷.

Social viewpoint: A key principle contained in the European Landscape Convention is the close relationship between the cultural identity of a population and the land it inhabits⁸. The historical and social value of a place is its very soul, a soul that lives and evolves with the local population but is also apparent to all visitors, be they tourists, scholars or passers-by: each of these individuals establishes a different relationship with the landscape, one that is filtered by previous experience but is not necessarily less intense or less important in enriching the local culture. History is also made by this type of contributions. In fact, several recently released documents that make reference to these principles and relate them to the intrinsic historical value of the places highlight the important role and topical value of history in future landscape organisation and management⁹. Protection must always be granted as a function of the overall multidimensional development of the landscape: this once again is the shared task of planners,

⁵ Ragon, M., *L'homme et les villes*, Albin Michel, Paris, France, 1995, p. 6.

⁶ Magnier, A., Morandi, M., *Paesaggi in mutamento*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 2013.

⁷ 6th Urban Forum, Napoli, Italy, 2013.

⁸ Council of Europe, *European landscape convention*, Firenze, Italy, 2000.

⁹ A highly interesting document among others is the *Final statement of the international meeting "The International Protection of Landscapes"*, promoted by Fondazione Romualdo del Bianco and IPOGEA on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the UNESCO charter (Firenze, Italy, 2012).

administrators and the population. Only their steady collaboration can ensure a balanced growth process inspired to the "optimism of doing", which must involve the "I" and the "we" in a constant "urban activism"¹⁰.

The multidisciplinary dialogue, to which this meeting has provided a contribution, should become the inspiring principle enabling scientific knowledge to attempt its reconstitution; this in turn could generate a new vision of the articulation of the urban system and of its open spaces through the creation of social networks, the reorganisation of ecological networks and the harmonisation of economic aspects. I view the town as the space of the individuals and of their participation in collective expression, an expression that is multifarious yet inhomogeneous, which is free to develop in a cultural dimension that is no longer "atomised", but is supported by public efficiency, equality and happiness¹¹.

Here is my wish then: long live this town.

¹⁰ Cfr. Rautenberg, H., *Wir sind die Stadt*, Surkamp, Berlin, Germany, 2013.

¹¹ Cfr. Bruni, L., Zamagni, S., *Economia civile - efficienza, equità e felicità pubblica*, Bologna, 2004.

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