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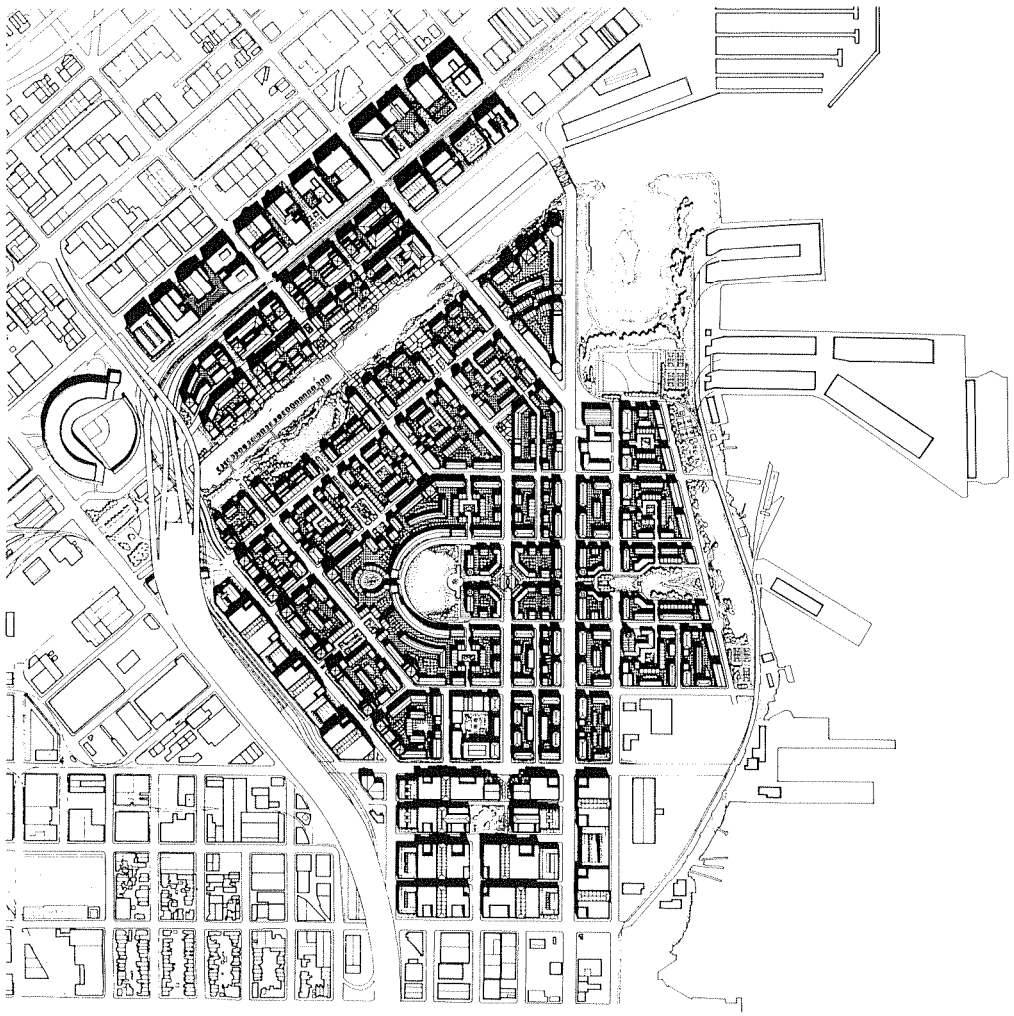


Mission Bay Plan

Sponsor: Santa Fe Pacific Realty Corporation.
Planning: Department of City Planning, City and County of San Francisco (Dean L. Macris, Director, George Williams, Assistant Director Plans and Programs, Alec Bash, Project Director).
Consultants: EDAW, Inc. (project management, land use planning, streetscape design); ELS/Elbasani & Logan Architects (urban design); Danadjieva & Koenig Associates (open space, landscape, design); Gabriel-Roche, Inc. (housing feasibility); Daniel Solomon and Associates (housing design); Carl Anthony & Associates (community services); McGuire & Company (economics); Robert L. Harrison (transportation); KwanHenmi (research and development design); Philip Williams & Associates (hydrology); Wetlands Research Associates (wetlands ecology).

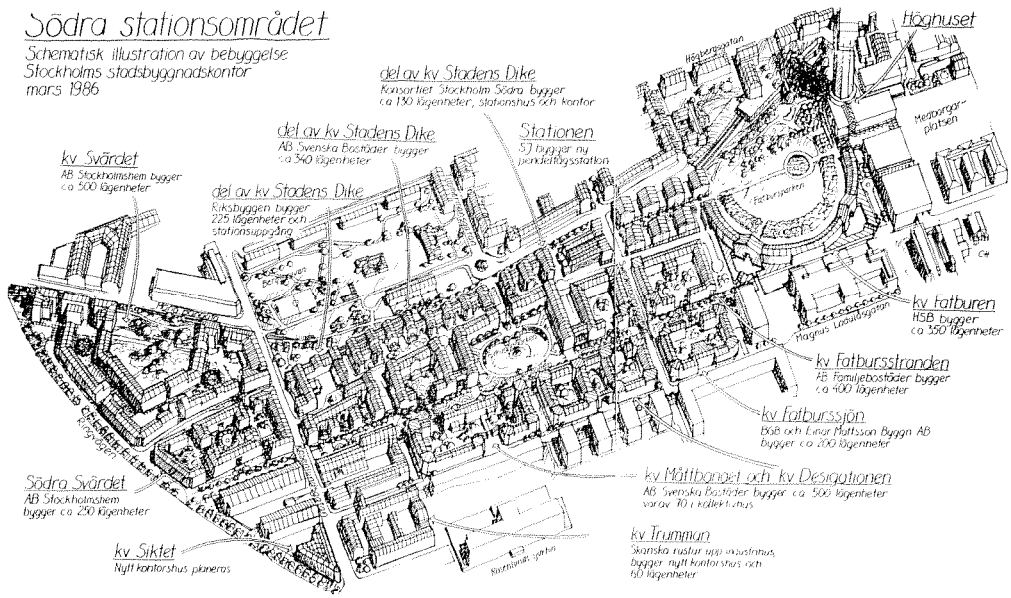
Two landmark plans provide a view into the state of urban design in the 1980s: Mission Bay, the Southern Pacific/ Santa Fe railroad's 294-acre, 8000-unit, mixed-use development in San Francisco, and Södra Station, a 23-hectare (56-acre), 3000-unit, mixed-use project in Stockholm. Located on landfills turned into railroad yards, these projects are bold attempts at urban land reclamation for much-needed residential areas in their respective cities. They synthesize the best of urban design today. In both cases the approach to the design of urban form marks a return to "premodern" urban design practices (meaning primarily eighteenth- and nineteenth-century practices, as illustrated in Benevolo's *Origins of Modern Town Planning*).[1] Yet in neither project are the historical urban forms mindless reproductions of the past: they are adapted to contemporary needs and reflect a serious, nonpolemical critique of modern principles of city-making. Despite all the good design ingredients found in each project, however, I remain skeptical as to their ability to become dynamic urban districts, fully integrated into their venerable surroundings.

Assessing the Plans

The backbone of the design approach used in Mission Bay and Södra Station consists of laying out premodern city streets and

blocks, which carefully continue the geometry of existing grids. Bold public open spaces structure the new districts with a hierarchy of boulevards, squares, neighborhood parks, and in the larger Mission Bay, a regional waterfront park. Buildings frame these opulent spaces, flashing telling images of the schemes of Cerdá, Sitte, Olmsted, Haussmann, and even Burnham. They are statements of born-again, wealthy, bourgeois urbanity. And the designs dig even further into history, with both projects boasting a prominent crescent in the John Wood's tradition—in Södra Station, architect Ricardo Bofill has secured the commission for the crescent. Have the *Ville Radieuse* and its postwar progeny, the urban renewal projects, vanished miraculously?

Unlike urban renewal projects, which recycle areas thought to be socially destitute, Mission Bay and Södra Station seek to reuse land whose previous uses have been made obsolete by technological development. Rejuvenating land uses was also a preoccupation of nineteenth-century planning: crumbling medieval walls and their related "fringe areas"—the no-man's-land that had characterized areas between *intramuros* and *extramuros* development—were the primary target. Today, anachronistic railroad yards and erstwhile in-



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Södra Station

Sponsor: City of Stockholm. Planning: Stockholms stadbyggnadskontor (Jan Inghe, Chief Planner).

Developers, builders, and architects: see credits for various parts of the project in the illustrations.

1 Mission Bay illustrative plan. Note the scale of existing residential fabric in the southwest corner of the plan, and the larger elements of industry surrounding the site (Mission Bay Proposal for Citizen Review, Department of City Planning, City and County of San Francisco, January 1987, A-19).

2 Södra Station plan, March 1986. General massing and distribution of design and building units throughout the site—names correspond to the different developers or builders (Stockholms stadsyggnadskontor, *Stockholm bygger, om 1980-talets byggande i Stockholm* (Stockholm: Liber Förlag, 1986), pp. 76–77).

dustrial waterfronts have become, in both Europe and the United States, the front lines of reclamation efforts.

Return to Old Forms

A quiet but promising revolution in urban design is reinstating civic design and other "old-fashioned" ways of designing cities. This revolution has been eclipsed somewhat by the parallel rise of postmodernism in architecture, which it resembles in its love for historic reference. Yet the changes occurring in urban design stem less from the rejection of modern design principles, reflected chiefly in the return to festive decoration, than from a renewed love for the city, the pre-1920 city in particular. As Julia Trilling has noted, "Post-Modern buildings are usually just as unrelated to the city as the boxes of the Modern movement are."[2] The return of the traditional city has far-reaching impact. Such modern trademarks as isolated towers are "out," as are monolithic slabs of apartment buildings, with their single east-west orientation. The bulky forms typical of past centuries shape an unquestionably urban environment, where the street becomes once again the generic element of public space, opening up periodically into outdoor rooms, such as parks and squares.

The apparent defection from principles of modern design and planning has resulted from a complex set of events during the last 20 years.[3] The primary force, however, was an irate public, who convinced design professionals to support the nature and character of existing, individual cities as rich and varied contexts for urban design. The rapprochement between public and professional values has been gradual, and is still in process.[4] In some celebrated cases such as the town of Bologna, Italy, the West-Berlin Tier Garten and Kreuzberg projects, New York's Battery Park City, and Paris's Le Marais, old-fashioned city design is returning in force. Yet in other instances, modernism prevails. An early competition for the Södra Station development yielded at least one proposal for slabs-in-the-park from a team led by architect Bernt Rosengren. The most farsighted and antimodern response came from Léon Krier, who advocated filling the vacant and underutilized land scattered in the surrounding area of Södermalm with all the program elements. This allowed him to return the railroad yards to their original open-space state. The current plan for Södra Station is a compromise solution that continues to pay some tribute to modernism.

As for Mission Bay, an earlier I. M. Pei award-winning scheme boasted a neo-Renaissance design, complete with a grand axis and large open spaces carpeted with opulent gardens. Intermittent towers adorned a background of street-wall architecture, reaching a sculptural crescendo at one tip of the axis. San Franciscans loathed this sleek, though historicized, version of Miami Beach. In the plan reviewed here they made sure that the mini-downtown was deleted, along with the marina, which extended the Old China Basin. They wanted a neighborhood compatible with the surrounding ones, and with public access to the Bay shore. The current plan is certainly more responsive to these desires.

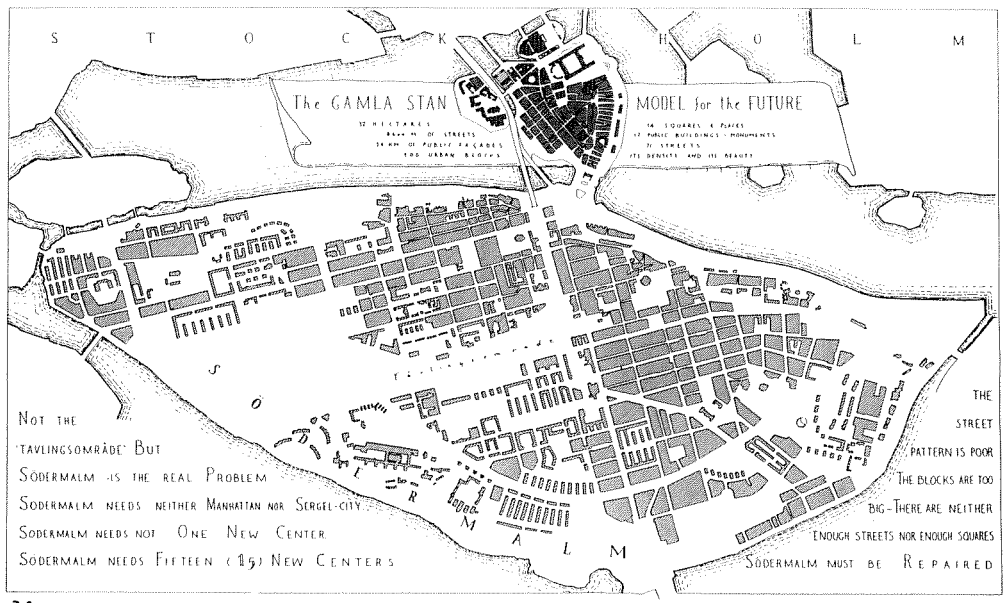
Negotiating with Modernism's Legacy

The current plans of both Mission Bay and Södra Station are not, however, mere replicas of the past; they negotiate with many of the progressive principles of the *Ville Radieuse*. The least exciting of modernism's influences are found at the detailed land-use level of the Mission Bay plan. The plan does not achieve the intricate mix of residences and workplaces that was intended. Land uses are generally segregated in large chunks of land. An attempt to re-create a typical San Francisco neighborhood core, the mixed-use axis along Third and Long Bridge streets (with ground-floor shops and residences above), fails to include office spaces, which are at the edge of

3 Léon Krier's proposal for scattered development within Södermalm. (a) Existing built form; (b) proposed infill. Note Södermalm's proximity to Stockholm's medieval center, Gamla Stan. (Christopher Berk, master's thesis, University of Washington, 1988, p. 184; and *Lotus International* 36 (1982): 110–111)

the site along an existing elevated freeway. Although no longer the high-rise mini-downtown proposed in I. M. Pei's 1984 award-winning plan, the office zone still awaits corporate-sized, mid-rise structures, the majority of whose users will not be able to afford to live in the adjacent neighborhoods. Meanwhile, corner grocery and other convenience stores, those staples of everyday urban life, are absent from most of the pristine residential enclaves. Finally, a commuter transit stop serves the office district well; but in its location at the edge of the residential areas, near the environmental vacuum of the elevated freeway, it resembles a park-and-ride suburban station more than its exciting urban nineteenth-century predecessors.

Yet excellent propositions are made to "modernize" block design. In both projects pre-twentieth-century block forms have been manipulated to incorporate many contemporary ideals: for instance, a strong hierarchy of street uses assists the consolidation of superblocks, in clear reference to the Garden City tradition. Also, the historical block forms take on new functions and meanings. Consolidated blocks in Mission Bay borrow from alley developments of early nineteenth-century Washington, D.C., or Edinburgh: higher-density buildings face the main streets, while



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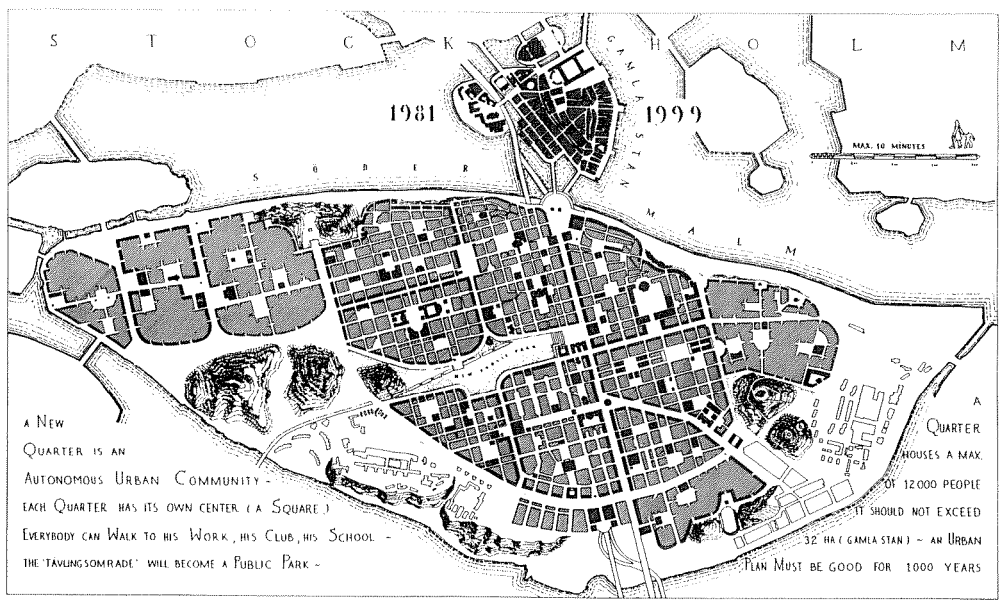

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lower-density buildings are set around an inner-block collective space serviced by narrow lanes. But here the protected inner blocks will house not the servant classes, but the more privileged residents. Also, the inner-block open space in Mission Bay is highly structured, with neat, orderly parks surrounded by driving lanes. In Södra Station cars are allowed to intrude on only three sides of residential blocks, and mid-block open spaces take on an informal, romantic chartacter.

The plans handle vehicular and pedestrian traffic differently. Mission Bay projects a more urban image, despite an overall density approximately half that of Södra Station's, because pedestrians share most streets with cars and only back alleys are reserved for local traffic. This traditional mix of wheeled and foot traffic is avoided in most of Södra Station. There, a decidedly modern stance combines automobile-oriented streets with large, quiet, and bucolic inner blocks, which are aligned along a longitudinal pedestrian axis.

The strict distinction between fronts and backs, private and public land in Mission Bay will facilitate the subdivision of the inner-block space into traditional, small, privately controlled gardens. But Södra Station's large expanses of open space inherited from the modern movement will require a central, collective maintenance apparatus. Such large semipublic open spaces have not fared well in most American projects, but in culturally and socially more homogeneous Sweden, they have been successful: they are friendly to the host of pedestrians, who can either use the well-defined public pedestrian lanes or wander into the more private, looser spaces of the residential inner blocks. In Mission Bay, on the other hand, pedestrians are kept on structured paths in the fronts of residential areas—reflecting, again, the culturally engrained need for guarded privacy, made increasingly acute by the widening gap between haves and have-nots in American society.

Local Architectural Character

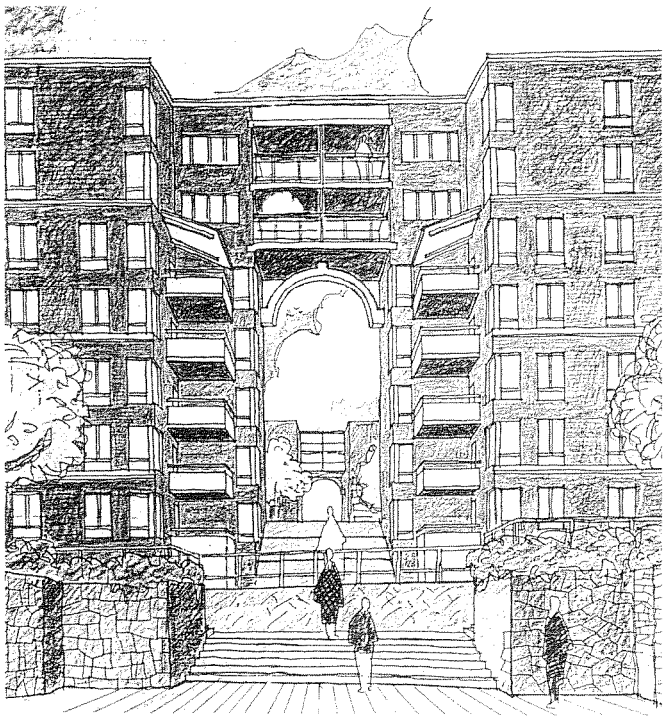
What will it feel like to walk, drive, live, and work in Mission Bay or Södra Station? For all their similarities in geometry and spatial organization, these plans provide very different experiences. In a significant departure from premodern practices, which sought to impose in redeveloped areas a unifying architectural order of a neoclassical nature, urban designers have relied on existing ordinary buildings to define the character of the two projects. Detailed regulation of architectural form is intrinsic to both plans, and each refers to buildings typically found in the respective cities. The creeping homogenization fostered by the International Style may at last be checked, and the environments created are likely to fit the expectations of their users because they resemble what is there already.

Relating to the local architecture is particularly challenging in Mission Bay: the high densities required to make new residential construction economically feasible are not easily fit into San Francisco's fine-grained fabric of single houses and small apartment buildings. On the other hand, Stockholm's primarily eighteenth- and nineteenth-century urban building stock of compact courtyard apartment buildings more easily accommodates today's large buildings. The Mission Bay plan responds with a rich assortment of residential building types. In keeping with the City Planning Code, building entries occur in regular, small increments along the streets to preserve the character of the existing fabric. Curb cuts and access to structured parking are restricted to break down the scale experienced by the pedestrians and the residents. The number of families using the same entry, lobby, or landing is limited to entrust residents with a "defensible" piece of the environment.

Parking

Parking is a significant urban design problem without precedent in premodern

4 Södra Station, different developments within the project. (a) AB Stockholmshelm, Coordinator Arkitekter AB, architects; (b) Riksbyggen, Riksbyggen Konsult, architects; (c) AB Svenska Bostäder, EGÅ Arkitektkontor AB, architects; (d) Konsortiet Stockholm Södra, Fabege AB och Folke Eridson Byggnads AB, Arkitektgrupp 4C, architects (Stockholms stadsbyggnadskontor, 1986, pp. 79–82).



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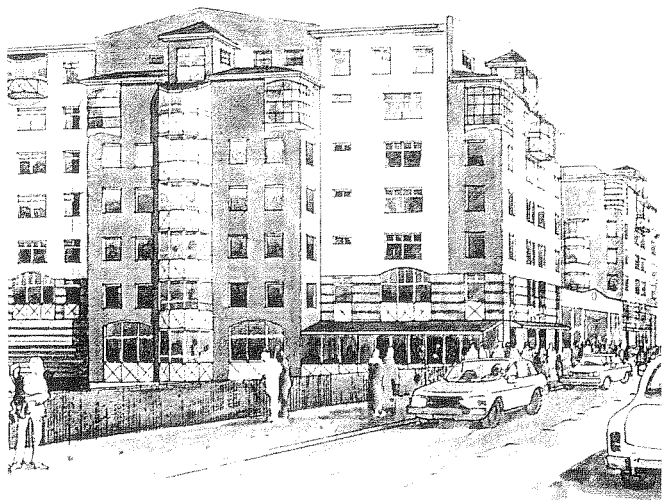

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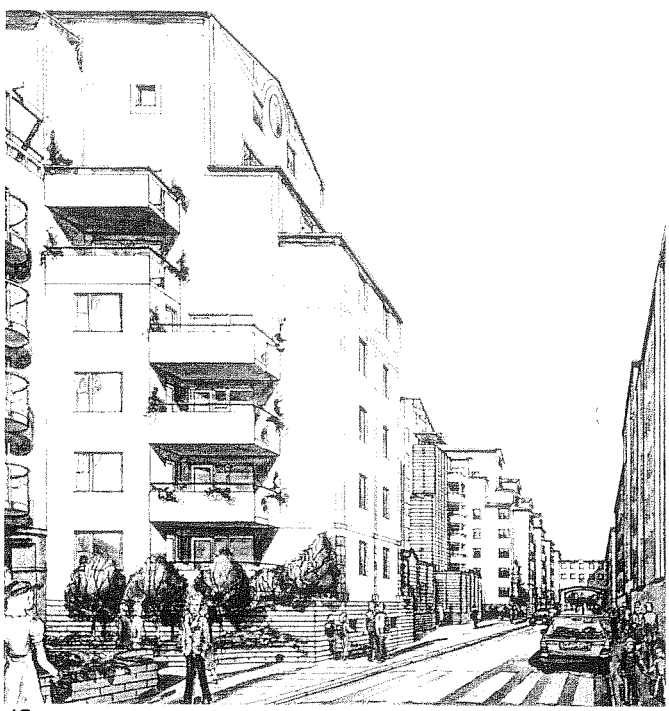

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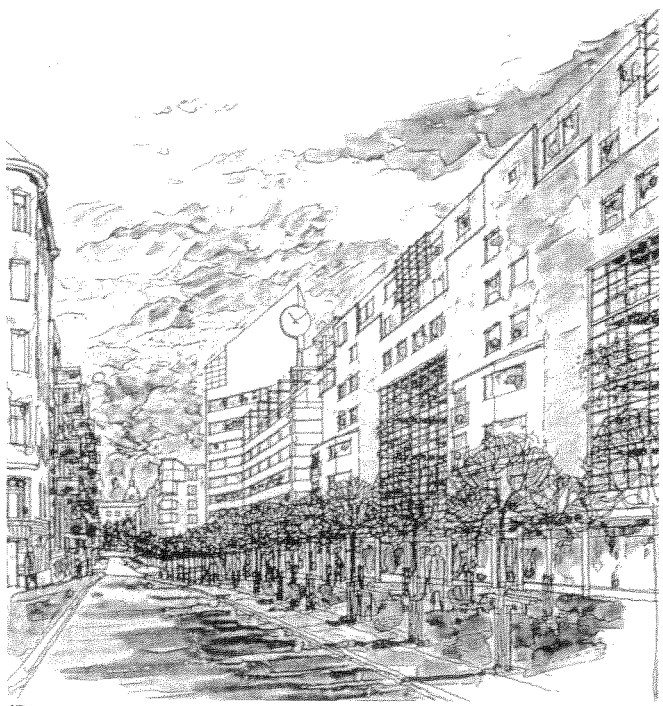

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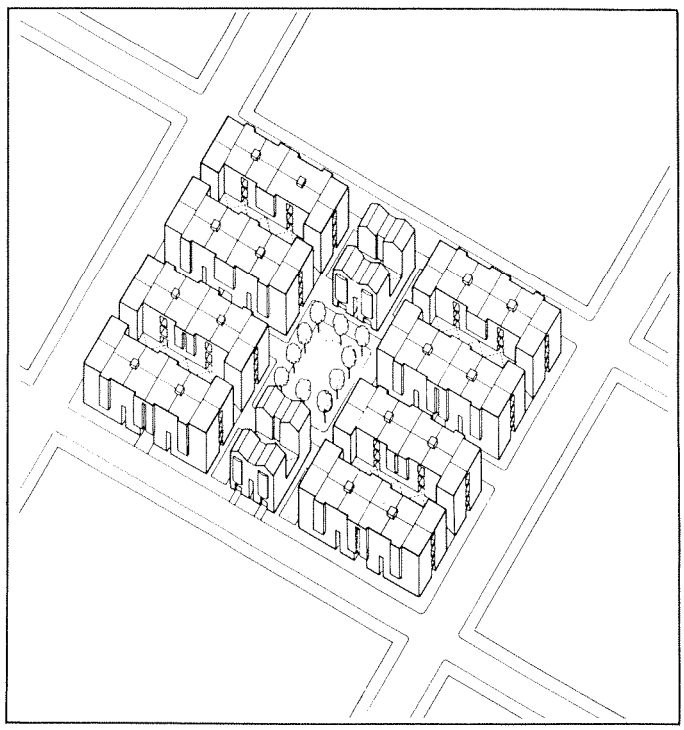

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5 Mission Bay prototypes. (a) Typical block of three-story walk-up prototypes; (b) low-rise walk-up prototypes (Department of City Planning, San Francisco, 1987, pp. 3–34, 3–35, 3–39).

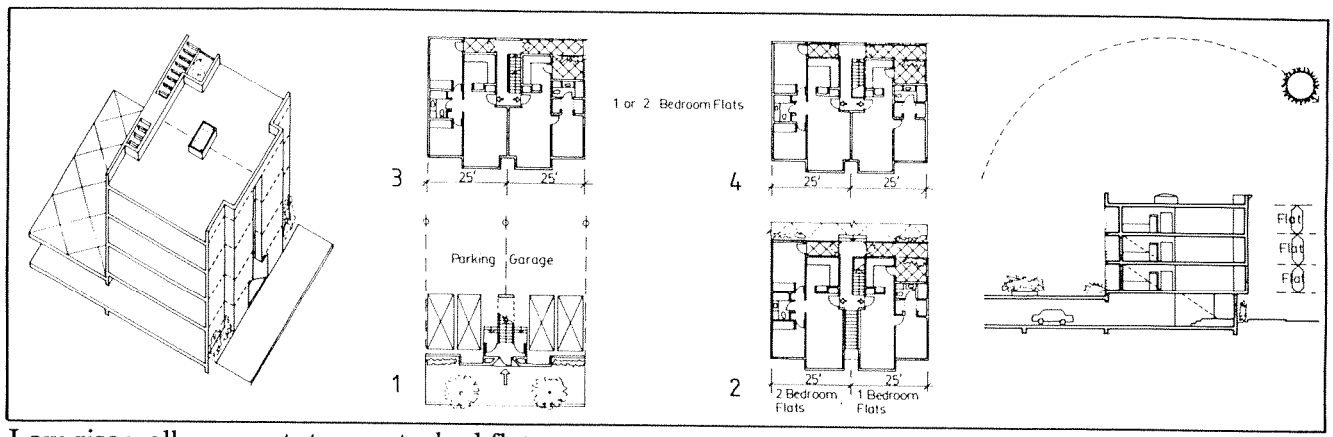
solutions. The Mission Bay plan, with its focus on private housing and its cup-to-lip relationship between house and car, has dedicated virtually all of the residential ground floor to a parking platform—podium is the term used in the plan. The podium limits the configuration of the many nonelevator buildings of the plan: two-story dwellings sit atop one-story apartments because of the assumption that people will not walk up more than two stories unless the additional story occurs inside the dwelling. This arrangement prevents the larger, family-oriented units from having direct access to the garden level. The concrete slab holding the garden level also restricts planting. The pervasiveness of the podium has caused San Francisco's urban designers to devise stringent design controls for what they term the "sidewalk encroachment zone" in order to foster an amenable pedestrian environment at the street level.[5]

In Södra Station a less permissive attitude toward the car has led designers to look for innovative solutions: favorable topographical conditions allow parking garages to be placed under the main streets, thus liberating the backyards and inner-block open spaces for greens.[6]

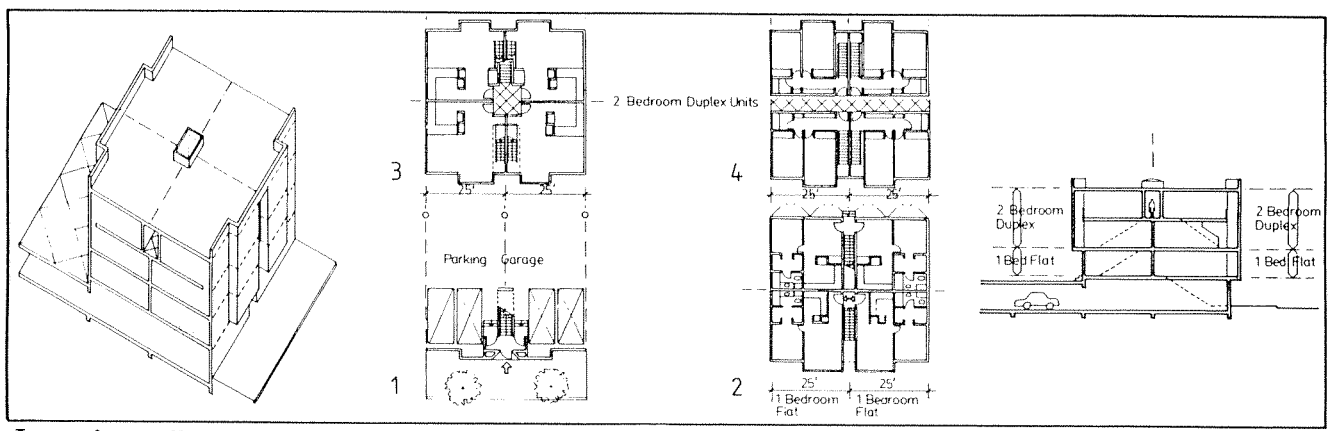
Open Space

If open space is plentiful in both Södra Station and Mission Bay, the landscape designs remain bland, somewhat simplistic, and unconvincing: neither the nostalgic reproductions of untouched nature nor the pristine, over-domesticated greens of the Renaissance meet the need for exciting, colorful, public, and collective open spaces. One senses some discomfort and indecision vis-à-vis the role of the urban green or outdoor space, though perhaps it is just a lack of concern or resources. Yet, as we have become almost exclusively urban societies, as our relationships to wilderness and to agriculture have changed radically over the past century, what has become of the imagery and symbolism projected by our open spaces? Unfortunately, neither project offers a rich and detailed set of ideas in tune with its size and importance.

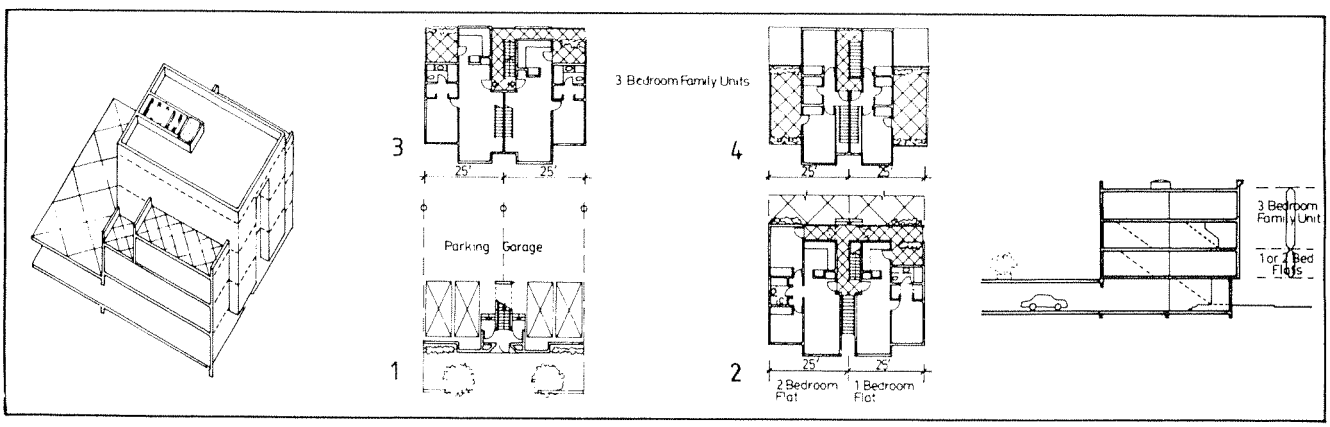
Mission Bay differs from Södra Station in its extensive network of open spaces and in its prized waterfront. The many small urban parks will serve their community, but their weak relationship to the main streets overlooks the need for linkages. Even the obligatory jogging trail appears in a lonely, monofunctional setting. Perhaps most objectionable is the treatment of the waterfront park and the China Basin Canal, a remnant of the area's swampish origins. Both spaces take on a romantic character that clashes, rather than contrasts, with the urbanity of the parks. The China Basin



Low-rise walk-up prototype: stacked flats



Low-rise walk-up prototype: family units over flats



Low-rise walk-up prototype: duplex units over flats

6

Canal might be better in the neighborhood as a Venetian canal than as the weepy, anachronistic pond-cum-houseboats that is intended. And while an urban wild is a good idea in San Francisco, it would need to be a sizable "park" to have the desired impact. Finally Mission Bay's streets do not receive the detailed design attention they warrant. How will cafés, bus stops, newspaper stands, street vendors, benches, and so on, be accommodated? Streets are the most public and dynamic part of an open space system, demanding careful and innovative approaches to their design.[7]

Principles of open-space design for Södra Station are even less explicitly documented than for Mission Bay. The collective greens in the inner residential blocks are likely to cater to children and families because of their easy access and protected character. But the pedestrian spine may actually compete with the street as a draw for pedestrians, leaving the latter at the mercy of cars.

Taking Stock

Can we feel confident that the blend of old and new city-making techniques in these two projects is a step in the right direction for contemporary urban design? Have the principles of urban and architectural form been mastered to support a person-oriented, community-minded urban life? Are the remaining issues only technical—parking, pollution, refined approaches to land uses, etc.? I suspect that urban design practice of the late twentieth century will look to our descendants like no more than skillful stage-making: the forms and images are strong and enticing, but the play is dull. We may have learned, once again, how to *design* cities, but we have a long way to go to *make* them. That people are no longer packed in enormous, look-alike caserns covering acres of urban land is a credit to the new plans. The smaller buildings, the more varied, tradition-bound architecture, the friendlier streets and open spaces all contribute to a better urban environment. Yet, for all their good design, the new residential environments will remain "projects": houses and neighborhoods will be built, run, and maintained by large institutions, as if they were hotels or convention centers.

Diversity and Aging

Two issues that are essential to the livelihood of residential environments have not been properly addressed in these projects: diversity and resilience. These two qualities are best ensured in a fine-grained urban fabric: units of land ownership must be small to decentralize the control of design, building, and management decisions. Yet in Södra Station the units will range from 130 to 500 dwellings and in Mission Bay from 200 to 500 dwellings—unusually large chunks of residential development by either city's standards. This means that one to five of the superblocks planned will be controlled by a single entity at a time, whether private in the case of San Francisco or quasi-public in the case of Stockholm. The tight web of design regulations that urban designers have tailored to inject variety and individualization may counteract some of the impact of the development's oppressive scale. But a tract-like appearance will be difficult to avoid since within each unit of development the same aesthetic and spatial characteristics are likely to predominate, even if the scale of the buildings is reduced. Furthermore, because of the large development parcels, the projects will mature uniformly, unlike ordinary neighborhoods, where each building, each garden, each nook and cranny, is subjected to a different treatment and modified according to the varied needs of different owners and residents.

Since World War II the development of most large tracts of centrally located urban land has been granted by city management to large developer-builders specializing in such projects. This is in contrast to premodern projects, in which both implementation and management were by ordinary developers and builders, who operated

6 Mission Bay open space. China Basin and soft edge treatment along water (Department of City Planning, San Francisco, 1987, pp. 7–92,7–93).

within a pattern of land ownership usually based on parcels of 100 by 150 feet, or smaller. Over the years this fine-grained framework for building and land ownership has permitted the fabric of cities to change and to adapt in different ways, at different paces, from property to property, within, and sometimes in spite of, the overall project design.

The Lot as an Instrument of Urban Design

Ironically, large, premodern plans and projects were attempts to *unify* an urban landscape that at the time was perceived (perhaps correctly) as "unorderly" because it was made of so many small units! But until the end of the nineteenth century, such efforts did not go beyond the control of facade detailing, followed, in some cases, by the actual building of facades. Since then urban design and planning have pursued a course of increasing unification of the urban landscape. In the process they have come to advocate the elimination of the private lot as the primary cause of urban chaos and blight.[8] The "antiplot" campaign has been so successful that many designers and planners today are unaware of the influence of the lot on urban form and design; platting and subdivision design are now regarded as unglamorous, technical tasks, and are left for the engineers. This is why recent calls for design diversity, and their accompanying regulatory apparatus for fostering a return to an *architecture of lots* (the Mission Bay plan reliance on building types is particularly explicit in this regard; see "Notes on Battery Park City," this issue), have been met with an institutional vacuum. Public-sector designers and planners are unable to provide fine-grained ownership structures and are unwilling to enter the maze of ordinary developers and landowners, who, nonetheless, continue to build and manage the greater share of our cities. In the name of efficiency, they turn to large entities that may or may not have had prior experience in large-scale building and management. Yet, while such practices may have been attractive in the past under the guise of innovation and economies of scale, experience has shown that extremely unresponsive environments have resulted.[9]

Units of 100 or more dwellings are common in private-sector housing in Stockholm, where a relatively homogeneous population has, in the past three decades, adjusted to a highly regulated life-style. Yet some 30 percent of Stockholm's residents still own or reside in houses, which is considered a privilege. Furthermore, Stockholm has a history of quasi-public management of projects with thousands of dwellings. Successful in such new towns as Vällingby, this practice has been tarnished by recent problems: for instance, for many of the dwellings of the 1960s million-unit program, three times the initial investment is now being poured into necessary "modernization"; and even Dalen, a 1970s low-rise, high-density project, is plagued with a variety of use and maintenance problems. For Americans, and San Franciscans specifically, units of ownership have traditionally been much smaller. In the United States there is little experience in managing large, dense urban projects successfully over a long period of time. (See "Notes on Battery Park City," for a discussion of exceptional conditions in Manhattan.) Therefore, few, if any, precedents warrant the scale of development proposed in San Francisco and Stockholm.

Other aspects of the plans will hinder the graceful aging of the districts. Both plans exude a self-contented finality, which reflects the power of institutional forces, but bodes ill for a lively future urban environment: the neatly packaged, tightly dimensioned spaces leave little for the imagination. There will be no surprises, no left-over or unclaimed spaces. Within a few years of construction, both projects will be denser (in buildings and in people) than most existing neighborhoods in their respective cities. Yet the

same density would take decades to achieve if development were to occur without the benefit of a plan.

Institutional Shortcomings

City-making issues are, at this point, less architectural than institutional. The outdated decision-making processes and mechanisms that govern Mission Bay and Södra Station remain essentially unchanged since the era of the infamous urban renewal and large modern development projects. Södra Station is the latest course in Stockholm's 50-year, bold and systematic town planning and building feast. Conceived in the early 1980s, it is being built in toto (planned completion for 1991) by several quasi-public developers and housing corporations, under the strict control of the City of Stockholm Planning and Real Estate Offices. The project's development machinery is a direct descendant of the modern, large-scale, centralized city-making organizations that plagued the post–World War II reconstruction of European cities as well as the ill-fated redevelopment schemes in America in the 1960s.

Mission Bay's development is more reminiscent of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century practices: its plan, complete with strict design regulations, is directed at a primary private-sector landowner.[10] A subject of controversy since the mid-1970s, the plan has been negotiated by the landowner and the city's Board of Supervisors, in conjunction with the Department of City Planning and the City Planning Commission. The project lies outside the jurisdiction of the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency—the only agency with a lasting track record of neighborhood development. But it does follow the Planning Department's much-acclaimed Downtown Plan and meshes with the city's aging, but politically powerful Urban Design Plan and the Planning Code regulating residential zoning. If Mission Bay's multifaceted planning process contrasts with Södra Station's top-down decision process, it is only a reflection of a complex set of public and private forces attempting to find a common ground, and not an antidote for the large institutional and corporate entities in charge. In neither case do the design and management decision-making structures provide an institutional framework that is responsive to the needs for diversity and change of neighborhoods.

Conclusions

Icons Versus Control

In both Södra Station and Mission Bay, urban designers have questioned old models and ideals and have probed the indigenous forms of their cities. Correcting many past design mistakes, they have adapted familiar forms to contemporary needs. But icons are only one side of the formula for making good environments. Building practices and management structures are the other side. Good design cannot exist without the support of appropriate clients. Unfortunately, urban designers in both cities have moved ahead in the face of essentially unchanged and out-of-date planning and management structures: the designs have created discrete, decentralized environments, but the building and management techniques relate to megaprojects.

Buildings, neighborhoods, cities are more than physical representations of our societies. They are long-lasting tools for better living. How environments as tools will be handled *over time* must be an integral part of our plans.

The building of urban districts in recent decades has taught us to calibrate and refine our policies to reduce the adverse impact of planned, large-scale development. We now value mixed land uses. We are integrating different income groups by subsidizing families in need and are providing dwellings of different sizes and characters to encourage families with different structures to live close to each other. In Mission Bay private developers are required to make room for affordable housing and to provide small retail and service facilities, which are unlikely to come to expensive new developments without appropriate incentives. The time has come to accommodate small developers and owners and to ensure their participation in the making of planned residential districts. In San Francisco this means the inclusion of developments of less than 100 units—the kind commonly found in the city today. It may be more difficult to find small developers in Stockholm, where municipal housing companies and quasi-public housing cooperatives are so large. But the impact of the cooperatives' scale could be reduced if they were given scattered sites within the district and required to use different architects and autonomous management structures to run and maintain each property. In both Stockholm and San Francisco the new districts could be sprinkled with smaller lots that would appeal to other types of developers and owners. In operational terms, the units of development and maintenance can be broken down by including an old-fashioned plat or a plot plan as an integral part of the general plan.[11] Ideally, the street frontage of a typical lot should be less than 50 feet in San Francisco and 100 feet in Stockholm to fit the existing urban fabric. But 100- and 200-foot frontages

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7 Mission Bay revised plan, May 1988, by John Kriken at Skidmore, Owings & Merrill.

could be accommodated to introduce a new, yet still congenial scale of development in each city.

The costs for such procedures need not be high: the specific controls established can serve 100 developers as well as three. The only added concern is to negotiate agreements and monitor the work of a greater number of outfits as development takes place. But the long-range benefits are apparent, particularly in the light of enormous costs of delayed maintenance and adaptation now being paid for the "modernization" of large housing projects built after the 1930s.[9] Decentralized ownership and management will not only instill more design diversity initially, it will also create environments where owners and residents can cooperate easily in the management of the properties, making changes as they go without major capital requirements.

Weaving in the Time Element

Institutional shortcomings aside, more can be done in the realm of design and planning to leave room for change. Pergolas, verandas, and large balconies, which are typically tailored by residents to suit their needs, could be required details in projects where the units of development and ownership remain large. Roofs can be designed to facilitate expansion, and front yards can be made generous for the same reason. It is now accepted that ground-floor units should have their own direct access in addition to the collective access leading to the upper floors. The detailed design of these individual access points can also encourage people to take control of these spaces.

At a larger scale, elements of surprise and variety can be fostered by carefully planning the project's incremental development over time. Current revisions to the Mission Bay Plan include a conscious effort to group the different phases of development around a significant public open space, which will act as a readily identifiable center for the different communities within the project.

An astute phasing plan can simulate old-fashioned urban development. Rather than allocating large chunks of land for each phase, smaller parcels of land to be developed at a later date can be interspersed strategically in the neighborhood without threatening the continuity of the new setting. For instance, increased densities can be introduced gradually: vacant parcels in the middle of superblocks can be treated as small urban wilds while awaiting development. Parcels can also be left vacant inside blocks without jeopardizing the integrity of the block; for instance, blocks can be shaped initially by two rows of buildings along the main streets, while the parcels along the side streets are left undeveloped at first.

Designers and planners need to become skilled at weaving into their plans the time element so important to the quality of cities. Such skills will require detailed, critical knowledge about the history of city-making, something more than a selective memory for past icons.

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Notes

1 Leonardo Benevolo, *The Origins of Modern Town Planning* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971 [1963]).

2 Julia Trilling, "A Future That Looks Like the Past," *Atlantic Monthly* (29 July 1985): 28–34.

3 Foremost is the public disapproval of modern schemes. Many modern projects built between the 1940s and 1960s in Europe and the United States remain partially occupied despite subsidies to their tenants, while older projects have long waiting lists (the latest examples are found in France, Sweden, as well as Newark, New Jersey, and Kansas City). Parallel to this is the public endorsement of historic preservation. Studies influenced by the rise of the social sciences in design and planning have shown the problems associated with some of the staples of modern design: the negative effects of high-rise buildings on middle-class families, particularly when low-rise housing types prevail in the community; the impossibility of using and maintaining the large open spaces; and the destructive social effects of automobile-dominated streets (Oscar Newman, *Defensible Space, Crime Prevention Through Urban Design* [New York, Macmillan, 1973]; and *Community of Interest* [Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1980]; Clare Cooper-Marcus, *Easter Hill Village* [New York: Basic Books, 1975]; Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* [New York: Random House, 1961]; Donald Appleyard, *Livable Streets* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981]). Historians have been able to describe the value of old cities for contemporary needs (Josef W. Konvitz, *The Urban Millenium* [Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985]; Spiro Kostof, "Cities and Turfs," *Design Book Review* 10 (1986): 35–39; John Reps, *The Remaking of Urban America* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965]). Some urban designers have never espoused modern designs out of love and respect for traditional cities (Kevin Lynch, *What Time Is This Place?* [Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972]; Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning From Las Vegas* [Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972]; Denise Scott Brown, "Between Three Stools," in *Education for*

Urban Design, edited by Ann Ferebee [Purchase, N.Y.: Institute for Urban Design, 1982]); others have eventually rejected once-accepted approaches to city design (Peter Blake, *God's Own Junkyard* [New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964]).

4 Paul Goldberger, "Reinventing the City," *New York Times Magazine*, Part 2 (26 April 1987): 18–21, 56–60.

5 Some of these issues are now being reconsidered in the current revisions of the plan. Lower-density housing (deemed more marketable and less expensive to build) will reduce the size of the parking podium to the building footprint, thus freeing more space for gardens and greens.

6 In Skarpnäck, a project preceding Södra Station, Stockholm's planners avoided the first-level parking platform by integrating handsome parking structures that look like market halls within the residential fabric of each block. A few of these structures actually house a market facility on the ground floor.

7 In the current revision of the plan a street and a plaza are being added along China Basin, making it readily accessible to the public. Street hierarchies are redefined to accentuate actual and perceptual links between public spaces inside the project and the waterfront—an important issue in what could be the only site in San Francisco that, because of its flatness, does not relate immediately to the water (fig. 8).

8 Efforts to unify city form precede the Age of Enlightenment. The reasons and mechanisms used for controlling city-making have changed over the course of history, sometimes repeating themselves (J. W. Knovitz, *The Urban Millenium* [Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985]). The condemnation of the private lot as a hindrance to proper city planning can be traced to the end of the nineteenth century. I have discussed antiplot attitudes during the Garden City movement in "Platting Versus Planning" (*Landscape* 29:1 [1986]: 30–38). Jacques Lucan's "The Terrain of Architecture" (*Lotus International* 36 [1982]: 5–19) extends the discussion into modern times. Quoting Le Corbusier's characteristic extremism, "there can be no modern planning without the unification of the land," Lucan retraces the evolution of planning thought which led to the elimination of the plot. While a number of Le Corbusier's contemporaries rejected the principles of modern architecture, they called for "improved Haussmannism," whereby the city block and the street layout became the basic units of planning. Lucan shows how "to see the block as the most important unit in planning operations meant revolutionizing the form of property."

9 Anne Vernez Moudon, "Platting Versus Planning: Housing at the Household Scale," *Landscape* 29:1 (1986): 30–38.

10 After an aborted attempt to develop a plan privately, the primary landowner decided to "hire" the city to develop an acceptable plan, which is now being submitted for citizen review. The city has recently contracted a prominent law firm to work out a development agreement with the landowners. The latter, who have yet to approve the plan, have hired John Kriken, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill's partner in charge of urban design, to critique to city's document. This critique is now being discussed and incorporated in a revised version of the plan.

11 This device has been used recently in the development of East Cambridge, Massachusetts, where the redevelopment plan calls for relatively small parcels. The plan, now some six years old, has attracted a number of commercial and office developers, who have both rehabilitated and built anew a variety of vital projects. It will take another 10 years to complete the plan, at which point the East Cambridge area will have undergone close to an ordinary process of development and will be integrated, once again, into the Cambridge and Boston metropolitan area (MIT/Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies, Rice Center for Research and Development, *Lessons from Local Experience* [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1983]). See also "Notes on Battery Park City," this issue, and John L. Kriken, "What's Wrong with Small Projects?" (*Urban Design Review* 6 [June 1983]: 2–3).