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SOUTH CITY
*Modernist Urbanism in the Southern Hemisphere:
Past, Present, Future*

**Symposium, January 22—23, 2009
Edinburgh College of Art – University of Edinburgh**

Proceedings under the scientific direction of Miles Glendinning

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SUMMARY

Held in Edinburgh in late January 2009, the 'South City' Sympo-sium sought to provoke a stimulating interaction between the heri-tage and future of modernist urbanism in the southern hemisphere. Organized jointly by Docomomo International Committee on Ur-banism Landscape, the Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, Edinburgh College of Art (ECA) and the University of Edinburgh, it brought together a range of experts on urbanism in South America, Africa and Southern Asia, together with a range of original films, to pose the question of what contribution the considerable legacy of modernist planning and architecture, dating mainly from the postwar years, can make to the challenges of the vastly expanded urban growth of the C21.

The event opened on the evening of Thursday 22 January with a keynote address at Edinburgh College of Art (ECA by Frederico de Holanda (Universidade de Brasília, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo), one of the foremost experts on the history and devel-opment of the Brazilian capital, focusing on how its revolutionary utopian design concept, with all its myths and its vernacular life, has fared in the decades since its initial launch.

Prof. de Holanda also contributed a research paper to the all-day session at University of Edinburgh Architecture on Friday 23 January, along with Edinburgh-based international experts on the modernist city in South America, Africa and Asia: the 23 January session was also, appropriately, the venue for the launch of a new Docomomo International Southern Hemisphere liaison group, chaired by Ola Uduku of ECA, aimed at helping expand Docomomo's activities beyond its current predominantly Northern Hemisphere focus.

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"Brasilia, Modern City/Eternal City" by Prof. Frederico de Holanda

Having Benjamin, Freud and Rouanet as initial references, two levels of reality are considered in this analysis: empirical reality and oneiric reality. In the empirical level, *facts* are studied, in the permanent quest for *truth*: post-modern relativist epistemology is dismissed. In the oneiric level, two instances are considered: *myth*, that opposes desire and maintains a *painful reality* because of fear of novelty, which in turn results in distorting discourses or *phantasmagorias*; and *utopia*, which is the realization of desire, in turn materializing the *eternally new*.

Brasilia fascinates for better and for worse. The painful reality is often criticized by mythical discourses on the city, which appear in both versions – apologetic and critical. There are utopian aspects present in Brasilia, in the sense of an "eternally new", i.e. something *transcending* space and time. Also, in some aspects *utopia* can be brought to bear on the present city through transformations. It is necessary to avoid a manichaeistic viewpoint of the city, thus identifying its *qualities* and its *problems*.

Along time, an idea summarises the development of the city: we are confronted here with a *double process* by which its essential qualities have been damaged along time and the "DNA" *problems* of the city – i.e. those already present in the project – have been aggravated.

The city is constituted by a morphic patchwork, in which the following types are found: 1. vernacular; 2. *favelas* (slums); 3. building firms' camps; 4. peripheral modernism; 5. classic modernism; 6. post-modernism; 7. city of walls. The types are presented in an approximate chronological order of appearance.

Vernacular. Two small urban nuclei existed within the borders of the present Federal District before the construction of the Capital: Planaltina (19th Century) and Brazlandia (1930's). In all they represent the typical Brazilian vernacular city's configuration: a slightly deformed urban gird, public spaces clearly defined by the buildings which directly open to them, mixed uses, squares in which locate the main symbolic buildings.

Favelas. Settlements have been self-produced by workers that in great numbers migrated to the Federal District in the late 1950's. Among them the most important was the *Paranoá* – a great example of how *architectural social knowledge* is realized on the ground. Greatly irregular in plan, it must not be misinterpreted as a "labyrinth" – key morphological differences are discussed. Paranoá reminds us of European medieval villages in which a strong "local order" goes hand in hand with "globalizing" elements (much longer streets than the average) that confer legibility to the settlement as a whole (in a labyrinth, by definition, there are no global elements). The author was fortunate enough to witness the place's urban vitality. It was razed to the ground by the local government in 1989. People were transferred to a nearby "rightly planned" environment.

Building firms' camps. Firms have constructed settlements to house workers, technicians, engineers, architects, administrators. Few ones have survived, the most important being the *Vila* [village] *Planalto*, or simply the "Vila", as it is popularly known. The Vila presents a variety of buildings types that are strongly related with the variety of social layers still found today in the place. The Vila is also a witness of some of the fundamental traits of Brazilian modern architecture, in the very modest version of buildings which were supposed to be temporary.

Peripheral modernism. This is the modernist version we find in the satellite nuclei that began to be built *before* the Pilot Plan was inaugurated (the first, Taguatinga, dates from 1958 and the latter's inauguration from 1960). It presents all the basic attributes of modern

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urbanism, together with its problems: rigorous zoning, maldefinition of public spaces, isolated buildings, residual no man's land, car driven circulation systems. However, they do not present the expressive qualities of the Pilot Plan – nor they were benefited by the high investment that was (and is) necessary to implement (and maintain) the symbolic spaces par *excellence* of the metropolis. An apparent paradox is commented: a comparison is made between the confusing actual space (although regular in plan) of one of these modernistic nuclei (Guará) and the legible (although strongly irregular in plan) of the once existing, self-produced by popular social knowledge, Paranoá favela.

Classic modernism. As a whole, the Pilot Plan is very legible. Strong macro elements (the two crossing axes), the articulation of four "scales" (or urbanistic morphic types) and their internal differentiation, and the outstanding buildings of its central area are responsible for this clear image. The articulation and comparative configuration of the morphic types are quite different from other modern examples as, say, Chandigahr. The four scales are clearly legible from a distance (when we arrive in Brasilia by road) and clearly differentiated from within. They are considered in detail: monumental, gregarious, residential, bucolic.

Monumental. Two powerful landmarks indicate the main tract of the monumental scale, which can, again, be seen from a distance: the Congress Tower and the TV Tower. A number of architectural compositional devices are used to structure the monumental scale from within: the evenness of the ministerial buildings against the dominance of the Congress Tower; the simplicity of cobblestone forms (ministries) against the volumetric complexity of the Cathedral, the Ministry of Foreign Affair, the Parliament and the Palaces of the Plazza of the Three Powers; the spatial structuration by contrasting articulating elements (Congress Tower) that reminds us of the Plazza San Marco in Venice. Some important traits of such space were never implemented: a pity, because they would have brought more *urbanity* to the place (this is case of the long and low building uniting the ministries among themselves). Also, along time, the original direct relationship between buildings and their surroundings has been harmed – fences and pools appear everywhere. Brasilia monumental space is *historical* for it rescues the *formal monumentality* of ancient examples, as Teotihuacan (pre-Columbian Mexico), Uxmal (idem), the Mall in Washington, the Champs Élysées, in Paris. Again it is possible to contrast the Plazza of the Three Powers with modern similar examples: when compared with Chandigahr's Capitol, the *sense of place*, inexistent in the latter, is very clear in the former. *Mutatis mutandis*, Brasilia's monumental space fascinates us because it is *sublime* – a "pleasurable, even inebriating encounter with human weakness confronted with the power, age and dimensions of the universe" [de Boton]. Brasilia's monumental space remains as *utopian* as Teotihuacán, the Giza Pyramids, the Parthenon, the Eiffel Tower, Falling Water House.

Gregarious. These are the spaces for the condensation of urban life: the central Commercial, Hotel, Amusement, Bank etc. sectors. Scale is intimate, built densities are high, there is a reasonable mixed use (but – alas! – life dies in the early evening). Again, non-implementation of proposals that were present in the blueprints has damaged the urbanscape: discontinuities exist where buildings should have occupied them. A permanent tension between formal and informal appropriation of public spaces exists – with the defeat of the latter. Still, Brasilia presents an otherwise surprising urbanity in the central and local shopping areas – vital places survive for decades as important daily meeting points for the population: that "social life oscillates, without salvation, between work and home" [Holston] is a *myth*.

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Residential. The Pilot Plan's residential neighborhoods are non-orthodox. In comparison with other entries of the competition, they are the pinnacle of urbanity. They are open to the surroundings, facilities are accessible to the population at large, it is extremely pleasant to stay in the gardens of the superblocks and stroll along the sidewalks in the South-North direction (not so in the East-West direction, because of the strong – and very dangerous – barrier of the Road Axis). Still, the superblock is far from the *social utopia* envisaged by a "revolutionary" designer (he has never nicknamed himself as "leftist" let alone "communist") and still heralded so by many apologists – it turned out that it suits better middle and high classes [see *Brasilia Metropolis*].

Bucolic. This is the surrounding, mostly natural landscape of the original project. It is sparsely occupied by isolated buildings. It was supposed to remain basically public, with free access to the lake shore. It did not. At present, more often than not, the shore is privatized by hotels, shopping centres, clubs, restaurants, even gated communities for the rich in posh apartment blocks. This morphic type is being damaged through misuse and through the scale of built structures: a telling example is the new bridge (JK Bridge) as compared to the older bridge (Costa e Silva Bridge) of the Paranoá Lake – the former would suit better the monumental scale, not the bucolic...

Post modernism. By this token, something that has appeared *after* classic modernism is referred to. In Brasilia, it takes various forms, from historicist buildings to the repetition, out of context, of the original morphic types. New boroughs appear, often with historicist cosmetics, in central and residential areas. New local shopping areas do not have the urbanity of the original ones, to the benefit of the private car. Discontinuities in the newer bits of central sectors increases manifold. Here, urban space has vanished totally. This does not mean that classic *modern* architecture has died: the new Sarah Hospital is a powerful example.

The city of walls. This is the new pattern of urban expansion – gated communities. They appear in all guises, for all social classes, all over the Federal District. They reinforce the strong dependency on the private car. Good public space is absent. They fulfill expectations for more space, lower prices, more safety – in private, not in the public domain. Sadly, they are almost the only option for middle classes who are being pushed away from the Pilot Plan by increasingly expensive space.

To conclude, for all its problems and qualities, authoritative inquiries have indicated Brasilia as the Brazilian city mostly praised by their inhabitants among all state capitals – in all social classes, albeit for diverse reasons. All considered, it turns out that **problems** are circumstantial: they may be overcome, for they are determined by political and ideological issues; **qualities** are structural: they will last. To quote a great poet: "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever" [John Keats].

"Architectural modernism, modernisation and modernity in Lusophone countries: Brazil, Angola and Mozambique" by Prof. Paul Jenkins (Heriot-Watt University/ECA)

Abstract

This presentation started by distinguishing between modernity, modernisation and modernism, and in the light of this subsequently examined the different context for understanding the experience of modernisation between Brazil and Angola & Mozambique, with reference to the modernist architectural legacy. It then discussed the contemporary contextual challenges of renewed rapid modernisation in Brazil and continued stagnated modernisation in Africa and made concluding remarks concerning the nature of the current relevance of the core modernist concept of 'architecture as a social art' in relation to 'emerging cities' and 'home space' in these Lusophone countries.

Summary

Distinguishing between modernity, modernisation and modernism

"Modernism is a troubled and fluctuating aesthetic response to conditions of modernity produced by a particular process of modernization" (Harvey, 1989). Modernity is thus seen as an on-going universalising evolutionary process, and contradictory relationships embedded in specific socio-economic processes of modernisation inevitably lead to paradoxical cultural expressions of modernism.

Architectural modernism is often seen to have 'failed' as it never became widely popular throughout society, but arguably its demise is more appropriately linked to inherent conflicts within modernity such the embedded tensions between avant-garde leadership, 'rational' social engineering and wider social change.

The link between wider social programmes and modernist architecture is thus crucial – i.e. the role of 'architecture as a social art'.

Understanding the Brazilian experience of modernisation

Drawing on (Lara 2008) three main periods of initial modernisation can be distinguished in Brazil:
• Conservative modernisation in the late 19th century, with the creation of the Republic 1889 – heavily influenced by social positivism, yet within a political economy still dominated by the agricultural oligarchy. However this period saw the slow rise of an urban commercial, industrial and politico-military elite.
• The avant-garde movements of the 1930s and 1940s, following the 1930 revolution, with a subsequent focus on unification, centralisation and national identity. This was characterised by rapid state-led modernisation in education and import-substitution industrialisation in 1940s, and avant-garde intellectuals played a key role in actively constructed a new collective memory - co-opted by the post 1935 authoritarian dictatorship.
• Economic developmentalist policies of the 1950s, which continued rapid modernisation stimulated by state activity but with) led to more openness to foreign direct investment – Kubitschek's "fifty years of progress in five" (1956-61). International capital took over national industries and created a new spurt of modernisation, however internal political instability (a legacy of previous populism) led to the 1964 military coup and the effective end of this initial modernisation phase.

The modernist architectural legacy in Brazil

In relation to this context, architectural modernism in Brazil had a dual manifestation. In 1929 Corbusier visited Brazil and in 1930 Lucio Costa took over the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes and reformed the curriculum, drawing on Corbusier, Bauhaus (and Wright), providing the base for Brazilian modern architecture (as

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Recent social housing projects by the Secretariat of Housing of Sao Paulo Municipality (© Paul Jenkins)

opposed to Modern architecture in Brazil) A link with CIAM was set up through Warchavchik. In 1936 Corbusier was asked to act as consultant to team led by Costa designing the iconic modernist Ministry of Education & Health building in Rio, completed by 1943. In 1939 Costa won a competition to design the Brazilian pavilion at the New York World Fair, but he then proposed that runner-up Oscar Niemeyer worked with him on a new project, which was built. Niemeyer became known though his designs for a hotel in Ouro Preto (1940) and Chapel, Dancehall, Casino and Yacht Club (with landscaping by Burle Marx), at the new lakeside city extension of Pampulha in Belo Horizonte (1940-2) – all in Minas Gerais state – the latter four iconic buildings commissioned by recent young Belo Horizonte mayor Juscelino Kubitschek (later national President).

When in 1943 the United States Good Neighbour policy funded a 'Brazil Builds' exhibition at Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York, the above was the work that was highlighted, putting Brazilian modernism on the world stage. Niemeyer's subsequent continued focus on form tended to dominate international perceptions of Brazilian modernism (Sul America Hospital 1947, UN Building NY 1947-52, Ibirapuera park buildings 1954, Caracas museum 1957) with modernist architecture

reinforcing the Brazilian national identity, culminating in the construction of Brasilia (1956 – 1960) (Andreoli & Forty 2004).

The main focus of this manifestation of Brazilian modernism was the avant-garde's role in helping construct the new national identity through buildings highly sponsored by the central state, many oriented to the growing middle class – sometimes criticised as 'façadism'

The other manifestation was stimulated by the 2nd CIAM on Economic Housing 1929. This influenced Costa's new curriculum and the Ist Brazilian Housing Congress of the same year (1931), as did German and Austrian housing experiences (and Corbusier's Unités d'Habitation) which were widely published in the 1930s in Brazil. As a result, despite strong traditional influences (e.g. the church) for single family solutions, these European modernist experiences influenced the developing mass housing programmes of the newly created corporatist Retirement and Pensions Institutes created by Getulias Vargas as part of his populist labour manifesto. In the mid 1940s the social role of architecture became much more widely discussed, especially in the light of the post WW II housing crisis – a group of socially-oriented architects grew around Luis Nunes in contrast to those clustered around Niemeyer.

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The first modern mass social housing block (for 2344 units) was Realengo by Carlos Ferreira, built in Rio between 1939-43. Between 1937-50 the IAPs produced some 26,200 units, and the post-war Popular Housing Fund a further 8300, rising by a another 31,000 between 1951-64. Key modernist projects in Rio were Pedregulho (328 units) and Gavea (328 units) by Affonso Reidy, Deodoro by Flavio Rego (1314 units). In Sao Paulo: Baixada do Carmo by Attilio Lima (original project 4038 units, built 480), Mooca by Paulo Ribeiro (576 units), and Japura by Eduardo de Melo; in Santo Andre Vila Guiomar (1411 units) by Carlos Ferreira; and in Porto Alegre, Passo d'Areia by Marcos Kruter (2496 units).

Despite this 'forgotten' socially-oriented modernism (Bonduki 2004) Swiss architect Marx Bill criticised the elite focus in most Brazilian architecture at the Sao Paulo Bienal in 1953 and international critiques began to multiply – e.g. "exuberant modernism with deficient modernisation because only a tiny part of the population was immersed in real modernity" (Garcia-Canclini 1995).

Modern high rise block in Luanda in central Luanda unfinished since prior to Independence and squatted in for decades with no services (© Paul Jenkins)

Understanding the African experience of modernisation

Lusophone Africa experienced a limited initial modernisation period in 1925-50, during which Portugal used its African territories as important components of its own modernisation (late by European standards) through triangles of trade. These underpinned nascent industry in the Metropole and eased land reform through peasant emigration to African 'overseas provinces' in an attempt to create a belated 'Empire'. This phase of modernisation included extensive basic infrastructure, new public buildings and the first urban plans in the 1940s. It was followed by a later spurt of modernisation 1950-75, especially after the change in dictatorial regime in Portugal in the late 1960s. This led to opening for international capital investment in Angola and Mozambique (importantly oil exploitation in former and hydroelectric/industrial activity in latter) and also belated attempts to create a new 'pluri-racial nation' in the face of Independence wars which had started earlier in the decade. This also stimulated a rapid but relatively short-lived rise in private investment in building.

The post-Independence experience was marked by the violent independence struggles, and late un-managed decolonisation led to proto-socialist regimes, with political consolidation in Mozambique but continued fragmentation and internecine war in Angola. In this context new national identities were being formed and architectural innovation was initially subordinated to state priorities until peace and economic 'opening' – which happened in the early 1990s Mozambique and a decade later in Angola.

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The modernist architectural legacy in Angola and Mozambique

There was very limited modernist influence on architecture in the early modernisation period, typically dominated by state-sponsored traditionalist architecture & planning, 'Portuguese Suave', generally projected in Portugal under the fascist "Estado Novo". This changed indirectly due to the 1940s schism between the two architecture schools in Portugal - with Lisbon remaining traditionalist and Porto opening to 'third generation' modernism (and left oriented politics). In the latter a link was created with CIAM 1951 through Joao Jose Tinoco, later of considerable influence in both countries, especially Mozambique (Fernandes 2002). The 1950s saw a number of young (often leftist) modernist architects leaving for the 'Overseas Provinces' as dictatorship restricted their opportunities in the Metropole, mostly starting in government and moving on to private work. They espoused modernist styles which thus became more evident in some public but mostly private buildings. According to Fernandes (2002), Mozambique (especially the capital Lourenço Marques, now Maputo) tended to demonstrate more innovation in modernist architecture than Angola and its capital Luanda – partially as it was less the focus for Portuguese intervention and partially as it was more linked into its Anglophone neighbours – particularly Souh Africa.

As such – differently from Brazil - modernisation was initially attempted in Lusophone Africa without cultural modernism and modernist architecture was never selected as a key support for creating a national identity. In fact it was often the contrary – it was seen as a rebellion against the colonial state and its fascist form of modernisation. In this context modernist architecture had a considerably more limited wider social application – except for some key public buildings in health and education in the 1960s – and was usually associated with private commercial and residential buildings designed by the 'angry young architects', not all of whom had social orientations – e.g. Pancho Guedes, the best known Mozambican architect, who cultivated personal links with Team 10 (Verlag 2007).

While the context for modernisation changed radically with Independence, the new proto-socialist governments concentrated on socialisation of production. However modernist architecture found expression in the limited number of state-sponsored new buildings due to the efforts of the few remaining architects (e.g. Jose Forjaz in Mozambique). In addition Cuban and East German assistance brought some social housing projects, adopting a Soviet style of mass production, however the impact of these programmes was very limited and often oriented (as in Cuba) to new towns at key economic development projects and thus with limited wider social impact. Only with the creation of new courses in architecture in the two national universities, and the reversion to capitalist economics (1992 Mozambique and 2002 Angola) has modern architecture found wider expression. However this is heavily influenced by post-modern stylism and with limited interest in conservation of anything except the 'historic'.

The contemporary challenge

After stalling in the 1980s and 1990s, due mainly to structural adjustment and debt, Brazil is again in a phase of rapid modernisation and development. Redevelopment of urban areas is taking place at a frenetic pace in some areas and while the most renowned iconic buildings of Brazilian Modernism are likely to be conserved, little attention is being paid to the social housing of the Modern Movement. That said, some new social housing programmes are being developed with strong modernist concepts – in fact the legacy of the Modern Movement

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is probably most clearly seen in this area as much new architecture strives to overcome the paradigmatic form-focussed influence of Niemeyer and his domineering legacy.

Contrary to Brazil, Sub-Saharan Africa is still severely lagging in economic opportunity and social problems are immense as the region enters rapid urbanisation in conditions of extreme poverty (Jenkins et al 2007). As such, new social housing is virtually non-existent in countries such as Mozambique – although the recently elected government of Angola has announced a highly ambitious programme with Chinese assistance. Modernisation in this context is thus predominantly an elite project - as is modernist cultural manifestations such as architecture – yet the majority aspire to forms of modernity even though they have limited exposure to modernisation programmes.

In this context, what is the role either of conservation of the Modern Movement buildings of the previous elites or of new forms of modern social architecture? Arguably the latter is as important as the former and draws on the spirit and concepts of the Modern Movement rather than idolising the remnants of its heyday.

Concluding remarks
Modernism in architecture needs to be linked to the widening (or 'universalisation') of social modernisation as a key facet of modernity. This entails an inherent conflict between the architect as an avant-garde cultural actor – which has come to dominate the professional consciousness – and the architect as a leading social actor. Given the distortions of globalisation there is a growing gulf between opportunities for modernisation in different macro-regions – with Sub-Saharan Africa particularly marginalised. While modern social architecture is alive and potentially gaining ground in Brazil in the new international political economy, this needs to develop a more historically self-aware criticality and avoid the intellectual domination of the North (Jenkins et al 2007). In this it needs

to value 'popular architecture' as well as other more elite forms of modernisation (Holston 1991, 2008: Lara 2008). This latter form of social architecture will need to be much more the focus in countries like Mozambique and Angola – which also need to develop an endogenous critical awareness.

The future of cities is increasingly in the South as urbanisation grows globally – yet many 'South Cities' exist in situations of relative or absolute poverty. As such, the nature of urbanism and architectural activity in this context has to go beyond stylistic avant-gardism to engage with wider social modernisation, overcoming some of the conflicts inherent in previous manifestations. It cannot therefore assume the 'top-down' solutions of the previous Modern Movement but needs to engage with 'bottom-up' alternatives in 'emergent city' form and the 'home space' that dominates this – which are predominantly determined by wider social action. The role for architecture as a social art in such urban spaces is both a unique challenge and opportunity.

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"Urban Transformations in the River Plate Estuary: Modernism and Challenges of Globalisation" by Dr. Soledad Garcia (Edinburgh College of Art)

Edificio Lapido Montevideo - (Architects Aubriot y Valabrega 1930)

Theoretical framework

This study is structured around a theoretical framework, which is grounded on the understanding that urban development is a socio-spatial process. The changes generated by globalisation in the past thirty years have influenced the emergence of social, political and economic processes, which have affected all aspects of urban life. However changes differ in each region. Whereas global forces have an effect on urban transformations across the globe, these forces are mediated by local political, geographical, social and organisational histories.

The approach is therefore institutionalist and based on a dual interpretation of institutions as both 'organizations' and 'mental models' (Jenkins & Smith, 2001). This leads to the study of different types of relation between 'structures' and 'actions' such as, for the allocation of resources, the constitution of norms and policies and the definition of ideological frameworks.

Giddens's theory of structuration (1984) identifies three types of relation through which specific actions are shaped by structuring forces and through which structuring forces are themselves produced (Healey, 2007:21). These are: **allocative structures** (the way in which material resources are allocated); **authoritative structures** (the constitution of norms, values and regulatory procedures) and **systems of meaning** (frames of reference, ideologies, rationalities, discourses). A similar classification is made by Madanipour (1996) using simpler language: resources, rules and ideas.

To the institutional approach this framework adds a new political economy perspective, looking not only at how politics and economics influence each other, but also at how these are mediated by social (and cultural) institutions, and how the relations between all three of these structures evolve historically (Smith & Garcia Ferrari, 2010 forthcoming). The objective is to identify how the characteristics of institutions and their relations in given societies generate the concept of 'institutional thickness' (Amin & Thrift, 1995), which includes relational stability and an 'archive of commonly held knowledge', which affect and drive change.

This study focuses on recent changes in the River Plate region influenced by globalisation and reflects on political and economic changes during the 20th century as modernist ideas shaped urban development in the region.

River Plate region - history

Latin America has developed since colonisation around port cities. The role of each centre expressed the political and geographical possibilities of each location in the area of conquest, generating administrative, religious, commercial or military centres. The River Plate region had potential for control over the southern navigation of the Spanish empire and for the development of fertile natural prairies.

In the River Plate region The City of the Santisima Trinidad and Puerto del Buen Aire was

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by Dr. Soledad Garcia** (Edinburgh College of Art)

Puerto Madero Development Buenos Aires

founded in 1580 and the City of San Felipe y Santiago de Montevideo was founded as a military fortification in 1724 by the Spanish governor of Buenos Aires. In early 19th century independence was promulgated in both countries and Buenos Aires and Montevideo cities began to expand. In both countries' development, the role of the state was very significant: it founded new cities, defended the territory, provided land, legitimised commercial activities and established the first educational centres. On the contrary, in the British colonies of North America these actions were the product of private and communitarian initiatives (Caetano & Rila, 2002).

The turn of the century shows the opportunity for economic growth with the opening of European market after the First World War due to the need for food combined with the development of the meat refrigerating industry. In this context both states saw opportunity for the implementation of new political and social ideas and the emerging liberal state aimed to affirm private property, stimulate industrial development and urban concentration and to consolidate the role of the region in a worldwide context (Barran & Nahum, 1967).

In this cultral context Le Corbusier's visit to the River Plate in 1929 generated applauses and enthusiastic adhesions among teachers, students and young practitioners in architecture. Whereas in Paris as well, as in many other European cities, modern architecture tended to be an idea linked to utopias, in Montevideo, modern architecture initiated significant transformations to the most characteristic areas of the city (Arana & Garabelli, 1991).

Between the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1970s the Uruguayan economy went to decline. The impossibility of generating a self-sufficient economic policy together with the marked technological gap with the developed world originated a long period of crisis. Growing external debt soon contributed to economic stagnation and increased social discontent. Following a series of state of emergencies declared by the president, and associated revolts in 1972 Congress declared a state of internal war and suspended constitutional guarantees. In 1973 military leaders with the support of America decided they had to take control of the country's political affairs and demanded the creation of a 'national security council' to oversee the administration (Caetano & Rila, 2002). The military government maintained intense political repression until 1984, when after the collapse of the military rule in Argentina, the armed forces agreed to hold elections and restore civilian government.

Globalisation in the past thirty years: trends and challenges

Castells's concept 'space of flows' and 'space of places e ntails the understanding that urban structures are the result of a dialectical tension between locally oriented organisations interacting with global mobility of goods, people and information (Castells, 1996).

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Plan Fenix development - Montevideo

Among the consequences of the emerging deregulation policies is the reduction of government expenditure on public and social welfare, which contributed to the creation of gentrified neighbourhoods and polarised areas (Garcia Ferrari, 2006). Deregulation and growing participation of external market forces in the creation of urban areas has influenced the emergence of places that might have few linkages with national economies and local traditions

Place competition is also a significant characteristic of recent global dynamics with the need for redefining city-images and regeneration of former spaces for production to 'emblematic' landscapes for consumption (Barke & Harrop, 1994).

In the River Plate region democracy was restored in the early 1980s and the need for implementing regulatory and structural changes to respond to economic trends at the global scale and facilitating foreign investment and financial transactions. In the1990s market forces was leading urban politics and development, which began to respond to the requirements of capital flow, generating the emergence o new areas of 'centrality' linked to transport networks (Muxi, 2004). The regeneration of urban areas repeating models of implementation in the North characterised this period. However the tendency has been of ignoring local characteristics and needs as well as the absence of local mechanisms and processes for implementation. As a result further segregation and social inequalities can be observed. Since the end of the 1980s the urban and architectural practices implemented in the River Plate area had different degree of success. Some have remained as unfinished attempts in the urban fabric of the 'american laboratory' (Fernandez, 1998).

Among the most significant trends affecting urban development in the area vary from theoretical and utopical proposal to concrete regeneration projects. The exploration of the concept of metapolis and multi-city linking both sides of the River Plate was part of the debate at the end of the 1980s. In this context large-scale infrastructure projects were proposed. Whereas this idea was supported by academic leaders and some local politicians, the proposal of a transnational fixed link was was not approved by the Argentinean government (Garcia Ferrari, 2006).

One of the changes in the urban fabric in the past thirty years has been the emergence of 'new centrality patterns'. The traditional city centre, location of most commercial and financial activities has experienced what could be identified as a 'new peripheral condition with increasing commercial and financial activities in former residential areas. In this context the regeneration of large-scale buildings unused has taken place (Sprechmann & Capandeguy, 1997). Occasionally creating 'cathedrals for consumption' dissociated from the immediate urban context (Muxi, 2004).

"Urban Transformations in the River Plate Estuary: Modernism and Challenges of Globalisation"
by Dr. Soledad Garcia (Edinburgh College of Art)

Another example of regeneration strategies is the restructuring of large portions of urban landscape for new uses. Areas formerly linked to port activities have been the objective for regeneration plans on both sides of the River Plate. Whereas Puerto Madero area can be seen as a successful experience in economic terms, a similar project, Plan Fenix in Montevideo failed. Both projects show the need for establishing complex interactions among organizations and people, however the design of platforms for these interactions is not always found. The national government remains as a key actor in development processes in the area (Garcia Ferrari, 2006).

Preliminary conclusions

The study shows that in both cities socio-spatial segregation can be identified. There tends to be a lack of control of private investment in development on both sides of the River Plate, resulting on an unequal urban growth with increased levels of social polarisation and discrimination. Particular spatial division is observed between coastal and central areas. This social heterogeneity resulted in different forms of land use, settlement patterns and cultural values. Spontaneous forms of land occupation can be identified, contributing to the consolidation of these areas and to the generation of infrastructure, health and educational demands.

The absence of consistency on urban approaches is also affecting this area on a regional and even transnational level, with no clear interest for a regional approach to urban development.

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"Big cities, little narratives: Jakarta and the unbounded city"
by Dr. Stephen Cairns (University of Edinburgh)

Desa-kota landscape, Jakarta

Summary

The rapid expansion of Jakarta beyond municipal and even provincial jurisdictional boundaries has seen it acquire a new name – Jabotabek (composed of the first two letters of pre-existing municipalities, Jakarta, Bogor, Tanggerang, etc.).

This was subsequently extended to become Jabodetabek, and as urban and quasi-urban developments have begun to absorb the hill towns of Puncak and Cinanjur to the Southeast of Jakarta, it was extended further still to become Jabodetabekpunjur. All of this dramatically confirms Saskia Sassen's observation that extended metropolitan regions are usually nameless entities (Sassen 2001).

The terrain of the extended metropolitan region of Jakarta includes the so-called desa-kota (rural-urban) zones that result from the interpenetration of wet-rice agricultural landscapes and urban, quasi-urban, suburban and rural settlement patterns, and highly urbanised central business districts served by toll roads and international standard infrastructures.

The settlement patterns of Jakarta's extended metropolitan region are characterized by a unique combination of land uses and infrastructures – rice agriculture, traditional villages, gated suburbs, cottage industries, malls, golf courses, industrial complexes, freeways, tower blocks. These extended urban landscapes are visually, morphologically, and functionally more complex and fluid than even the most dispersed of western cities.

The 'Cultures of Urban Legibility' project (Stephen Cairns, William Mackaness, Ray Lucas, Vlad Tanasescu, and funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council) seeks to document the emerging urban landscapes of Jakarta and examine their consequences for urban thinking more generally.

"Modernist Built Heritage and Contemporary Challenges in West and South Africa" by Dr. Ola Uduku (ECA)

'FESTAC' Housing, (completed 1977) Lagos, Nigeria

Summary

The paper attempted a comparative overview of modernist movement Architecture and its development in English speaking West and South Africa. It suggested that countries in both regions that had once been British dependencies tended to have similar histories of Modernist movement influence and adoption, with key architects from the movement being often involved in projects that were cross-regional and intercontinental in influence. Modernism included both the architecture and also the planning movements that succeeded the British colonial architecture that was that had been the norm in the former British Empire.

Key architects cited here were the husband and wife partnership; Max Lock and Jane Drew, who began their joint, post-war career designing modern schools for the newly emerging Ghanaian republic. They then went on to work with Le Corbusier in Chandigarh. Also Max Lock who proposed a radically modern plan for the former colonial capital of northern Nigeria, Kaduna, and went on to have a successful career as a planning consultant in countries as diverse as Iraq (Basra plan) and

India. The South African comparison would be the network of Modernist-European-influenced or trained architects including Rex Martienssen and Ernst May who had attended the Architectural Association in London or been part of the Bauhaus movement respectively. Many of the group, had either worked or went on to work in other parts of Southern or Eastern Africa; Ernst May for example had worked in Kenya and Uganda.

The historical differences between the South and West became most delineated with the introduction of the Nationalist Party into South African politics and the rise of the Apartheid regime which proposed separate, but "equal" social infrastructure and residences for its citizens. The initial 'native townships' as planned by J. Calderwood, and the South African Department of "Native" Housing, were modern in outlook, and conceived to be self contained dormitory neighbourhoods – with no local work – but good access to the South African highway and often railway networks to the "European" areas where work could be got. In parallel to the stripped down social dormitory towns such as Soweto near Johannesburg and Langa in Cape Town, were different interpretations of 'modern' suburbs in the European parts of the city, often modelled on the US suburb, as South Africa's diamond and Gold economy became increasingly international in its dealings with considerable investment from the USA.

The example of 'Pinelands' in Cape Town, which was essentially built as a company town for the insurance giant, Old Mutual, as a 'garden city' was given. Of interest was its geographic proximity to the Black 'native' township of Langa, and its physical separation from these different racialised suburbs through the elaborate highway and railway systems. Also unlike non-European townships, Pinelands did have its own local economy with a small busi-

"Modernist Built Heritage and Contemporary Challenges in West and South Africa"
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Modern Juxtaposed with 'Historic' downtown Johannesburg, South Africa

ness network that served its local population. It suggested that once Apartheid had been abandoned, and cities such as Lagos had attained global prominence, the new urban world order affected the modernist urbanism at a global level. There were however both specific and generic issues which Modernist Architecture and planning had to deal with in the 'South', or more specifically to South and West Africa.

The main generic issues were:

A: An inherited 'colonial' past planning structure that remained in place, and was often in contravention to local cultural conventions.

B: Restricted access to land, due in both regions to controversy over land ownership and claims, to previous claims to title or continuing disputes which had historic legal backing.

C: The tension between 'conservation' and development needs. As in other "Southern"

nations there is pressure to develop, expand or demolish historic urban landscapes to give way for new development infrastructure such as school buildings, or low cost housing.

Whilst the specific issues were:

A: Political differences – despite having had similar periods of initial 'colonisation' the evolution of the post 1948-Apartheid regime in S.Africa was in total contrast to the emergent post 1958 "self ruling" nations in West Africa. This directly influenced, and continues to obliquely influence urban and housing policy in each region.

B: In connection with the specific political differences, policies towards ensuring urban development in poorer areas were contrastingly laissez-faire in West Africa, and severely structured in South Africa. West Africa, due to its specific, less settler driven colonial past, had enjoyed an organic growth which had generally ignored the "European" planning and structure of housing and settlements for the poor. The activities of the post–war National Party government in South Africa had ensured that the 'Native' townships had a structured development plan which only relatively recently from the 1980s has become challenged with the development of shanty towns.

C: Finally, In South Africa there was a significant amount of international migration from elsewhere in Africa and further across the world. In contrast West Africa's migration pattern remains mainly intra regional. In terms of new (post- modernist) urban design agendas, this focus change is significant as both the growth of international migrants and more importantly the socio-cultural 'baggage' which come with groups need to be contextualised in new urban design agendas. This can be a particular challenge in South Africa where cultural differences are greater and the structural formality of the 'apartheid' planning system

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has been rapidly eroded by emergent laissez faire urban development. In contrast, in West Africa, most migrants are internal to the region, thus urban design agendas have been less affected by migration, although local ethnic and sectarian issues occasionally have influenced passed and recent urban design agendas.

As a conclusion, the paper argued that conservation in much of Africa was conceived of differently than it was in the West. The pressing generic issues of housing need, infrastructure use and aspirations for, and value of, the 'new' over the 'preserved' provided a different relationship between the public and officials and the built environment.

Furthermore Africa has not been isolated from the relatively "new urbanist" movement trends towards the construction of gated communities, and post-modern down-town malls.

The most successful conservation efforts have been those that have involved local communities, who see the need to conserve and preserve the buildings/urban landscape, as it has both an economic and often socio-cultural benefit to their lives. The example of the Tema New Town harbour and also the Bolgatanga Library were presented as case studies to support this thesis.

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"Sexuality, Modernism, and Architecture: the case of Brazil"
by Dr. Richard Williams (University of Edinburgh)

1. Introduction to sexuality and space

Argument:
This paper – which is very much work in progress – is about the intersection between two discourses during the twentieth century, namely the discourse of architecture and the discourse of sexuality.

Sexuality should really be described as sexualities - as it involves overlapping conversations in psychology, psychiatry, medicine, sociology and politics. But it is coherent enough for Foucault to write a history of it in 1976; see also Weeks; and Beatriz Colomina (1992)

Key research question: if sexuality had become the defining discourse of the west during the twentieth century, the principal preoccupation of that culture whether expressed in terms of the desire to repress, regulate or liberate, then where is architecture? How does architecture relate to it? This is, as we shall see, not the same as wondering about the relation between sexuality and dentistry, or sexuality and railway modelling – architecture and sexuality it seems to me are fundamentally related, simply because architecture by and large frames our sexual lives, contains them and defines them and supplies images of them. This simple fact is acknowledged by all the key figures in the history of sexuality whose work is often as much a history of architectural (and para- or sub- architectural spaces) as it is of human bodies in relation with one another. Freud's writings on sexuality re as much histories of the social mores of late nineteenth century middle-class Vienna as they are about anything universal.

Key problem: if the theorists of sexuality are as much preoccupied with spaces, they are rarely terribly precise about those spaces. The spaces remain abstractions or generalisations. Precisely what these spaces are, who inhabits them, and what they are doing to each other often remains obscure. The spaces are there but remains subservient to sex, or the argument about sex. And from the other side, architecture, sex can be equally obscure. Why is it (again with a few notable exceptions) that in such a liberal, well-rounded and sociable discipline as architecture, sexuality remains so coy? Why (as we all intuitively know) do bodies present such difficulties for architects? Where is the conversation about sex in relation to buildings that so obviously flourishes elsewhere?

What I want to do here is sketch out a possible history of the intersection of the two discourses. It's an academic discussion in the first instance but part of the project might have design implications – I wonder if, for example, a better acknowledgement of the place of sexuality in relation to architecture might produce better public spaces.

2. Brazil as case study - Le Corbusier in 1929

The particular case I want to look at is Brazil in the mid-20th c - partly because I know about it, partly because it is so clear in its engagement with the erotic. It comes to represent an erotic paradise for western architects – and its indigenous, erotically charged architecture in turn informs practice elsewhere.

What I will show are three phases of Brazil, from Le Corbusier's visits to the country in 1929 and 1936, to Oscar Niemeyer's production of an erotically charged architecture in the 1940s and 1950s, to developments in public space in the 1960s and 1970s, again charged with an eroticism whose openness is unusual. In terms of theory, Freud and later Marcuse were well understood in Brazil, but in some ways more important than either was the work of a sociologist from Recife in the northeastern state of Pernambuco, Gilberto Freyre.

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Freyre: a prolific writer, who was on good terms with the architectural elite including Niemeyer, described a radical version of Brazil's past in which the country's colonial period – although backward in almost every aspect of its social and political life – nevertheless contained an embryonic racial and sexual democracy in which fluid, polygamous and interracial relations were regarded positively. This was in part a fantasy, but it strongly informs the belief system of modern Brazil as a nation uniquely at ease with its sexuality. *Casa Grande e Senzala* (1929 – *Masters and the Slaves*)

Freyre was active in the 1920s, and a powerful influence on the intellectual elite. Le Corbusier no doubt picked up on some of this in his visits to Brazil in 1929 and 1936. His 1929 visit, during which he lectured at the School of Fine Arts, and sketched out a plan for a serpentine megastructure to replace most of Rio. But in 1929, mostly he spent his time on the beach. Kenneth Frampton wrote of the first visit in particular as a 'personal epiphany' for the architect, and (later) probably the happiest time of his life.[1] It also seems to have been an erotic epiphany, as Le Corbusier seems to have enjoyed a 'close relationship' (as Frampton coyly puts it) with the African-American jazz singer, Josephine Baker, whom who met en voyage to Rio, and who is the subject of a number of drawings. The architect sketched incessantly during both of these early visits. Architecture in fact makes up only small fraction of his output, which mostly concerns the natural landscape of Rio, and its pneumatic female inhabitants.

(Image of Josephine Baker): This is a piece of ephemera, but seen through an erotic lens, a highly significant image. It is a small sketch done in coloured crayon on a card from the steamer *Lutetia* on board which Le Corbusier sailed with Josephine Baker from Buenos Aires, northwards to Brazil. The text on the card (in French) concerns the formation of a club

on board to organise games and other entertainments. Le Corbusier inverts the card so the text reads upside-down, and draws himself and Baker on, or close to beach at Flamengo, a well-to-do southern suburb of Rio, located between the commercial centre of the city and Copacabana – the architect stayed at the recently-built Hotel Glória, and, it is recorded, swam at least once off the beach outside the hotel (there is a photograph of the architect standing by the sea wall overlooking the beach, dressed in one of the hotel's dressing gowns). His drawing places himself and Baker on the right hand side of the image. Dressed in a white suit he stands close behind her. She's dressed in a sleeveless green dress, her chin lifted slightly, her eyes apparently closed as if in ecstasy at the beauty of the situation. In the background the great priapic form of the Sugar Loaf rises, an indicator, perhaps, of the architect's state of mind.

The sketch relates closely to a series of slightly later erotic sketches of *mulatas*, mostly unclothed, in which Le Corbusier is clearly fascinated by a different, and highly exotic female form.

1942 image: Sugar Loaf progressively recuperated as image. In the first, a series of lines delineates the mountain, the beach around towards Flamengo and the sea; the second adds a palm tree on the left hand side of the image, rendering it picturesque; the third places a man in a comfortable chair before the scene; the fourth image finally domesticates it entirely, placing a frame around the scene. Suddenly everything is clear: the modernist house is a frame for the view; the window, as Beatriz Colomina puts it, in her commentary on these images, 'is a gigantic screen.'[2] The architect makes clear that the relationship between the house and the view is a new and unconventional one. The house is not *in* the view, but a means of possessing the view. Nature is now a

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part of the 'lease' as Le Corbusier puts it, 'the pact with nature has been sealed.'

Key point: nature's forms and the forms of the mulatas (and Josephine Baker) were inseparable, and his architectural responses to the scene in Rio de Janeiro were about preserving the erotics of the site as far as possible. So the megastructure that insinuates its way between the port and Copacabana is first and foremost a means of representing the erotic experience of nature. Its sinuous form simultaneously represents the geography of the city's coastline and the bodies of its female inhabitants.

3. Brazil: Niemeyer's architecture

Key idea: same thing – nature is erotic – central to Niemeyer's work. Curves. Daring experiments in private houses, not just with forms that are supposed to represent the erotic, but experimentation with new forms of living, pulling out what were previously private functions – for example sleeping or cooking – and making them central to the life of the house, rather than hiding them away. For Niemeyer, the private house is, inevitably, a way to try out a variety of new spaces to frame leisure and pleasure. The most celebrated example is the architect's own Casa das Canoas (1952). For Lauro Cavalcanti, this is nothing less than 'one of the most beautiful modern houses in the world.'

Cavalcanti describes building in erotoc terms: an extraordinary site, high up above the city in the *mata atlântica*, surrounded by nature by with views of the surrounding mountains and sea; a building that plays, constantly, with ideas of public and private space, collapsing one into the other; a house that stages and spectacularises the body, providing a grand terrace on which guests can see each other and be seen to the best effect; role of

swimming pool above all – the house emerges from pool.

4. Brazil: The Apartment House

Key point: Exhibitionism in Brazilian apartment buildings

Àlvaro Vital Brazil, Edificio Esther (1934-6). Praça Repbulica in São Paulo; its immediate environment in 1936 was a classic piece of late nineteenth century urbanism, a collection of buildings in mostly second Empire style and a lush public park; a piece of bourgeois European urbanism par excellence. Vital Brazil's block is a radical departure, being a slab of twelve storeys with extensive use of glass, a roof terrace for all the residents, visible from below, and a highly mobile façade, dominated by movable *brises-soleils*.

Exhibitionism. Where the traditional residence places great store by the separation of private and public, its façade designed to repel the gaze from within, the Edifíco Esther makes the façade into an ambiguous thing, half-glass, half-blind, constantly on the move, an architectural striptease simultaneously revealing and concealing its inhabitants. This might be implausible if it weren't for the lengths to which Vital Brazil went to put leisure on display. On the most public part of the building, overlooking one of São Paulo's grandest squares he puts balconies and the roof terrace, and imagines specifically that residents will sunbathe, activity condoned by Modernists, but even in 1936 Brazil regarded with some suspicion. Finally, there are the twin staircases at the sides of the building, elegant spiral stairs, internal spaces openly on display through the glass. By contrast with the nineteenth century apartment block, a model of erotic propriety, the Edifício Esther works hard to put its residents on display.

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Niemeyer, Edificio Copan, 1953 similar: the repeated, sinuous *brises-soleil* has the effect of both revealing and concealing the interior, setting up a teasing relationship with the pass-erby: you can almost, but not quite, see in, yet the drama of the façade invites the gaze. In fact the surface treatment is all there is. The curves in Niemeyer's personal iconography have erotic connotations, as we have already seen. But perhaps more important, especially in the case of the Copan, is the imagination of the building as a more than simply housing, but a leisure complex. Located a few hundred metres from the old commercial centre of São Paulo, the Copan contains a sizeable array of restaurants, bars, cinemas and shops, in which one may (theoretically) lose oneself in a frenzy of consumption. It's a profoundly individual-istic place, designed to service the 2000 or so flats, all small, all built as pieds-a-terre for single adults. The building is clearly imagined as something like a giant singles bar.

5. Brazil: Public Space

Key site – the beach

The modern beach embodies something of the mythology of first contact: it is a place where convention is (conventionally) abandoned, and where new erotic possibilities open up. The symbolic centrality of the beach in Brazilian cities marks a significant differences between the western European, or North American un-derstanding of the beach. For them, Europe-ans, the beach is typically a place of periodic escape and disengagement *from* the city; for Brazilians, the beach is integral to it. The con-temporary Brazilian novelist Ruy Castro pro-vides an up-to-date commentary on the place of the beach in the Brazilian city. Europeans and North Americans, he observes:
"take a trip to the beach as if they were going to a hotel in the mountains or another country.

In Rio people just go to the beach, like go-ing to the cinema, the shops or the bank – be-cause it's there 24 hours a day, all year round, and with an entire city round it, all its services fully available. (….) it's a whole culture. You go to the beach to read the paper, meet friends, play foot-volleyball, get to know people, get the latest gossip, and even, sometimes, to talk business. It's a space as natural as a town square, a restaurant or an office."[3]

Eroticism of the beaches: Zweig, writing in the late 1930s, the beach is the place where where dress codes relax, a place 'devoted ex-clusively to luxury and sport, to the enjoyment of body and eye.'[4] For contemporary commen-tators like Castro, the eroticism of the beach has come to subsume everything else. Copa-cabana (along with its prolongation, Ipanema) is the only place in a metropolitan city[5] where it is entirely acceptable to enter an expensive restaurant almost naked, in 'bathing costume, no shirt, in sandals or barefoot, with the ves-tiges of the Atlantic ocean still on their bodies (…) Cariocas' familiarity with their own bodies must have no parallel in any other metropoli-tan city.' Castro goes on to describe the casual eroticism of the beach: carioca women weav-ing their way in bikinis way through crowds of men on their way to the office, the constant and all-pervasive ogling of bodies, a system of visual pleasure (an 'art form' in Castro's words) in which both the one doing the looking, and the recipient of the gaze are both knowing participants.[6] Eroticised social life.

Cidade de Sexo:
interactive museum designed by a young Bra-zilian architect, Igor de Vetyemy. Vetyemy's idea, originally a student project, but floated as a serious proposition with backing from (amongst others) the visionary British architect Nigel Coates. (Fig.) It was a minor controversy in the summer of 2006.[7] Judging by the plans on the architect's website, it would stretch out

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on stilts right across the Avenida Atlântica, almost as far as the beach, while the rear part would reach almost as far as the precipitous green hillside behind, the 500m width, as it of the entire *bairro*. Vetyemy imagined it explicitly as a means of connecting the mountains with the beach.[8] The location was the eastern side of the Avenida Princesa Isabel, a wide avenue with six lanes perpendicular to the beach. The location of Copacabana's tallest building, the five star *Meridien*, and adjoining the quiet neighbourhood of Leme, it is also a heavily trafficked zone of prostitution. The building's forms are hard to describe: in newspaper reports, it was variously a giant phallus, or a uterus. The entrance, a double tent halfway along Princesa Isabel suggested breasts with well-defined nipples. The two great forms overhanging the Avenida Atlântica began as phalluses - but their positioning, one form crouched and leaning over another, combined with the placement of the stilts, read as intercourse a tergo, the position famously described by Sigmund Freud in his account of the primal scene.[9] The building would be formed from a steel frame, clad in white PVC panels. The cost, Vetyemey thought, would be in the region of R$260 million (US$160 million).

In summary, all of its forms alluded to sexual organs or sexual behaviour, without being absolutely explicit. As regards the contents, Vetyemy imagined a series of educational exhibits, but also a shop, a health centre, a strip club, a space for swingers, and a 'capsule' (in one image, located far away from the beach among the greenery) in which new sexual possibilities could be explored. Vetyemy stated in interview that the project was an attempt to deal with Rio's 'huge hypocrisy' regarding sex. People were 'terrified of talking about the idea, and only really discuss the negative things related to sex, like sexual tourism or child prostitution. I wanted to deal with it in a natural, official way.'[10] Official responses were likely to be unfavourable: the same report noted the mayor of the time, Rosinha Matheus, had recently banned the sale of postcards of naked women as part of a more general set of policies to rid Rio of its sex tourism.[11]

Summary – latest episode in architectural history that is unusually frank about sexuality

NOTES

1 Frampton, K., *Le Corbusier* (London, 2001) p. 106-7, 115.

2 Colomina, B. (ed.), *Sexuality and Space* (Princeton, 1992), p. 119.

3 Castro, *Rio de Janeiro: Carnival Under Fire*, trans. by John Gledson (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), p. 56-7. (First published as Carnaval no Fogo in 2003).

4 Zweig, *Brazil*, p. 186.

5 Castro, *Rio de Janeiro* (2004), *op. cit.*, p. 212.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 120, 134.

7 For an account of the controversy, see Phillips, T., "Sex Museum Sparks Rio Row'", *Guardian* (20 July 2006) accessed online http://arts.guardian.co.uk/news/story/0,,1824812,00.html.

8 http://www.cidadedosexo.arq.br/projeto.html.

9 See Freud, S., "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis", in *The Penguin Freud Library,* Vol. 9: *Case Histories II* (London: Penguin, 1979) pp. 269-9.

10 http://arts.guardian.co.uk/news/story/0,,1824812,00.html.

11 http://arts.guardian.co.uk/news/story/0,,1824812,00.html.

"Metropolitan Brasilia: metropolitan aspects of the capital and the Brazilian city in general" by Prof. Frederico de Holanda

Abstract

The key aspects of Brasilia depicted in this paper, as a metropolis of more than 2.5 million people, are: fragmentation, densities, dispersion, eccentricity, accessibility x jobs x inhabitants, sociospatial segregation, recent trends. It is shown how Brasilia presents extreme situations *vis-à-vis* other Brazilian cities.

Brasilia mimics, in extreme version, one of the most typical features of the Brazilian city in general, namely its *fragmentation*. A patchwork-like urban tissue, a *collage* of bits of diverse morphological patterns, makes it difficult to apprehend the urban scene as a whole, let alone move about among its various parts. This is quantifiable by the "integration measure" from Space Syntax Theory, called here *accessibility*. This is an attribute that began to show since the very city's inception: it did not occur along the process of growth from a compact nucleous, as in other Brazilian cities – the first satellite city of Taguatinga (1958) was inaugurated *before* the Pilot Plan (1960), the future core of the metropolis.

Demographic urban *density* in the Brazilian capital is the lowest among its fellow cities in Brazil, bringing Brasilia close to the reality of North American cities. Within the borders of the Federal District, densities vary a lot, from circa 5inhab./ha as the lowest figure to about 300inhab./ha as its highest, the average being approximately 23inhab./ha.

Contradicting all other Brazilian state capitals, highest densities are in the periphery, not around the metropolitan core. This is captured by the measure of *dispersion*. According to the study of a sample of cities all over the world, Brasilia is the most dispersed city in Brazil and the second most dispersed city in the globe.

In Brasilia, the *functional centre*, the *demographic centre* and the *morphological centre* are not close to each other, as this tends to be the case in other cities (the example of São Paulo is shown). The functional centre (traditionally, the "CBD") is located in the Pilot Plan's centre and concentrates more than 80% of the formal jobs of the city. However, the demographic centre, say, the metropolitan "centre of mass", locates 11.8km away from here. In turn, the morphological centre, i.e. the city's most accessible area, is far away from both. This is anomalous situation involves longer distances to travel among houses and jobs and services in people's daily lives. It is characterized quantitatively by means of the low correlations between the number of inhabitants, jobs and accessibility of the Federal District's Administrative Regions. Accordingly, it impacts negatively transportation costs, the highest in the country.

Sociospatial segregation studies have demonstrated how localization of income layers are strongly correlated with housing typologies. They reveal how the *social utopia* of the residential superblocks has not materialized. It was rather a *myth*. Gentrification of the Pilot Plan's most typical residential areas is continuously in course.

Recent trends can be summarized in three topics: peripheral high-rise buildings, repetition of superblocks outside its original context (the Pilot Plan), gated communities. The experience of Águas Claras, a 1990's satellite city of residential tower blocks had promised a new developmental pattern aiming at increasing densities and bringing down transportation costs, for being a linear city located along a metro line. Unfortunately it is a failure. Original configuration has been changed and the result is a number of cars in the streets high above what the street system can support. The metro line that has been implemented, independent of a desirable restructuring of land use patterns, has resulted in overcrowded trains in peak hours, almost preventing inhabitants of Águas Claras from using them.
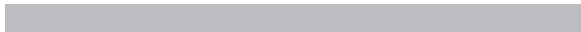
"Metropolitan Brasilia: metropolitan aspects of the capital and the Brazilian city in general"
by Prof. Frederico de Holanda

The Pilot Plan's superblocks are considered a "success" that should be endlessly repeated. Wrong. Notwithstanding their undeniable landscape and aesthetic quality, their reproduction outside their original niche and the implied aspects of social stratification (i.e. continuous gentrification), have perverse imagetic consequences: they weaken the otherwise strong image of the Pilot Plan, obtained by a unique housing typology. What was supposed to characterize the Capital's image *par excellence* now springs up everywhere.

Gated communities in the form of residential single-family units in closed condominiums are the most pervasive pattern of urban expansion in the more peripheral areas of the Federal District. With it, comes along a final blow on the quality and livability of public space. Residual public areas constitute a deserted landscape in-between endless fences and guarded entrances.

Concluding remarks

The metropolis of Brasilia has attributes of a Brazilian city and at the same time tends to extremes in many variables; main problems concern *diseconomies of dispersion*; at a local level, most qualities concentrate in the Pilot Plan, most problems in the periphery; some problems constitute some of its greatest assets: there is still plenty of space for an *urbanism of additions* in order to enhance an *urban landscape*; still, present urbanistic policies do not point to a more democratic space – on the contrary: gentrification is the rule in the more central bits.

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- Bringing the significance of the architecture of the modern movement to the attention of the public, the public authorities, the professionals and the educational community.
- Identifying and promoting the surveying of the modern movement's works.
- Fostering and disseminating the development of appropriate techniques and methods of conservation.
- Opposing destruction and disfigurement of significant works.
- Gathering funds for documentation and conservation.
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- Identifier et promouvoir l'ensemble des oeuvres du mouvement moderne.
- Aider au développement et à la dissémination des techniques et des méthodes de conservation.
- S'opposer à la destruction et à la défiguration des oeuvres architecturales importantes.
- Collecter des fonds pour la documentation et la conservation.
- Explorer et développer la connaissance du mouvement moderne.

Docomomo International se propose également de développer ses activités vers de nouveaux territoires, d'établir de nouveaux partenariats avec des institutions et des organisations actives dans le domaine de l'architecture moderne, de compléter et de publier l'inventaire international et d'élargir ses actions dans le cadre de la recherche, de la documentation et de l'éducation.