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Elements of the post-functionalist Urbanism

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A detailed theory of urban culture would have to take into account three different discursive perspectives. It would have to combine them so that they constitute an integral whole.

I

Such an integral approach to city culture has first of all to refer to *urbanism* in the strict sense of that word, which is to architecture, to city planning, to the layout of streets, parks, and squares, to the design of the seats of bus stations, railway or subway stations. Urbanism in this sense originated in the 19th century. The Spanish architect and civil engineer Ildefonso Cerdá was its inaugurator. Cerdá developed masterplans for the extension of the cities of Barcelona and Madrid and offered in his *Teoría general de la urbanización* (1867) the theoretical foundation of urbanism as a distinct discipline.¹

Anticipating my discussion of functionalism it is worth taking notice that Cerdá introduced theoretical topics that subsequently had a strong impact. His approach is characterized through a broad multi-layeredness. Cerdá dealt with the *origin* of the city, arguing that both, the need for shelter in the individual house and the need for social interaction are the anthropological roots of human urban settlements.² In Cerdá's view, urbanism has the office to recognize the living conditions of the *disadvantaged classes* and try to improve them. Especially working class people had to suffer severely from the capitalist industrialization.³ When Cerdá presented his plan for the extension of Barcelona he added a statistical *Monograph of the Barcelonian Working Class in 1856*. How disastrous the situation was comes to the fore if one realizes that the expectation of life was extremely low. In 1854 it amounted only 24.82 years (infantile mortality included) respectively 43.76 years (infantile mortality excluded). A child from the 'rich class' would expect 38.83 years whereas a child of the working class population would hope for 19.68 years only.⁴

Eventually, Cerdá claimed that urbanism should rely on *two tools* for *city planning* that were completely new at that time. First of all, *the mobility of people* and goods was an issue that has to be studied carefully and that should have strong impact on any kind of future city planning. Secondly, the conception of *interways* has to be mentioned which Cerdá has called the "primary element of a city".⁵ Interways were the spaces between the rows of buildings (Cerdá preferred the iron grid for the city layout), so to speak the 'inside' spaces of the blocs. They need special attention on the part of the urban designer,

since these interways could be gardened or could become a park with footways or a playground for children. An interway is a "small world, a small urb or elementary urb".⁶

In sum, Cerdá started from the conviction that urbanism is based on five fundamentals. Urbanism relies on and gives shape to the infrastructure of a city, its streets, and squares (technical base). In processes of city planning the city government plays a role by issuing rules for participation of the people in the process of planning as well as ordinances concerning the form of the buildings (administrative base of urbanization). Processes of urban renewal always are embedded in broader political struggles between the conservatives and traditionalists on one hand and the revolutionary forces on the other (political base). Urbanization requires sound financial reliabilities. Who pays for the renewal of streets and squares (economic base)? In reforming the center of a city or other parts one has to clarify the rights of the individual proprietor of a given lot and balance them against the common weal (legal base).

II

I have already mentioned that a theory of the integral city culture would have to take into account along with urbanism the *social science* approach to city life. Friedrich Engels' famous *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (1845), ranks according to Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout "as one of the earliest masterpieces of urban sociology".⁷ Engels described the miserable living circumstances of working class people in Manchester. The genealogy of urban sociology leads from Engels to Max Weber's *The City* (1905) and Georg Simmel's essay *The Great City and Mental Life* (1903) and up to the Chicago School of Urban Studies.

The European city was according to Max Weber "a place where the ascent from bondage to freedom was possible by means of money acquisition".⁸ Simmel on his part characterized the mentality of the urbanites as 'reserved' in emotional and moral aspect and as 'blasé attitude' with regards to things and occurrences. Both these dispositions are necessary in order to survive in the bombardment of sensations and sensual stimuli and in order to keep an 'ethics of the individual law' alive. Then the Chicago School of Urban Studies has to be mentioned, whose founder was Robert E. Park. Park's master pupil, Louis Wirth, published 1938 his celebrated essay *Urbanism as a Way of Life* wherein he argued that the enormous number of men and women in the metropolis leads to 'cosmopolitanism' and to 'a sense of toleration of difference'. The modern big city is composed of a 'mosaic of social worlds' which differs widely from each other. Toleration is required in order to live among people with a huge variety of worldviews.

In our times Saskia Sassen, Manuel Castells, and Mark Abrahamson among others have introduced the concept of the global city. This concept applies according to Sassen to New York, London, and Tokyo. Global cities are new centers of power and domination. Due to the allocation of advanced informational technology, finance and real estates capital, headquarters of multinational companies and highly evolved service industries global cities establish, steer and influence global economic markets. Formerly leading centers based on industrial production, such as Manchester and Liverpool in England, Pittsburgh and Detroit in the USA are losing power. In global cities we find a cosmopolitan functional elite as well as many poor people from the periphery ('developing countries'). These are permanently present as part of the global work force. The new centers of corporate power exercise their control upon regions that are far away. The consequences of globalization for the urban structure are gentrification,

displacements of the economically weaker strata of autochthons from the centers of the city as well as processes leading to ghetto forming.

III

The third discursive perspective concerned with city culture is the *aesthetic* one. Whereas Engels analyzed the living circumstances of the working class people in Manchester, did Charles Dickens describe them in novels such as *Hard Times* (1854). Dickens and Émile de Zola and many others introduced the city in literature,⁹ a genre reaching to, say Colson Whitehead's *The Colossus of New York* (2003). Charles Baudelaire has been the first poet introducing the city as subject of lyrics with his *Les Fleurs du Mal* (1857) which should become a major theme of Walter Benjamin's celebrated *Arcades Project*.

Then, of course, the city had often been the focal point of film and photography. We have to think of Eugène Atget (1857-1927) and Paris, Jacob A. Riis (1849-1914) and New York, Jacob Olie (1834-1905) and Amsterdam, later Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946) and New York, Heinrich Zille (1858-1929) and Berlin, to name only some of the early passionate city photographers. The film, surely belongs to those genres of art that are, so to speak, congenial to the mode how city dwellers are experiencing their urban surroundings. The quick succession of images, the unexpected cuts, montage, all these ingredients of films correspond to the urban experience: the surprising shift of scenes, the multiplicity of sensations and the dominance of the visual. The film has created a new institution for its reception, the cinema. Films are experienced, as Walter Benjamin underscored, by the collective not by the isolated individual.

IV

As already said, a complete theory of urban culture would have to synthesize these three different discursive perspectives. The built city of the architects and city planners, the city as place for social interaction and conflict (as explored by the social sciences) and the city as subject of the aesthetic experience only together and added to one another make for an integral image of urban life. This essay cannot develop such a project further. It has much more modest ambitions, namely discussing just a section of one of the perspectives, the post-functional urbanism. For that reason I am turning back to Cerdá.

V

It would be wrong to position the functionalism in urbanism, so as it has been given a powerful voice through Le Corbusier on the line of Cerdá. Between Le Corbusier and Cerdá there is Camillo Sitte's *The Art of Building Cities: City Building According to its Artistic Fundamentals* (1899) who is the target of Le Corbusier's polemic. Sitte according to Le Corbusier wants to return to the narrow streets of the Middle Ages. He misses to find adequate answers to the challenges of today. On the other hand, we find Ebenezer Howard's concept of the garden city which Le Corbusier, in a way, is picking up and incorporating into his own approach. Le Corbusier maintains Cerdá's social commitment as well as the latter's preference for the grid system. Le Corbusier, though, does not apply the grid to the garden city. Furthermore, Le Corbusier gives preference to traffic, that is railway and car traffic, in order to follow modern man's desire for movement. This is, of course, not completely alien to Cerdá.

Le Corbusier introduces, however, a scheme of city planning that remained unknown to Cerdá, namely the 'zoning'. Already Le Corbusier's presupposition that form follows function is definitely beyond Cerdá's horizon. Indeed, according to Le Corbusier urban design should have to follow basic social functions. From here it is inferred that these social functions (working, recreating, housing and moving about) should be made operational in forms related to specific 'zones' of the city. So we get (i) the business and residential center, (ii) the industrial city, (iii) the garden cities and (iv) transportation. This model has under the lead of Le Corbusier been written down in the "Charta of Athens" (1933) during a meeting of the CIAM. Herein a sharp division of the city in 'zones' is presupposed. To these 'zones' specific functions are coordinated and receive their peculiar form from them.

The strong influence that Le Corbusier and functionalist urbanism have had from the 1920's up to the 1960's or 1970's is understandable only if one keeps two points in mind. Firstly, as a politically minded architect Le Corbusier acted, as Manfredo Tafuri has shown, on a layered set of levels. On the "spot" Le Corbusier introduced new methods of using concrete and other materials along with new methods of fabrication. Provocatively arguing treatises (for instance his *A Contemporary City of Three Million People*" [1922] and *Urbanisme* [1925]) provided him an increasing audience. Audacious plans for the renewal of cities that were argued conceptually, e. g. the 'Obus-Plan' for Algier (1930), strengthened his authority as a progressive urban architect.

Secondly, Le Corbusier gave his ideas concerning functionalist urbanism a political influence through the CIAM (Congrès International d' Architecture Modern). The CIAM (founded in 1928) during the 1930's, 1940's through to 1950's organized international congresses wherein subjects such as the 'functional city' (1933) were discussed by progressive architects and city planners from all over the world. The CIAM was part and parcel of an avant-garde project in architecture. It contrived to link artistic sensibilities with socio-political and technological operations.¹⁰

VI

Since I have touched upon the issue of post-functionalist urbanism already elsewhere in different contexts¹¹ I concentrate in this essay on summarizing the criticism of functionalist urbanism systematically and give just keywords. Later in this essay I am adding, however, further elements of post-functionalist urbanism including the postcolonial urbanism.

The critique of functionalist urbanism pointed to the fact that functionalist urbanism presupposes a rigid division of the city in clearly cut 'zones'. It makes, however, much more sense to favor the overlapping and commingling of social functions in one and the same region. Instead of separating the functions they should, to a certain extent be mixed. A pluralism of functions in one region, a pluralism of uses of side-walks in order to create a vivid street culture are topics brought forward by Jane Jacobs in her influential book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961).

Another presupposition of Le Corbusier's functionalism was that all inhabitants of a city participate in the formal economy. This assumption is no longer realistic since many cities face the challenge of waves of immigrants. Immigrants, however, in the first time of stay in their 'new' surrounding often will find their income in the 'informal' sector of the city economy. A further problem that has not been foreseen by functionalist urbanism

concerns the ecological crisis. Cities have to set limits to their spatial expansion. Both immigration questions as well as ecological questions are best tackled through a method of planning that presupposes the 'parcel' ('Parzelle') as the basic unit of the city. A parcel according to James Hobrecht and Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm is that unit which comprises all ingredients of the city, though on a small scale.¹²

Le Corbusier thought of the urbanist in terms of a 'social engineer' who offers all over concepts for the whole city. Instead one should conceptualize the urban planner as 'bricoleur' who proposes interventions in smaller parts of the city. These parts have, however, to fit into the whole. The post-functionalist urban planner's work is comparable with the collage technique that consists in the ability to make sense of composing diverse elements in one work. The idea of the 'collage city' has been brought forward by Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter.¹³ Functionalist urbanism's main aim was to create buildings with housing space that was within the reach of poorer people say working class people. This aim was socially important and necessary. It led, however, to the neglect of the cultural dimension of city life. Looking back at ancient Roman rites of city founding offers a much richer prospect which can disclose broader horizons of urbanity, as Joseph Rykwert in his *The Idea of a Town* (1976/1989) has shown.

VII

In the following parts of my essay I would like to outline additional elements of the post-functionalist urbanism. Le Corbusier's city design can be labeled unitary since the city planner knows on his own and without any doubt what he or she has to do. The post-functionalist plan by contrast comes into existence in that divergent and conflicting interests are taken account of. Post-functionalist urbanism favors the recognition of the legitimate interests of the neighborhood and of diverse pressure groups. All of them should receive a voice in the procedures of city planning.

According to John Forester the city planner must be aware of conflicts between the divergent addressees of a renewal plan. The planners and developers can conceive of their position somewhere in-between the neighborhoods, the city government and vested interest groups as being neutral and just technical. But this would be superficial. The city planner has to bargain the different interests. He/she could follow the strategy of a 'shuttle diplomacy' mediating between the municipality and the different political parties of the city government and the neighborhoods and other vested interests.

Mediation may offer several opportunities, under conditions of interdependent power: a shift from adversarial to collaborative problem-solving; voluntary development controls and agreements; improved city-developer-neighborhood relationships enabling early and effective neighborhood voice; and joint gains... for the municipality, neighborhoods, and developers alike.¹⁴

John Forester applies Jürgen Habermas' *Theory of Communicative Action* (1984) to the process of city planning. He theorizes the process of planning from the internal viewpoint of the city planner as actor. There is another theory that parallels the process of city planning with the juridical sphere. Paul Davidoff is proposing to provide the different groups involved in the process of city planning with an advocacy in order to guarantee that the conflicting interests professionally come on the table. The divergent interests should be set at work during the phase of the formation of the plan. By doing so the *pluralist approach* of city planning is radicalized. Not only the established municipality but also the divergent groups whose interests are touched should receive a professional

voice. The accent is on professionalism. Solely the negotiation of the different interests leads to a democratic plan. The advantages are obvious. The city planners would be urged to take alternatives to their proposed plan seriously. The planning would be improved in that the public agency has to compete with other planning groups in order to win political support. Those who are critical to the proposals of the municipality are urged to come to terms. Otherwise their critique is unmasked as prejudicial.¹⁵ One side aspect of Davidoff's approach is to empower the poor and underprivileged. They usually don't play any role during processes of city development planning. Only by changing the rules of the game more democracy seems achievable.

Who guarantees the pluralism in city planning? Who installs the claimed advocacy? According to Davidoff the ideal solution would be if local political parties on their part provide different professional city development plans. But this option is not very realistic. Political parties in city governments usually don't like to lay their cards on the table. They believe that the margin of their negotiation is shrinking. The second best would be if special interest groups with established views engage in planning pluralism. One has to think of organizations such as the chamber of commerce, real estate boards, labor organizations, pro- and anti-civil rights groups, and anti-poverty councils. Here, too, one should not expect too much since these organizations also do not like to lay their cards on the table. Therefore a third possibility is reasonable. Ad hoc protest associations are more or less candidates for carrying out the pluralism in planning, since they are not satisfied with the planning of the establishment. They are in opposition to it and hence pluralism has a chance.

Davidoff does not put his hope on planning commissions because they lack a constituency. Therefore their responsibility is seldom challenged. "The new city planner" Davidoff underlines" will be concerned with physical planning, economic planning, and social planning".¹⁶

VIII

In order to round off those parts of my essay that refer explicitly to Le Corbusier and the CIAM and their "Charter of Athens" (1933) I am outlining Allan Jacobs' and Donald Appleyard' s *Toward an Urban Design Manifesto* (1987).¹⁷ Jacobs and Appleyard understand their 'manifesto' as an answer to the "Charter of Athens". They concede that not only Le Corbusier's functionalism but also the "garden city"-concept of Ebenezer Howard have strongly influenced city planning during the 20th century. Both led, however, to a remarkable lack of the genuine urban quality of the city. To describe the outcome short and to the point: Instead of urban structures we find 'buildings in the park'. Superblocks, separate paths for people and cars, the accent on the interior space of the building and not on public space, housing divorced from streets, central ownership of land are the denominator of both. The main features of truly urban life, such as diversity, surprise, magic or joy are not to be found in either of them. Nevertheless, both made the cities healthier and housing socially available for the poorer people.

The results of realized functionalism and garden city are precisely as David Harvey, Mike Davis or Edward Soja, have analyzed it. American cities have indeed become privatized, public transit systems have declined or broken down due to the triumphal march of the automobile. Cities are no longer meeting places of different social groups. "Advanced industrial societies took work out of the home, and then out of the neighborhood, while

the automobile and the growing scale of commerce have taken shopping out of the local community. Fear has led social groups to flee from each other into homogeneous social enclaves".¹⁸ Cities have become meaningless places beyond the reach of their inhabitants. Cities have become 'symbols of inequality'. The design professionals have lost their line and retreat into 'trendism'.

In contrast to Davis, Soja and Harvey, however, Jacobs and Appleyard do not finish with observation and critique. They set out goals for a truly urban life. Relying on the phenomenological approach to city life as introduced by Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch, Lewis Mumford, and Henri Lefèbvre, Allan Jacobs and Donald Appleyard characterize urbanity with the following notions: livability, which is living in some comfortable environment, identity, opportunity, authenticity, public life, self-reliance and justice. With identity they mean that people want to be involved in the making of the environment. People want to care for it and feel responsible. All this requires a certain measure of participation and active knowledge. The comment on opportunity runs as follows. A city should have "magical places" where "fantasy" is possible. Like Lewis Mumford, Richard Sennett, Roland Barthes, Iris Young or Henri Lefèbvre and many others Jacobs and Appleyard underscore:

The city has always been a place of excitement; it is theater, a stage upon which citizens can display themselves and see others. It has magic... and that depends on a certain sensuous, hedonistic mood, on signs, on night lights, on fantasy, color and other imagery.¹⁹

Authenticity is fathomed in Kevin Lynch's terms. The city should be understandable. The basic layout, the public functions and the institutions are to be accessible for all city dwellers. "A city should present itself as a readable story." Livability, identity, authenticity, and opportunity are serving the individual and the smaller social unit. But urban cities are more than that. They should encourage the commitment to farther reaching goals, to tolerance - this is, of course in line with Lewis Wirth -, to justice, law, and democracy. All this presupposes a vivid public life that is stimulated not only by social institutions but also by well designed public spaces. The neighborhood is by definition restricted. Public spaces, in contrast, are open to all members of the community.

With regards to the self-reliance of cities Jacobs and Appleyard argue that cities have to look for 'soft energy paths' in order to become less dependent on scarce resources from far away and to fasten by the same token the sense of local and regional identity. Good environments are accessible to all. Good urban design is for both, the rich as well as for the poor. It fosters a truly pluralistic society. Important is, however, the link between the strictly individual and the public social life. Individualization and socialization have to go hand in hand.

As remedy for the loss of urbanity caused by functionalism and garden city-movement Jacobs and Appleyard propose five strategies. First of all, people should feel safe and secure in their neighborhood and on the street and experience their environment as clean. These requirements for a livable street, though, vary from city to city and from quarter to quarter. Secondly, urbanity is to be regained only to the degree that a certain density exists. 15 dwelling units say 30-60 people per acre of land are the minimum in order to stimulate city life. Thirdly, it is assumed that an integration of diverse activities in one and the same quarter is necessary. Living, working, shopping, recreational, public and spiritual activities should go side by side. In this point, Allan Jacobs and Donald

Appleyard follow the line set out by Jane Jacobs in her attack upon Le Corbusier. Fourthly, buildings should not just be in space. Rather they should be arranged in such a way that they define and even enclose public space. The rule here is that public space should surround the buildings. Buildings close to each other along a street, for instance, tend to define space if the street is not too wide in relation to the buildings. Fifthly, a city requires quite different kinds of buildings and spaces with complex arrangements and relationships. "Diversity, the possibility of intimacy and confrontation with the unexpected, stimulation, are all more likely with many buildings than with few taking up the same ground areas".²⁰

In sum, cities shaped according to principles of either CIAM or Garden City Movement tend toward inwardness. The space within the four walls of a private house is what counts and not the public space outside. This trend has to be turned around. The street, the square, the plaza are important spaces. The city dwellers can meet there, encounter the unexpected and experience the magic. This is the real attraction of the city. All the mentioned activities presuppose the active participation of people in their environment and lead to their commitment to democratic values. The maybe most important value for a productive and enhancing city life is toleration.

IX

In this final part of my essay I would like to give a mapping of the *postcolonial urbanism*. The postcolonial discourse often suffers from a lack of relatedness to concrete material spaces and locations. My mapping is stressing precisely these aspects.

Colonial rule in Asia implied the division of the city in areas accessible only for the colonial officers, bureaucrats, on one hand and regions reserved for the natives on the other hand. In Calcutta (India) this divide of the urban layout has been maintained after the Independence of India in 1947. However, the new upper class of capital- and landowners, political leaders and top government officials occupied those areas once reserved for the colonizers. The spatial divide of the city according to race has been replaced through a divide according to social class structures. The reform economy of the global period intensified the social, cultural and technological polarization of the city populace.²¹

Delhi has structures similar to those of Calcutta. In Delhi, too, the previous hierarchies of space, power and knowledge did not disappear. The difference between old and new Delhi, social, cultural and infrastructural inequities, differences in religion, culture and lifestyle have not been diminished. For that reason one can say along with Anthony D. King that India has no "single capital symbolizing the unity and identity of the nation".²²

Contrary to Indian cities like Delhi or Calcutta, in Sri Lanka postcolonial governments have made efforts to correct the social and spatial inequities of the colonial period, modifying or replacing its symbolic signifiers. The move of the capital city from its old site at Colombo and the new parliament at Sri Jayawardanapura-Kotte testify this change which is carried out in the language of the "new critical vernacular architecture". New settlement schemes, housing programs and economic development plans have transformed the former colonial spatial system. Though, the ethnic conflicts, a legacy of colonial politics, have not been resolved.²³

Traces of colonialism are not only to be found in the city form and its divisions. Typical for colonialism, at any case in India, was the introduction of the *bungalow* style in the design of houses. In postcolonial times only a few changes occurred, for instance in Lucknow. Here the colonial 'zoning' has been maintained as well as the bungalow style of the houses. The only alteration is, as Anita Sinha has shown, that the houses had been rebuilt after Independence in order to meet the need of the extended Indian family. And, of course the bungalows are now in use of the Indian army. The area houses the headquarters of the central command. A third of the population of Lucknow consists of army personnel. The "bungalow area" is seen as "sacrosanct", as a senior military official declared. The typical colonial distribution of space is maintained. 90 percent of the population of the cantonment lives on 7 percent of the land. The area is managed according to the Colonial Cantonment Act of 1924 that forbids modification exceeding 10 percent of the structure. The only change that occurred is, as I said, the adaptation of the bungalow buildings to the needs of the extended Indian family. The appearance of the area with lawns to the front of the houses, orchards at the rear and occasional badminton courts is as if the colonial past has persisted. The conclusion of Sinha is that "there are no signs of a post-colonial sensibility with regard to planning the physical environment". This applies not only to Lucknow but also to lots of other residential areas in Indian cities.²⁴

Postcolonial research has revealed other models of dealing with the heritage of the bungalow style. In provincial cities, such as Ahmedabad or Jaipur or Shahjehanabad, we often find since colonial times, a conflict between the open bungalow style and the traditional "haveli", that is a style separating each plot by surrounding it with a wall.²⁵ The driving force might have been the regard of family life or the self-affirmation of the local elite against the background of the colonial powers or negotiations and bargaining between the colonial powers and indigenous local powers. Studies especially on colonial Singapore have revealed that colonial cities often had a design resulting from conflicts between the powers of colonizers and the colonized people. City space in colonial times has been, as Brenda Yeoh argued, always a "contested space". It was "a terrain" of both, "discipline and resistance".²⁶

It has to be asked whether the notion of "hybrid" as it is used by Nezar AlSayyad in his book *Hybrid Urbanism* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger 2001) is helpful to give an all over characterization of postcolonial urbanism. The hesitation is caused by the insight that cultural hybridity is something that is intrinsically linked with any culture whatsoever. This means that the notion tends to lose its specificity with regards to the move from colonialism to postcolonialism.²⁷ Another point, some authors argue that it is problematic to look for one distinct model of the colonial city. We should be cautious since we can distinguish different styles of colonial domination ranging from the British building exemplary colonial cities like Calcutta or Bombay to the Dutch rule in Indonesia that did not bring about a "displacement of indigenous culture" (Abidin Kusno).

Anthony D. King draws from such controversies the conclusion that how difficult it might be to give a convincing definition of postcolonial urbanism, we nevertheless should turn our lens around. We are asked to look for traces of colonial space today in reality and in mind. We have to look for colonial spaces "in the real world" and "in our heads".²⁸

X

My point in this paper is that we should gather the elements of an emerging post-functional urbanism under the heading of the cultural turn of urbanism. This turn is the marker of the move from modernist functionalist to post-functional urban design. In sum, we can say that post-functional urbanism puts stress on multiplicity of uses of one and the same region, on mingling of functions, on a vivid street-life. It attends to the various cultural layers of urban design. Post-functional urbanism identifies the urban architect as a cultural thinker. His interventions into the urban fabric are collages instead of an overriding design for whole the city. Post-functional urban design eventually enables to cope with problems issuing in postmodern times and worrying contemporary cities worldwide: immigration and ecological problems. Post-functional urbanism introduces new procedures concerning the processes of city planning. The unitary planning of functionalism is overcome. Alternatives are important and are stimulating pluralism. The city planner has to be aware of his or her position in-between the different parties involved; the city regime, the neighborhoods, the vested interests groups, the ad hoc protest groups. Post-functional urbanism intends to regain the urbanity as normative quality of city life that had been lost through functionalism and garden city movement. Post-functional urbanism, eventually, is closely linked with post-colonialism.

¹ Cerdá's theoretical work is since a couple of years available in English translation. Cerda, *The Five Bases of the General Theory of Urbanization*, edited by Arturo Soria y Puig, foreword by Albert Serratos, translated by Bernard Miller Mary Fons i Fleming (Barcelona, Madrid: Sociedad Editorial Electa, España 1999).

² Cerda, *The Five Bases of the General Theory of Urbanization*, 96-99.

³ Cerda, *The Five Bases of the General Theory of Urbanization*, 232-234.

⁴ Compare Antonio Lopez de Aberasturi, "Pour une lecture de Cerdá. Introduction à la Théorie général de l'urbanisation," in Idefonso Cerdá, *Théoria général de l'urbanisation. Présentée et adaptée par Antonio Lopez de Aberasturi* (Paris: Édition de Seuil, 1979), 15-65.

⁵ Cerda, op. cit., 246.

⁶ Cerda, op. cit., 254. Cerdá introduced the word "urb" in order to designate the basic element of the process of urbanization. Cerdá, op. cit., 84-88.

⁷ Richard T LeGates and Frederic Stout, eds., *The City Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), Second Edition, 46.

⁸ Max Weber, *The City*, translated and edited by Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth (London: Heinemann, 1960), 93.

⁹ Compare: Richard Lehan, *The City in Literature. An Intellectual and Cultural History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1998).

¹⁰ Compare Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976).

¹¹ Heinz Paetzold, "The 'cultural turn' in contemporary urbanism," in *Annals for Aesthetics* Volume 42/2003-2004, Athens 2004, 207-217. Heinz Paetzold, "Post-functional Urbanism, the Postmodern and Singapore," in *Beyond Description: Singapore Space Historicity*, Ryan Bishop, John Phillips and Wei-Wei Yeo, eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 146-164.

¹² Compare Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, *Die dritte Stadt [The Third City]* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1993).

¹³ Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage City* Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1993.

¹⁴ John Forester, "Planning in the face of conflict" [1987], in *The City Reader*, ed. LeGates and Stout, 410-422; here: p. 420.

¹⁵ Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," in *The City Reader*, ed. LeGates and Stout, 424-433.

¹⁶ Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," 432.

¹⁷ Republished in *The City Reader*, ed. LeGates and Stout, 492-502.

¹⁸ Jacobs/Appleyard, "Toward an Urban Design Manifesto," 494-495.

¹⁹ Jacobs/Appleyard, "Toward an Urban Design Manifesto," 496.

²⁰ Jacobs/Appleyard, "Toward an Urban Design Manifesto," 500.

²¹ Anthony D. King, "Actually Existing Postcolonialisms: Colonial Urbanism and Architecture after the Postcolonial Turn," in *Postcolonial Urbanism. Southeast Asian Cities and Global Processes*, ed. Ryan Bishop, John Phillips, Wei-Wei Yeo (New York, London: Routledge, 2003), 167-183; here: p. 171 with reference to Sanjoy Charkravorty, "From Colonial City to Globalizing City? The Far-From Complete Spatial Transformation of Calcutta," in *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order*, eds. Peter Marcuse and Ronald van Kempen (Oxford, U. K. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2000), 56-77. Nihal Perera, "Exploring Colombo: The Relevance of a Knowledge of New York," in *Re-presenting the City. Ethnicity, Capital and Culture in the 21st-Century Metropolis*, ed. Anthony D. King (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 137-157.

²² King, "Actually Existing Postcolonialisms," 170-171 with reference to Suparna Chatterjee, and Judith Kenny, "Creating a New Capital: Colonial Discourse and Decolonization of Delhi," in *Historical Geography* 27 (1999): 73-98.

²³ King, "Actually Existing Postcolonialisms," 172-173 with reference to Nihal Perera, *Decolonising Ceylon: Colonialism, Nationalism and the Politics of Space in Sri Lanka* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998).

²⁴ King, "Actually Existing Postcolonialisms," 173-174.

²⁵ King, "Actually Existing Postcolonialisms," 175-177.

²⁶ Brenda Yeoh, *Contesting Space: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press 1996), 14. Quoted by King, "Actually Existing Postcolonialisms", 178.

²⁷ King, "Actually Existing Postcolonialisms," 180.

²⁸ King, "Actually Existing Postcolonialisms," 181.

